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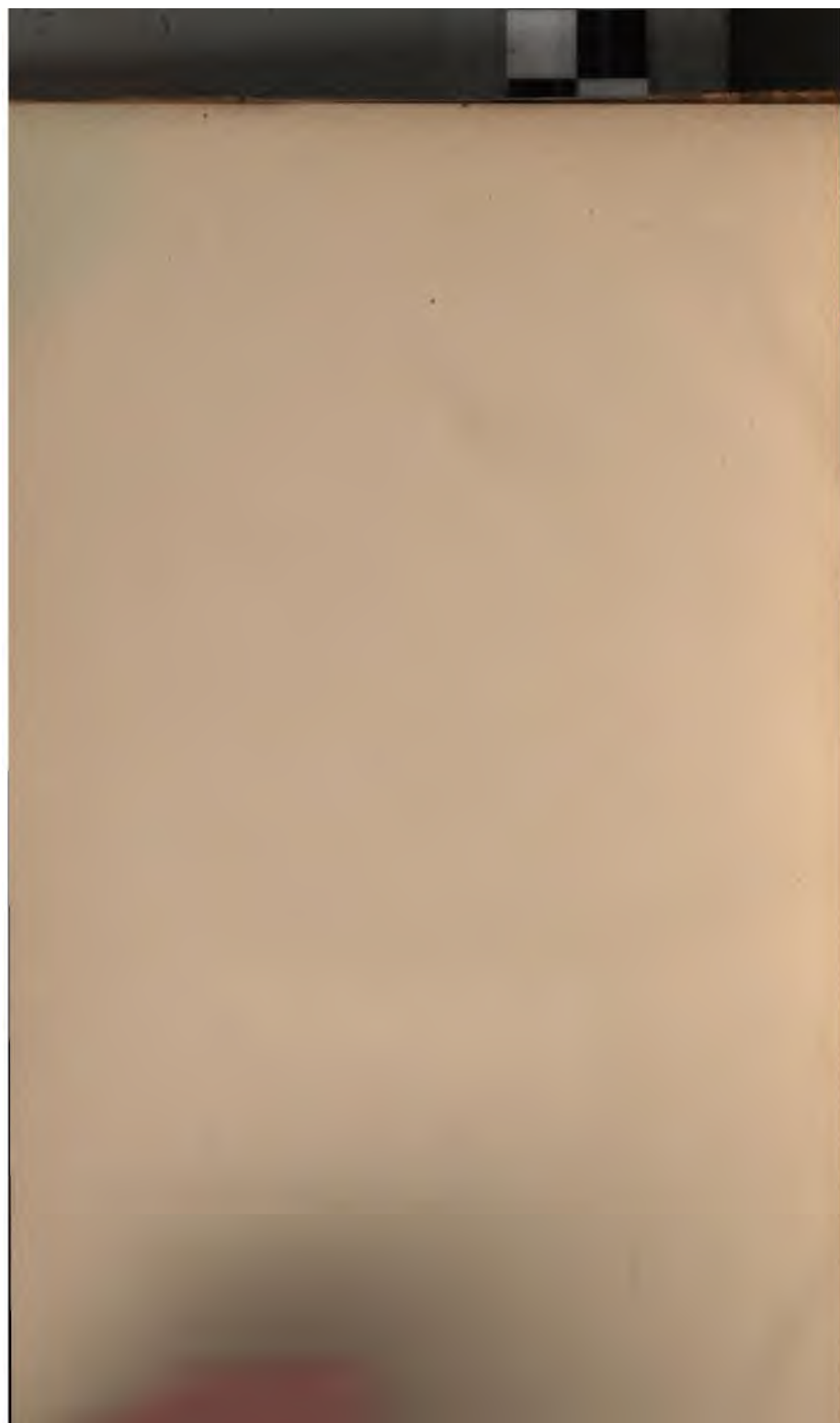
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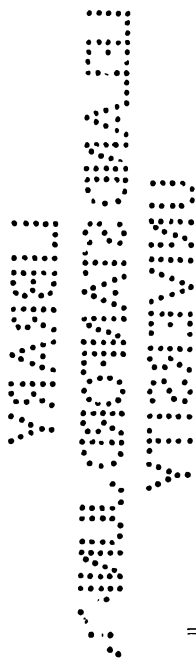
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ARTICLE I.

THE distinguishing characteristic of the nineteenth century in relation to agriculture is that it was the first century in which science, to any considerable extent, was applied to practice. It would be too much to say that science was not applied at all in an earlier period, because, to a small extent, the sciences of mechanics, physiology, and botany had long contributed information respectively to inventors

of agricultural implements and machines, to growers of crops, and to breeders and feeders of live stock. The schoolmaster had not been abroad, however, among the rank and file of farmers; and the application of scientific teaching had remained in a rudimentary condition. Moreover, chemistry, which in recent times has done more than any other science for agriculture, was practically unconnected with that art until the nineteenth century came in. Sir Humphry Davy, the father of English agricultural chemistry, did not publish his 'Elements' of that division of science until 1813; while Boussingault, the father of agricultural chemistry in France, was not born until 1802; and Liebig came into the world a year later.

In the details of practice alone, it hardly requires to be said, great improvement has taken place during the last century; but, except so far as this is the result of the alliance of science with the art of agriculture, it is more remarkable for the general application of the best methods of farming, adopted by only the few a hundred years ago, than for any very striking innovations. The truth of this statement will be obvious to anyone who glances through the agricultural works published towards the end of the eighteenth century. So strikingly true is it, indeed, that a reader acquainted with all branches of agricultural practice, if he consulted the books in question now for the first time, would be tempted to declare, 'There is nothing new under the sun.'

To find illustrations in support of this remark, so far as England is concerned, it is necessary only to turn to such works as Arthur Young's 'Tours,' or the 'County Surveys' of the first Board of Agriculture; and, for Scotland, to Lord Kames's 'Gentleman Farmer,' the 'County Reports' from Scotland to the Board, or the early volumes of the Edinburgh 'Farmer's Magazine.'

Beginning with the tillage and cropping of land, it is to be noticed that, on enclosed farms, the courses of cropping, in all their variation, were nearly the same as they are now, except that wheat and beans occupied places in the rotation more generally than at present, while root crops were common in only a few English counties, and were still less widely grown in Scotland. Long before the end of the eighteenth century, Jethro Tull had introduced the

drill husbandry from Lombardy, and brought out his famous horse-hoe; and Lord Townshend had popularised in Norfolk the four-course rotation, drilling, and horse-hoeing, setting an example which was slowly followed in other counties. There were many different drills in use, including the Northumberland drill, which sowed soot, lime, or ashes with turnip seed; and the Suffolk corn drill, then the best implement for cereals, as, with improvements, it remained during the greater portion of the succeeding century. Arthur Young gives a drawing of a drill used in Essex, which had coulter of the pattern reintroduced to this country as a novelty from the United States a few years ago, and now generally preferred to the cutting coulter which had superseded them for generations. Drilling, of course, was much less common than it is at present; and its advantage was a subject of warm controversy, particularly in relation to the sowing of corn. But even now there are parts of England in which the broadcasting of corn is generally practised in preference to drilling. The dibbling of corn was a method of sowing much in favour at the end of the eighteenth century, and for at least fifty years later. A report on Suffolk, written in 1797, says that the practice was only recently introduced. There are many farmers now living who had a good deal of corn and pulse dibbled in their early days of farming; and when corn was dear and labour cheap there was no more economical method of sowing. But when corn became cheap and the labour of women and children difficult to obtain, the practice became nearly extinct.

Many of the ploughs in use a hundred years ago were clumsy and of heavy draught; but most of them have held their own locally, with but slight modifications. In this connexion it is curious to notice an early anticipation of a modern invention. Before 1770, Mr Duckett, of Petersham, Surrey, had brought out a three-furrow plough, with which he turned up from three to four acres in a day, using four or five horses; while two-furrow ploughs were found by Young in several counties. Many living farmers can remember such ploughs being brought out afresh as complete novelties, though, like the inventions of Mr Duckett and others, they rapidly fell into disuse. An equally striking example of the kind of anticipation under notice is afforded by Young's illustrated description of another of Mr Duckett's

ploughs, which appears to have been the prototype of the '240 Oliver,' the latest American plough to become popular in Great Britain. Like its modern counterpart, Duckett's plough had two breasts, one, a little in advance of the other, to pare and turn over the turf, which the hind breast completely buried by throwing a second furrow-slice on top of the first. As for the Kentish turn-wrest plough, which was an ancient implement when Mr John Boys, in his 'Survey of Kent,' noticed and praised it as 'the best for all soils,' it is still commonly used in its native county and in parts of Sussex, doing work which cannot be beaten in excellence by any plough in the world, but doing it expensively, as it requires four, or at least three, horses. Harrows, rolls, and other implements have been greatly improved; but some primitive forms of them have survived till now. Mowing and reaping machines of a practical kind are comparative novelties, but a reaping machine was brought out in 1780 by Mr Lofft, of Bury St Edmunds, which, though subsequently improved, had but slight success. The horse-rake, however, had been introduced before the year 1800, and chaff was cut by hand or horse-power.

Among the farm crops commonly grown not one is new to the nineteenth century. All kinds of corn, potatoes, common turnips, swedes, kohl-rabi, cattle-cabbages, carrots, mangolds, clover, lucerne, sainfoin, rye-grass, tares, hops, flax, and hemp were cultivated in the preceding century, though a few of them were grown by only a minority of enterprising farmers.

It was in the choice of fertilisers that the old-time farmer was most at a disadvantage—a fact which illustrates the statement that it is mainly to the connexion of science with agriculture that the improvement in modern farming is due. The only manures commonly used down to the end of the eighteenth century were farmyard and town manure, night-soil, marl, lime, chalk, soot, whale-blubber, fish manure, and malt dust; while a few enterprising men used bones and rape dust also, and the ploughing-in of green crops had been tried occasionally. There were no artificial manures, and the importation of such natural fertilisers as guano and nitrate of soda did not begin until the nineteenth century was far advanced. Moreover, the farmyard manure, as a rule, was but little better than rotten straw, as oilcake was not in general use, and

corn-feeding for any other animals than horses and pigs was uncommon. The use of malt dust as a fertiliser, put on in small quantities with a turnip and manure drill, indicated a lack of chemical knowledge. One operation, temporarily fertilising, but exhausting in the long run, was commonly practised at the time under notice, but has happily become almost extinct. This was the paring and burning of pasture land, which was denounced by the most enlightened agriculturists of the period.

In consequence mainly of the deficiency and inferiority of the manures used, the corn crops of the eighteenth century were certainly not usually equal to those grown in more recent times. The highest average yield of wheat given in any of the 'County Surveys' was Vancouver's estimate for Essex in 1794, namely, $24\frac{1}{2}$ bushels per acre, which Young endorsed a few years later. Essex at that time was, in Young's opinion, better farmed, on the whole, than any other county in England; and occasional yields up to 58 bushels per acre are mentioned as having been obtained. The average given above, however, compares ill with 29.7 bushels per acre as the ten years' average for Essex according to the agricultural returns for 1899. For Suffolk, also one of the best cultivated counties, Young, in 1797, estimated the average yields of corn at 22 bushels for wheat, 28 bushels for barley, and 32 to 34 bushels for oats; whereas the ten years' averages given for the same county by the present Board of Agriculture are a minute fraction under 29 bushels for wheat, 32 for barley, and $40\frac{1}{2}$ for oats. If, however, contemporary estimates are to be believed, there is one crop which has deteriorated in natural productiveness. There is no doubt that the potato has been weakened in constitution by prolonged reproduction from tubers; and it is to be borne in mind that the common disease of the present day was not known in this country till long after the beginning of the nineteenth century. Therefore it is quite credible that the crops grown with very little manure a hundred years ago were much heavier than they are under like circumstances now. Young mentions crops up to 700 bushels per acre, which, at 70 lb. per bushel—the weight which he gives for the old heaped measure—were equivalent to nearly 22 tons. This would be a wonderful crop in even the best potato districts of

Scotland, where the application of fertilisers is far beyond any dressings thought of in Young's time. Again, in his report of his tour through Berkshire, Young notices many crops of 600 bushels per acre, or over 18½ tons; and Rudge, in his 'Survey of Gloucester,' says that 450 bushels per acre, or over 13 tons, were not uncommon on good land. It is certain that even this last yield would seldom be obtained at the present time with such deficient manuring as was almost universal at the earlier period.

Land draining was practised by enterprising land-owners and farmers for some time before the end of the eighteenth century, the system having been improved by Elkington; but it was chiefly bush or stone draining, and such drains become choked in the course of a few years. Cylindrical tiles for draining were not invented till many years later. Water-meadows were referred to as novelties in 1798 by Robert Lowe, in his report to the Board of Agriculture on Nottinghamshire.

The enclosure of commons, wastes, and open fields had made great progress in the latter part of the eighteenth century; but still there were immense tracts unenclosed. Mr R. E. Prothero, in his 'Pioneers and Progress of English Farming,' after referring to Young's observations upon this subject in 1773, notices that the Committee of the Board of Agriculture upon Enclosures estimated that 22,000,000 acres of land in Great Britain lay at waste, 14,218,224 acres of this area being in Scotland, and 1,629,307 acres in Wales. A very large proportion of this total was not worth cultivation, as may be inferred from the fact that the total cultivated area (crops, fallow, and grass) of Great Britain at the present time is only 34,437,386 acres. Still, the commons and cultivable waste land occupied a large space, while the open fields covered a great deal more. So late as 1794 it was calculated that, out of 8500 parishes in England, 4500 were farmed in common. In some counties the proportions of the land tilled under the open-field system were very large, including 24,000 out of 84,000 acres of arable land in Bedfordshire, 220,000 out of 438,000 acres of total area in Berkshire, and 132,000 out of 147,000 acres of arable land in Cambridgeshire. Under the same system there were 90,000 acres in Bucks, 268,000 in Leicestershire, and 130,000 in Hunts. In Scotland the corresponding run-rig system was general until about the

middle of the eighteenth century, and still prevailed extensively at the end of that period. The reports to the Board of Agriculture on the counties of Scotland in 1794 and 1795 show that the in-field and out-field regulations pertaining to the open-field system were still common in some counties, and that great tracts of country were unfenced. Until the latter part of the eighteenth century agriculture in Scotland was far behind that of all but the most backward districts of England. Berwickshire, 'the cradle of Scottish husbandry,' led the march of improvement before 1750; but even in that county the general run of farmers were at first slow to follow the example of Lord Kames and other advanced agriculturists, though they made fairly rapid progress in the last quarter of the century.

The live stock of Great Britain, and particularly the cattle and sheep, had been greatly improved before the year 1800. Bakewell had improved the Longhorn, though not to much purpose, as it was doomed to be set aside generally in favour of the Shorthorn, known at the time as the Holderness, which the brothers Colling, then in the midst of their career, had taken in hand with good effect. The Tomkins family and others had done good work among the Herefords, and Francis Quartley with the Devons; while the Sussex cattle for beef, and the Norfolk and Suffolk polled cattle for the dairy, were accounted by Young as among the best varieties in the country. The Galloway and the Angus, however, though famous in Scotland, had not yet been strikingly improved by any particular breeder: Hugh Watson, the earliest of the great improvers of the latter breed—now developed into the Aberdeen-Angus—only began to farm land in 1808. Bakewell had earned immortal fame by his great transformation of the Leicester breed of sheep, while John Ellman, of Glynde, had done much for the Southdowns, and David Dun, in consequence of his efforts to improve the black-faced sheep, had been described as 'the Bakewell of Scotland.' Suffolk horses were famous as the best for the plough in Young's day, but no particular breeder's name stands forth pre-eminently as an improver of the animals. The Shire, as a distinct breed, was not in existence, though its progenitors, the heavy hairy-legged cart-horses of the Midlands and Lincolnshire, were famous, and the first of

the noted Honest Toms was foaled in 1806. The Clydesdales, whatever their origin may have been, were not developed as a distinct breed at the time in question.

Down to the end of the eighteenth century, and for some time later, farm work was largely done by oxen; and the relative advantages of these animals and horses for such work formed a subject of keen controversy. Lord Kames, advanced agriculturist though he was, strongly advocated the continued use of oxen as draught animals; and many others recommended them for the plough, even when they admitted the superiority of horses on the road. The use of oxen for draught purposes was very slow to die out, and it is not certain that their use on farms in England is quite extinct, as teams of them were to be seen at work on the land in the south of Sussex and in the Cotswold district only a few years ago.

Young, in 1797, lamented the neglect of pigs, which farmers too commonly regarded as beneath their notice. Some efforts had been made, however, to improve local breeds by crossing them with the Chinese. Perhaps the Berkshires were the most famous breed of the period, but Young praised the Suffolk whites and the black or black and white pigs of Essex.

A few of the agricultural societies which have done so much to improve stock-breeding and implements were established in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. 'The Honourable the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland' was of much older date, as it was founded in 1723, and became extinct, as a result of the civil war, in 1745. Ten years later the 'Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture' was established; this association was the outcome of the 'Select Society,' founded in 1754, of which David Hume, Adam Smith, and Lord Kames were members. These two societies became defunct in 1765, and apparently had no similar successor until the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland was founded, under the name of the Highland Society of Edinburgh, in 1785. The Bath and West of England Society had come into existence a few years before, in 1777; but there were earlier local associations of the kind, as, for example, the 'Society of Agriculture for the Counties of Nottingham and the West Riding of York,' which was offering premiums for various

classes of farming improvements in 1769. In 1798 the Smithfield Club was established. The first Board of Agriculture was formed in 1793, with Sir John Sinclair as president and Arthur Young as secretary.

The Board of Agriculture maintained its existence until 1822, but its usefulness was crippled throughout its existence by an insufficiency of funds, while its management, especially in its early years, was injudicious. Perhaps it is not too much to say that it did more for posterity than for the agriculturists of its own day; for its county surveys, good, bad, and indifferent, included some productions which are valuable historical records, with others that are simply misleading. These reports, so far as they were instructive to farmers, were prevented from being as useful as they might have been by the high prices at which they were published. They were noticed by the press, however, and excited a good deal of public controversy, which was beneficial. More good was done, perhaps, by the premiums offered by the Board for experiments, inventions, and essays, and more still by the engagement of Professor (afterwards Sir Humphry) Davy, to deliver lectures on agricultural chemistry. As professor of chemical agriculture to the Board, Davy delivered annual lectures for eleven years, from 1803 to 1813 inclusive, after which they were published in a volume.

The past century saw a great extension of the landlord and tenant system. The extinction of common rights in open fields and wastes began the process, and the steady absorption of the land of the yeomanry by the large proprietors went far towards completing it. The latter process had begun in 1795, especially near the manufacturing districts. Holt, in his report on Lancashire in that year, remarked that the yeomanry, formerly numerous and respectable, had greatly diminished in number of late, though they were not extinct. He added that the great wealth which neighbouring manufacturers had rapidly acquired had tempted the yeomen to invest their capital in trade and to place their children 'in the manufacturing line.' But in most other parts of England these influences did not operate, and the yeomanry continued to be a numerous class until the nineteenth century had well advanced. In Kent, for example, John Boys found them numerous in 1796, many of them being owners of large farms.

Landowners and farmers were prosperous during the latter part of the eighteenth century. The enclosure of open fields and commons had done much to improve farming; and good farming paid in those times. Though rents rose rapidly, enterprising farmers became wealthy. Young, in his report on his tour through Essex, remarks that farming between Colchester and Malden was carried on with great spirit, and that farmers were rich. Some of them were worth £30,000 to £40,000, he added, and many over £20,000. There was much enthusiasm in relation to farming improvements among landowners, from the King downwards, and among the tenants who had acquired the occupation of large farms through the extensive enclosures. But the period was one of wretchedness for the agricultural labourers, many of whom had been small farmers under the open-field system; while others had enjoyed common rights for which they had not been adequately compensated when enclosure took place. Wages were extremely low, even when bread was dear.

It is by a comparison with the condition of agriculture in this country shortly before the past century began that the progress made during that period can best be estimated; and for that reason it has seemed desirable to devote a considerable proportion of the space available to this retrospect. Unfortunately the agricultural records for later periods are less comprehensive than those of the eighteenth century, and few are equally interesting.

There had been 'ups' and 'downs' in farming during the eighteenth century, but no such sudden and extreme fluctuations as occurred in the next hundred years, and especially in the first half of the century. There were bad harvests in the last two years of the eighteenth century and the first year of the nineteenth. The annual average price of wheat had risen from 43s. per quarter in 1792 to 78s. 7d. in 1796, fallen to 51s. 10d. in 1798, and recovered so far as 69s. by 1799, while in 1800 it rose to 113s. 10d., and in 1801 to 119s. 6d. This was the highest annual average ever yet attained, but the maximum was not reached till 1812, when it stood at 126s. 6d. During most of this period war was going on in Europe, to be ended only in 1815; and when the harvests were deficient, the prices of corn, helped by high duties on imports and

a depreciated currency, rose to extreme rates. Barley averaged 68s. 6d. in the first year of the nineteenth century, and this was its maximum. It had been only 26s. 3d. in 1790. Oats, like wheat, were highest in 1812, when they averaged 44s. 6d. per quarter, the average for barley being 66s. 9d. The fluctuations were enormous, the ranges of annual average in the first twelve years of the century being from 58s. 10d. to 126s. 6d. per quarter for wheat, from 25s. 4d. to 68s. 6d. for barley, and from 20s. 4d. to 44s. 6d. for oats. But the mean rates during the period were high enough to bring wealth to farmers, and to send rents up enormously. For example, the rental of the Northumberland agricultural estates of Greenwich Hospital rose from 6950*l.* in 1793-4 to 15,560*l.* in 1814-15, an advance of 124 per cent. The rental of agricultural land in Scotland rose from two millions sterling, in round numbers, in 1795, to five and a quarter millions in 1815. Although wages rose, the advance was not nearly sufficient to enable labourers and their families to subsist upon them, with the price of food so high as it was during this period; and thousands were kept from starvation only by a lavish outlay in poor relief, used by farmers, in effect, as part payment of wages. It is not surprising to learn, then, that the total burden of rates in England and Wales rose from 5,848,000*l.* in 1803 to 8,164,000*l.* in 1815.

The new duties on imports of wheat, imposed in 1804, had little to do with the high prices of corn. From 1791 to 1803 the duty was 6d. per quarter when wheat was 54s. or more in price, 2s. 6d. when it was between 54s. and 50s., and 24s. 3d. when it was below 50s. The tariff of 1804 made the rate 6d. per quarter on wheat at 66s. or more, 2s. 6d. when it was between 66s. and 63s., and 24s. 3d. when it was below 63s. But from 1805 to 1814 inclusive the price was not once as low as 66s., the range of annual averages having been from 74s. to 126s. 6d. It is strange indeed, that in 1813, the year after wheat had reached its highest average of 126s. 6d., it was deemed desirable to increase the duties on imports, charging 1s. per quarter at 80s., and higher rates on a sliding scale as prices decreased down to 64s., at which price the duty was 24s. In 1813 wheat averaged 109s. 9d. per quarter; barley, 58s. 6d.; and oats, 38s. 6d. But the next year brought a fall to 74s. 4d., 37s. 4d., and 25s. 8d. for the three kinds of grain respectively; and

in 1815 the importation of corn was prohibited when the prices were below 80s. for wheat, 40s. for barley, 26s. for oats, and 53s. for rye, beans, and peas.

Peace brought a great fall in prices, wheat in 1815, for example, averaging 65s. 7d.; and, though there was an advance to 76s. 6d. in 1816, distress was so great in the agricultural as well as in other industries that the Board of Agriculture deemed it desirable to issue an enquiry into the condition of agriculture. It is difficult in these times, when prices for corn are much lower than those which prevailed even in 1815, to understand how distress could have come upon farmers so suddenly. It is true that rents and poor rates had doubled during the period of war prices; but it might have been supposed that the accumulations made while the war lasted would have sufficed to tide farmers over a few bad years. Nothing but the adoption of an extravagant scale of expenditure can account for the sudden distress of farmers; and there is no doubt that the standard of living had been raised inordinately. The explanation of the difficulties in which landlords were involved is easier, as rents fell more suddenly than they had risen, while many farms were thrown on their owners' hands. From the replies to the questions of the Board of Agriculture it appeared that, only a year after the end of the war, the rental of agricultural land had fallen to the extent of 9,000,000*l.* Such a fall—to say nothing of losses from farmers' bankruptcies, after landlords had burdened their estates with mortgages and annuities, in order to maintain an extravagant scale of expenditure—was a blow from which many of them were unable to recover. The general taxation and local burdens, moreover, had greatly increased.

The farm labourers were in great distress, numbers of them being thrown out of employment, and riots and incendiary fires were common in many districts. Wages fell, and yet wheat averaged 78s. 6d. in 1816 and 96s. 11d. in the following year. The abominable Poor Law of the period had sapped the labourers' independence, and encouraged them to marry recklessly, as it gave a premium upon a large family. A table of graduated relief in proportion to the price of bread and the size of a family is given as being in force in a Berkshire union in Dr Mavor's 'Survey' of that county, published in 1813. Beginning at 1s. per

gallon for bread and an allowance of 4s. a week to a man and his wife, with 1s. 6d. for each child up to eight children, making 16s. a week, the scale proceeds to show results for each penny advance in bread up to 2s. 6d. per gallon, at which price a man and wife received 8s. 6d. in poor relief and 3s. for each child, making 1l. 12s. 6d. a week for a couple with eight children. A foot-note directs overseers 'to attend to what an industrious family might earn, and not to what the idle and negligent do earn.' This scale was current in 1808, when wheat averaged 81s. 4d. per quarter; and, as has been shown, it rose much higher before the end of the war.

The great inducement to grow an extended acreage of corn, and to crop the land severely, during the period of high prices, made matters all the worse when prices fell. By 1821 wheat had dropped to the average of 56s. 1d. per quarter, while that of barley was only 28s. and that of oats 19s. 6d.; in 1822 the averages for the three kinds of corn were respectively 44s. 7d., 21s. 10d., and 18s. 1d., a good deal of wheat being sold as low as 40s. This was the beginning of a far worse period of distress than that which had prevailed in 1815 and a few succeeding years, great numbers of farmers being ruined. Select Committees sat in 1820, 1821, 1822, 1833, and 1836 to enquire into the distressed condition of the agricultural classes. The period was the most disastrous that those classes had ever endured. Rents and tithes were unpaid to a great extent, and many small landowners lost their estates by the foreclosure of mortgages, while shopkeepers and banks failed in considerable number. Riots and incendiarism once more became common. The price of wheat recovered after 1822. It remained over 52s. per quarter, and frequently rose to between 60s. and 70s., until 1834, when the average was only 46s. 2d., and in 1835 it dropped to 39s. 4d. Meat had been cheap while the general trade of the country was depressed. Rates had increased enormously, touching 20s. in the pound of assessment in some parishes. Alterations in the corn duties were of no avail to stave off the distress; and, although there were years of comparative recovery, when harvests were abundant or prices improved, no steady relief set in until the new Poor Law of 1834 had begun to work, and the commutation of tithes in 1836 had relieved farmers to some

extent of an oppressive burden. On the whole, the twenty years between 1815 and 1836 constituted the most distressful period of the century, if we take all the agricultural classes into consideration.

During this period, in the circumstances thus briefly described, neither landlords nor farmers had sufficient capital for improvements; and the land deteriorated in condition, a great deal of it being thrown out of cultivation. Yet the advance of knowledge could not be stayed; and it would be too much to say that there was no improvement in the methods of farming or in the implements and machines used, or that live stock ceased to make any progress. The first reaping-machine worked successfully in Great Britain was introduced in 1828 by Mr Bell, afterwards the Rev. Patrick Bell, a Forfarshire man; and still more successful machines that have since been brought out were based on the principle of the old Bell reaper, which never became a common machine of the farm, although it was used for many years in a few counties of Scotland. More important was the introduction, before 1830, by James Smith, of Deanston, of his parallel system of land draining, for which stones were at first used, but cylindrical tiles afterwards. The first machine for making such tiles, invented by the Marquis of Tweeddale, was brought out and received a medal at the Perth Show of the Highland Society in 1836. Premiums for improving the quality of corn were first offered by the same Society in 1816, for improving the breed of farm horses in the same year, and for sheep in 1819. In 1822 the Society held its first general show.

The age of steam had commenced before the period of depression came to an end, and in 1829 Peter Elder, of Perth, exhibited at the Highland Show a model of what was probably the first steam traction engine, though it was not till many years later that such engines came into use.

Members of the Booth family and Sir Charles Knightley were carrying on, during the time of distress, the work of Shorthorn improvement which the brothers Colling had begun; John Price and others were following Tomkins in the development of the Herefords; Francis Quartley, assisted by two nephews, was in the midst of his long career as an improver of the Devons; while Mr Coke

(afterwards Earl of Leicester) was bringing his famous Holkham herd of the same breed, started in 1791, to a high degree of perfection, and persevering in his not very successful attempt to induce the Norfolk farmers to adopt it. The improvement of Scottish breeds of cattle was made manifest at the shows of the Highland Society, and the several breeds of sheep in England and Scotland alike continued to receive attention, while pigs began to be regarded more generally as worthy of careful breeding. The agricultural distress, indeed, affected the corn-growing far more seriously than the live-stock industry.

One of the most unfortunate results of the prolonged period of depression was the extinction of a large proportion of the yeomanry. These small landowners, in times of prosperity, had followed the lead of the men of many acres in living up to their means, and burthening their property with mortgages and annuities. When prices fell, they lacked the relief which tenant-farmers obtained in reductions of rent. The interest which they had to pay in the place of rent was demanded in full, and they were unable to meet this and other periodical payments. Consequently foreclosures became common among the yeomanry, and comparatively few of them survived the prolonged trial to which they were subjected.

Evidence brought before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1836 was generally to the effect that farmers were in a state of great distress, paying rent and labour out of capital; and some witnesses described them as in a worse position than that which they had occupied in 1833, 1820, or 1818; while others declared, in reference to certain districts, that all the farmers who had no means apart from those of farming were practically insolvent. The condition of the labourers was said to be desperate. Some allowance may be made for the tendency of witnesses desiring to prove their case in favour of legislative relief or higher duties on imports; but at the time farmers were suffering particularly from a great drop in the price of wheat, which averaged only 39s. 4d. per quarter in 1835, the lowest price of the century, so far. In the following year there was an advance to 48s. 6d., and progressive rises in the three following years brought the price up to 70s. 8d. in 1839, after which the average continued above 50s. for nine years, sometimes

rising above 60s. For the twelve years beginning with 1837 the average was 58s. 10d., while barley and oats maintained higher prices than they had reached in many earlier years when wheat had been dearer. The tide in the affairs of agriculture, therefore, considering circumstances noticed already, as well as the prices of corn, may be said to have fairly turned in 1837, although that was a year of commercial depression.

The period of agricultural recovery which then set in, to last, except for a short interval, till about the middle of the seventies, was one of great eagerness for improvement. The Royal Agricultural Society of England was established in 1838, and held its first annual show at Oxford in the following year. The exhibitions of this and other societies gave a great impetus to the better breeding of live stock and to the invention of improved implements and machines for the farmer's use. At the first show of the Royal Agricultural only 54 entries of implements and 247 of live stock appeared, but in nine years they increased to 1508 and 718 respectively, while implements were multiplied more than five-fold, and live stock entries nearly three-fold, before the period of agricultural prosperity began to wane.

It was during the early part of the period under notice that science began to exercise a material influence upon agriculture. Sir John Lawes had begun his famous experiments in 1843, and Liebig published his great work on 'Chemistry in its Application to Agriculture and Physiology,' in 1839. Boussingault, at the same time, was applying his extensive knowledge of chemistry to agriculture, and, supported by Lawes's independent investigations, he became a strong opponent of Liebig's exaggerated 'mineral theory.' In 1842 Mr Lawes, as he then was, took out a patent for the manufacture of manure from apatite, coprolite, and other mineral or fossil phosphates, by treating them with sulphuric acid, and in the following year he started a factory for the manufacture of superphosphate at Deptford. Other artificial manures were introduced a little later, and the consumption of guano rapidly increased. Between 1849 and 1851 the imports of guano rose from 71,415 to 116,926 tons, although these years were included in the short period of depression to be noticed presently; and by 1865 the quantity had

advanced to 237,393 tons. Nitrate of soda was used by a few farmers in 1850; but in 1853 only 10,000 tons of this manure and saltpetre, classed together in the trade returns of that year, were imported, whereas, by 1865, the quantity of the former alone had risen to 50,000 tons.

Agricultural education upon a popular scale was first introduced in Ireland in 1838, when the Glasnevin Institution was established to train national-school teachers in the principles of agriculture. This was the first institution of the kind founded in the United Kingdom, though the chair of Rural Economy had been established at Edinburgh University as early as 1790. Apparently the results of the Glasnevin experiment did not assume a definite form until shortly after the Irish Famine, in 1846-7, when agricultural classes were formed in elementary schools, only to fall speedily into disuse for lack of pupils. Glasnevin was reorganised in 1852, and new buildings were erected, with a model farm attached, named after Prince Albert, who took a great interest in the undertaking, which in course of time became successful. In 1845 the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester was founded. The Chemical Department of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland was established in 1849, to investigate the chemistry of agriculture. The dissemination of agricultural information was rapidly extended by the numerous agricultural societies and farmers' clubs after 1837. While the societies, by their shows, developed a general appreciation of improved breeds of stock, and familiarised farmers at large with the best implements and other farm appliances, the clubs, by their papers and discussions, spread the knowledge of the few among the many.

The improvers of live stock, after the prolonged period of depression was ended, became too numerous to be mentioned. All classes of farm animals, in England and Scotland alike, received their share of attention. The early improvers of some breeds named already were still living long after 1837; and the Aberdeen-Angus cattle and Clydesdale horses had not long to wait. Hugh Watson and William McCombie were exhibiting the Angus beasts, which they helped to bring to the first rank among cattle for beef in 1842; and Clydesdales were noticed as specially meritorious in the official report of the Glasgow Show of the Highland Society in 1850.

Before giving attention to the further advancement of agriculture, it is desirable to refer briefly to the period of depression which began in 1849 and lasted till 1852. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846, to the consternation of landowners and farmers, who declared that the ruin of British agriculture would inevitably result from the abolition of duties on imports. Their predictions were falsified, for, subject only to the interruption just mentioned, a long period of prosperity followed. This was not, however, as the Cobden Club would have us believe, because of direct benefit to agriculture from free trade, but because a series of events, which no one could have foreseen, occurred to neutralise the effect of the rapid growth of foreign competition which set in. In 1847, in spite of a great increase in the imports of wheat, the average price rose to 69s. 9d. per quarter, as compared with 54s. 8d. for 1846 and 50s. 10d. for 1845. The reason was that the harvest of 1847 was a very deficient one. But, although there was another bad harvest in 1848, the average price of wheat fell to 50s. 6d., and in the following year there was a further drop to 44s. 3d., while further depreciation in two more years brought the price to 38s. 6d. for 1851, the lowest price of the century down to that date. Barley and oats, after being as high as 44s. 2d. and 28s. 8d. respectively in 1847, fell to 23s. 6d. and 16s. 5d. in 1850. Meat and other animal produce, too, which had risen after 1836, fell considerably, in consequence of the severe commercial depression of 1848 and subsequent years. The predictions of disaster appeared at this juncture to have been only too amply fulfilled; and a great outcry for the reimposition of the corn duties on the one hand and a reduction of rents on the other arose among the farmers.

We need not dwell upon the circumstances of this renewal of agricultural misfortune, as it was soon to pass away; but for a time it was severe. Mr (afterwards Sir James) Caird, who investigated it during a tour through thirty-two counties of England, occupying thirteen months from the beginning of 1850, pronounced it very serious. In some counties he found farms thrown on the owners' hands; in the Vale of Aylesbury dairy farming was declared to be the only profitable branch of agriculture; and in many districts land was being laid down to pasture. There were complaints of falls in the prices of meat and

dairy produce, as well as of those of corn, while wool had been down in value since 1847. The most interesting feature of Caird's 'English Agriculture in 1850-51' is the comparison which he draws between the existing circumstances of English agriculture and those of the days of Arthur Young, in whose footsteps to a great extent he travelled. He found the weekly wages of ordinary farm labourers averaging as little as 7s. in a few of the southern, eastern, and western counties, but much higher in the north, rising to 13s. 6d. in Lancashire. There are men still living whose ordinary weekly wages after they were married were only 7s. a week, and many who can remember the time of their boyhood, when wheaten bread was a rare luxury, and they subsisted chiefly upon black bread and rice. For the whole country Caird puts the average wage at 9s. 6d., which he had reckoned it to be in 1846, just before the Corn Laws were repealed. The extremes were 6s. in South Wilts and 15s. in one part of Lancashire. Dividing the country broadly into north and south, Caird puts the average wages at 11s. 6d. in the former division, and 8s. 5d. in the latter; whereas Young, in 1770, had estimated those of the former at 6s. 9d. and those of the latter at 7s. 6d. So far as the comparison can be relied on, it shows advances of 71 per cent. in the north, and of only a fraction over 12 per cent. in the south. It must be borne in mind that the wages given by Caird were those of day labourers, and that they did not include extra payments in money or in kind at harvest and other times. It may be taken for granted that there were more extras in 1850 than in 1770—in money at any rate. But still labourers were miserably paid in the southern two-thirds of England, though they were not in such dire poverty as they had been under Protection in 1840, when wages were no higher and flour was 2s. 6d. per stone. In 1850, flour was at 1s. 8d., while sugar and tea had fallen in price by one half.

Although, of course, Caird found that great improvements in agriculture had taken place since Young's time, he also noticed that a large proportion of the land was still undrained, and that there was a great deal of poor and slovenly farming. The rent of land, he reckons, had risen 100 per cent. since 1770, and the wages of farm labourers 34 per cent. on the average, whereas the yield

of wheat had increased only 15 per cent., and its price not at all. He had no means of comparing the production of meat, wool, butter, and cheese in the two periods; but he allows for a considerable increase, not only because the numbers of the different classes of live stock had increased, but also because the animals had been improved in size, meat-making and milk-producing capacity, and early maturity. Still he found that the advances in rent and cost of labour had been out of all proportion to the money returns of farmers.

It was not surprising that farmers attributed their misfortunes largely to the repeal of the corn duties, as the imports of wheat, including flour in wheat equivalents, had risen from 1,141,957 quarters in 1845 to 5,930,966 quarters in 1850. Imports of other kinds of corn had increased but slightly. Some idea of the extent of foreign competition in live stock for meat in those days is afforded by the trade returns of the period, showing imports of 62,738 cattle, 130,583 sheep, and 2119 pigs in 1849, about the same in 1850, and a few more cattle, with 14,000 more sheep, in 1851.

After touching 38s. 6d. per quarter in 1851, the average price of wheat began to recover in the following year, and reached 53s. 3d. in 1853, while barley and oats sold well after 1851. Beginning in 1852, indeed, there was a great and sudden advance in the prices of commodities generally, as the result of the influx of gold due to its discovery in California in 1848 and in Australia two years later. Agriculture shared in the great prosperity which commerce enjoyed, and the revival may be dated from 1852. Allowing that year for the turn of the tide, a decade of agricultural prosperity, which was probably more exalted than that of any other period of equal duration in this country, may be said to have set in with 1853.

(To be continued in the next number.)

Art. II.—THE POEMS OF CRABBE.

1. *The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe, with his Letters and Journals, and his Life.* Edited by his son. Eight vols. London: John Murray, 1834.
2. *The Poems of George Crabbe.* A Selection. Arranged and edited by Bernard Holland. London: Edward Arnold, 1899.

THE neglect and forgetfulness into which the poems of Crabbe have been allowed to fall is not creditable to the present generation of English readers and critics. What does it mean? It will hardly do to assume that Crabbe has damned himself by inherent weakness and unreadableness. Critics who adopt that position will have to explain how it came to pass that he was a favourite author with a man of such vigorous intellect and independent judgment as the late Edward Fitzgerald; how it was that Burke, on the mere perusal of the manuscript of one of Crabbe's earliest poems, immediately recognised its author as a man worth helping, and was confirmed in his judgment by Johnson; how it was that in later years, and after the full development of his Crabbism, Byron should have held him worth such a compliment as the line—

‘Though Nature's sternest painter, yet the best’;

best, that is, among the ‘noble poet's’ contemporaries. Though some of his literary judgments can hardly be accepted now, Byron at all events was the last person to be taken in by poetry which was either merely sentimental or merely formal and prosaic.

A more probable cause of the barrier between him and the sympathies of the succeeding generations may be found in his general literary form and style. He was, in this respect, as one born out of due time—not too soon, but too late. Living and writing well into ‘The Time of New Talk’ of the post-Revolution period, producing his later works as the contemporary of Byron and Shelley—‘*Tales of the Hall*,’ his most important production, was not published till 1819—he nevertheless retained to the last the literary impress of the eighteenth century. He wrote all his tales in the rhymed couplet of the Pope school, the recurrent see-saw of which became distasteful

to a generation in whose ears the music of 'Childe Harold' and 'Adonais' had sounded. He was a realist, too, just when realism was going out of vogue. He studied and depicted the trials, the follies, the tragedy, of everyday human life, just when the poets of the new school were teaching their readers to regard man as a somewhat irrelevant atom in a great pantheistic panorama. He describes a landscape (whenever he goes beyond the mere generalities of the eighteenth-century school) by a series of minute touches, often showing great accuracy of observation, but rather summing up the facts than conveying the sentiment of the scene. He rarely makes use of imagery, and when he does, it is only in the form of arbitrary illustrations, which, as Jeffrey somewhat acutely remarked, appear to have been selected and polished up as afterthoughts of literary ornament, having no essential or integral connexion with the composition—a criticism which Crabbe himself admitted to be correct.

If this is considered tantamount to an admission that Crabbe was no poet, it may be replied that by the same argument Pope was no poet, for nearly all that has been said above of the one would apply to the other. But Pope is read as an eighteenth-century poet, a brilliant literary artist, whom we admire without expecting from him qualities and feelings which were foreign to his school and period: he is at a safe distance. Had Crabbe been a contemporary of Pope he would probably have kept his place ever since, as a poet, no doubt, of less literary finish, of far less brilliancy and concentration of style, but as one possessed of qualities of sincerity and pathos which we look for in vain, or rather, which we never think of looking for, in the author of 'The Rape of the Lock.' But he brought the eighteenth-century manner too close to us; as a literary manner, it was out of date when he wrote; and the consequence is that he has been pushed aside by the middle and later nineteenth-century critics, who have apparently only regarded him as a weaker survival of the Pope school, and have ignored his matter in their dislike of his manner. Only on this supposition can one account for the curious perversity with which every reference to Crabbe in our contemporary critical literature seems to imply only a knowledge of his weak points, without any recognition of his remarkable observation of human life

and character, his power of pathos and of satire. In some cases, indeed, Crabbe's dry humour seems to have been mistaken for stupidity. A critic in the 'Athenæum' once quoted, and quoted inaccurately, the couplet—

'And I was asked and authorised to go
To seek the firm of Clutterbuck and Co.'—

from Crabbe's most powerful poem, as an instance of his hopeless dulness of style; and even that pronounced Crabbite, Fitzgerald, made the same mistake, and proposed, as Mr Holland tells us, to amend it thus—

'And I was asked to set it right with—Oh,
Romantic title!—Clutterbuck and Co.'

Could neither of them see that Crabbe was perfectly conscious of the bathos of the vulgar name, and inserted it purposely for an effect of contrast?

Crabbe's literary defects (to dismiss them first) are no doubt obvious enough. Choosing the narrative form for his studies of human character and manners, he is apt to be prolix and flat, and to wander into unnecessary digressions, in those introductory or connecting passages which form the necessary scaffolding of a narrative poem; passages which at the best it is difficult to render effective in a literary sense, and in which he sometimes drops into a prim formality of diction which seems out of place in any versified writing, even in the structural portion of a narrative poem. It is in such passages that we feel his inferiority to Pope, whose every couplet has its point, while Crabbe is at times content, in transitional passages, if he is merely metrical and grammatical. On the other hand, he occasionally enlivens his narrative by a superficial play upon words, which recurs often enough to be called a mannerism, for instance, in the description of a village club:—

'We term it *Free-and-Easy*, and yet we
Find it no easy matter to be free.'*

* One may recall Pope's—

'And so obliging that he ne'er obliged';

but in this case the viciousness and sting of the line may be held to raise it above mere word-play.

desolation. . . . The beach consists of successive ridges—large rolled stones, then loose shingle, and, at the fall of the tide, a strip of fine hard sand. Vessels of all sorts, from the large heavy troll-boat to the yawl and prame, drawn up along the shore; fishermen preparing their tackle or sorting their spoil; and, nearer the gloomy old townhall (the only indication of municipal dignity), a few groups of mariners—chiefly pilots—taking their quick short walk backwards and forwards, every eye watchful of a signal from the offing—such was the squalid scene that first opened on the author of "The Village."

When, to this description of the outward aspect of the scene, we add the remembrance of all the social ills which must have been rampant in such a place a century ago—the low standard of village morality and decency, the practice of hard drinking as the principal recreation of a sailor, the entire absence of sanitary law or custom—

'Here our reformers come not; none object
To paths polluted, or upbraid neglect;
None care that ashy heaps at doors are cast,
That coal-dust flies along the blinding blast'—

and the prevalence of smuggling accompanied with violence and bloodshed—one can hardly wonder that the influence of such surroundings sank deep into a sensitive and observant mind brought up among them, and coloured the whole tone of his thought and his writings.

From this point of view there is a certain historical interest in many of Crabbe's pictures of characters which are evidently drawn to a great extent from actual observation. They represent, like Squire Western, types which have happily passed away, but which once filled an important place in the human comedy. It is curious, too, to be carried back to a time when the middle-class man still regarded a 'lord' as a being belonging to a class apart, who might be expected to have a different standard of life from a commoner, and to govern his behaviour to his fellow men on different principles. That Crabbe tacitly accepted this position is evident from such poems as 'The Patron,' and from other indications in his works; but this again is accounted for by his birth and circumstances. He was essentially middle-class. Just as Jane Austen, in her incomparable novels, sees the whole problem of human life from the county-society point of view, so Crabbe sees

it entirely from the middle-class point of view. The reason for the limitation of view was in its nature the same in both cases; both writers were realists, and confined themselves to representing life as it had come under their own observation; and, after all, the middle-class standpoint may be said to afford a wider view than the standpoint of county society. Crabbe cannot be compared with Jane Austen as an artist; but he knew more of life than she knew; he had looked deeper into human nature; he was acquainted with grief, and possessed the power of keen pathos—a knowledge and a power which, so far as her writings show, were beyond Jane Austen's horizon.

Crabbe's early history, besides serving to explain the influences which gave his genius its peculiar bent, is of interest as giving us glimpses of a character of no ordinary force and individuality, apart from his literary gift. Nothing could have been more unpromising than his early prospects. 'His father employed him in the warehouse on the quay at Slaughden, in labours which he abhorred (though he in time became tolerably expert in them), such as piling up butter and cheese.' The profession of surgeon had been decided on for him, while he was yet at school; but after the term of his apprenticeship to a country surgeon was over, his father could neither afford to send him to London to complete his education, nor to maintain him at home in idleness, and he had for a time to return to his labours on the quay. A few months subsequently spent in London were partially wasted through want of funds to make the most of his opportunities; and when he eventually took up the practice of a country 'apothecary,' as the phrase then went, his mind was constantly tortured by the dread of a responsibility for which he did not feel prepared; nor were his prospects of an adequate practice in any case very promising. At length he resolved 'to go to London and venture all.'

With five pounds in his pocket he set out, to go through the 'trial of faith' (in Bunyan's phrase) which others have gone through before and since—the dreary round of offering manuscripts to one publisher after another, with results varying only between the refusal courteous and the refusal curt, while the day when the purse will be drawn blank looms nearer and nearer. Some little time before, Crabbe had been happily, though at the time rather hopelessly,

engaged to Miss Elmy, of Parham, the lady whom he afterwards married; and he kept up his spirits during the time of his probation in London by a journal in which he imagined himself as addressing her (under the name of 'Mira') and making her the confidante of his anxieties and hopes, although in fact it was not shown to her till afterwards. This journal, as that of a man struggling for existence, now in hope and now depressed, is very interesting, sometimes very pathetic, always manly and brave even under disheartening circumstances. 'Great God!' he exclaims in one place, 'I thank Thee for these happy spirits; seldom they come, but coming, make large amends for preceding gloom.' The following passage is characteristic:—

'It's the vilest thing in the world to have but one coat. My only one has happened with a mischance, and how to manage it is some difficulty. A confounded stove's modish ornament caught its elbow and rent it half away. Pinioned to the side it came home, and I ran deploring to my loft. In the dilemma it occurred to me to turn tailor myself; but how to get materials to work with puzzled me. At last I went running down in a hurry, with three or four sheets of paper in my hand, and begged for a needle, etc., to sew them together. This finished my job; and but that it is somewhat thicker, the elbow is a good one yet.

'These are foolish things, Mira, to write or speak, and we may laugh at them; but I'll be bound to say they are much more likely to make a man cry, when they *happen*—though I was too much of a philosopher for that; however, not one of those who preferred a ragged coat to a whole one.

'On Monday I hope to finish my book entirely, and perhaps send it. God Almighty give it a better fate than the trifles tried before!'

Struggling on in the hope that on any day an acceptance of one of his works by a publisher might turn the tide, he came to the very brink of starvation—'My last shilling,' he says in the diary, 'became eightpence yesterday.' He was rescued, just as he was sinking, by the fortunate thought of appealing to Burke, stating his case, and sending him some of his manuscript poems. The letter, which described his deferred hopes of literary success, is touching in its frankness and simplicity: 'I appeal to you, sir, as a good and, let me add, a great man. I have no other pretensions to your favour than that I am

an unhappy one; . . . Can you, sir, in any degree, aid me with propriety?' It must have cost him a painful effort to write thus, for he was naturally of an exceedingly proud and independent spirit. But he had appealed to one of the only two prominent men of the day in London to whom an appeal from a struggling literary genius was not likely to be made in vain. Burke, who had much on his hands at the time, gave immediate attention to the poems enclosed, recognised their merit, sent for the author, recommended him to Dodsley the publisher, introduced him to Johnson, asked him on a lengthened visit to Beaconsfield, and, finding that Crabbe had fortunately received a better education than boys in his father's rank in life generally received in those days, and that he had a wish to enter the Church, used his influence with one of the episcopal sentries to get this irregularly-educated candidate for Holy Orders examined and duly ordained. The whole story is equally honourable to both the actors in it; the odd thing is that, while Burke's generous part in it is justly remembered and recorded to his credit, the author whom he thought it worth while to befriend in this manner has been nearly forgotten. Even Mr John Morley (from whom one might have expected better things), in his biographical study of Burke, whilst mentioning the incident to the credit of Burke's character, passes over the object of his generosity as a person of no consequence at all, merely observing, in reference to Crabbe's claim to assistance, 'I can hardly expect the reader to be acquainted with the "Parish Register"'—a sentence which shows that Mr Morley himself knew little of Crabbe's works, or he would have known that the 'Parish Register' was not written till many years later, and had nothing whatever to do with Burke's recognition of the poet.

Crabbe's first clerical appointment was as curate at Aldborough; and one can imagine how the natives, including his own father, must have been bewildered by the contrast between his position when he quitted them—an obscure youth, who was locally regarded as a failure, and his return as an ordained clergyman and an author of repute, the friend and correspondent of some of the most notable men of his day. But although he had made use of his literary genius as a lever to lift himself out of

obscurity and poverty, it is characteristic of his purely amateur attitude in regard to literature that he produced nothing more for many years, with the single exception of the short satirical poem entitled 'The Newspaper,' a production savouring too much of Pope at second hand, though containing some vigorous and spirited passages. When, twenty-two years after 'The Newspaper,' he published the 'Parish Register,' to be followed in comparatively quick succession by various collections of tales and studies of life, the Crabbe who thus re-appeared in literature was essentially different from the Crabbe of the earlier poems. The literary style was much the same, but the subject was no longer the mere surroundings of human life, but the human figures themselves, their passions, cares, griefs, and foibles. The shrewd though kindly parish priest had, during the intervening years, seen much of the ways of mankind, and his experience formed the basis for a gallery of portraits such as very few writers in our language have equalled in variety, keenness of insight, and power of delineation.

The 'Parish Register' forms, one may say, the connecting link between the old Crabbe and the new. The 'Introduction' is mainly descriptive, and a little too much recalls 'The Village'; but the element of personal and human interest becomes more and more prominent as the poem proceeds, especially in the third section, 'Burials,' which includes some of the finest and most pathetic passages in his writings. Crabbe's eye for the realities of a scene is shown, when describing the funeral of 'The Mother,' in his passing glance at the half-interested spectators:—

' Curious and sad, upon the fresh-dug hill
The village lads stood, melancholy still';

and in his description of the return to the house:—

' Arrived at home, how then they gazed around,
In every place where she no more was found;
The seat at table she was wont to fill;
The fireside chair, still set, but vacant still;
The garden walks, a labour all her own;
The latticed bower, with trailing shrubs o'ergrown;
The Sunday pew she filled with all her race—
Each place of hers was now a sacred place,
That while it called up sorrows in the eyes,
Pierced the full heart, and forced them still to rise,

His remembrance of his own mother's death probably permeated this passage. She was one of the old school of gentle evangelical saints, the best of whom, whatever we may think of their intellectual position, surely furnished one of the most beautiful types of womanly character on record. A touching little trait of her is recorded in the 'Life.' When she was sinking slowly under a lingering illness she enquired one morning after a neighbour who was also dying, and hearing that the latter still lived, said, 'She must make haste, or I shall be at rest before her.'

It was, however, in his later poems—the social sketches included under the general title 'The Borough,' and the stories included under that of 'Tales of the Hall'—that Crabbe showed his real powers in a series of studies of human character which constitute, in Matthew Arnold's phrase, 'a criticism of life.' Of the knowledge of human nature, the truth of observation, and the variety and piquancy of delineation of manners and character displayed in these poems of his maturer period, it would indeed be difficult to speak too highly. The literary weakness of diffuseness and digression in the structural portion of the narrative, already referred to, will no doubt be felt in many, though not in all of his poems, and may be attributed to the fact that, throughout his life, Crabbe (as already observed) wrote, so to speak, as an amateur. Primarily, he was a country clergyman, not an author; his writing was in the nature of an intellectual relaxation, prompted partly by the desire to put on record the impressions he had gained from a keen observation of life as it was lived around him. Had he made literature the business of his life, and subordinated everything else to it, he would probably have been led to bestow greater attention on concentration in style, and would have discovered that in poetry whatever is redundant is a positive mischief, and not a mere superfluity which can be ignored. On the other hand, he might not, in that case, have retained so completely one invaluable quality, which goes far to atone for a certain amount of slackness in literary style—his absolute and uncompromising sincerity. No one was more incapable of a false or affected sentiment; no poet was ever more free from the least suspicion of writing for effect, or of adopting a literary or a moral pose. And with this simplicity and directness of intention, his un-

adorned simplicity of language is completely in keeping. If, in the structural portion of a tale, this simplicity of diction was apt at times to drop too nearly to the plane of prose writing, it became, on the other hand, a source of strength when he came to deal with the event or the catastrophe which formed the *ultima ratio* of the poem. There he is never 'diffuse, never flat; while entirely free from what Wordsworth called 'poetic diction,' he impresses us by the simple unexaggerated force of the language in which the catastrophe or the final reflection arising out of it are brought home to us—language which strikes us, not as intended to produce effect, but as if the thing could be told in no other way. His terse, vigorous lines, when summing up a situation or a reflection, hit with the force of a sledge-hammer. Among passages which will bear to be quoted separately, perhaps none give a better idea of what is meant than the lines from Book III of 'Tales of the Hall,' suggested by the story of a man in mature life falling into and becoming captive to the very sin which in his youth he had abhorred and condemned in another:—

'How is it men, when they in judgment sit
On the same fault, now censure, now acquit?
Is it not thus, that *here* we view the sin,
And *there* the powerful cause that drew us in?
'Tis not that men are to the evil blind,
But that a different object fills the mind.
In judging others we can see too well
Their grievous fall, but not how grieved they fell;
Judging ourselves, we to our minds recall
Not how we fell, but how we grieved to fall!'

Of Crabbe's power of conveying much in a single line many examples might be cited; perhaps none better than the swinging blow delivered in the tale of 'The Sisters' who had lost their fortunes, when the so-called lover of one of them, putting aside the girl as not worth marrying, makes an unsuccessful attempt to seduce her:—

'Then made he that attempt, in which to fail
Is shameful—still more shameful to prevail.'

Nor must we pass over his characteristic reason for giving no detail of the scene:—

'I will be brief—nor have I heart to dwell
On crimes they almost share who paint them well.'

The title of the poem 'The Borough,' published in 1809, promised at once a larger range of subject than the 'Parish Register,' and enabled the poet to group under one heading a whole series of sketches of men and manners—the various professions, the trustees and inmates of the almshouse, the clubs and social meetings of the place, in a series of 'Letters,' forming a complete microcosm of the life of a small seaport town. In his peroration he touches on his own position; the poet's study of life was not for gain; the interest of the study itself was its own reward:—

'For this the Poet looks the world around,
Where form and life and reasoning man are found;
He loves the mind in all its modes to trace,
And all the manners of the changing race;
Silent he walks the road of life along,
And views the aims of its tumultuous throng;
He finds what shapes the Proteus-passions take,
And what strange waste of life and joy they make.'

The poem, from beginning to end, illustrates the mental attitude here indicated. In actual life the author was the kindly friend and monitor of his parishioners; in thought he was among them, but not of them, seeing the whole curious little masquerade pass by him, half sad over its misdeeds or sorrows, half amused at its follies.

The 'Clubs and Social Meetings' are depicted with great vivacity; the description of the 'Club of Smokers,' with its sleepy conversation punctuated by the draw of the pipe, carries one back to the time when a smoker was more or less of an outlaw; the amenities of the whist club are still better. The section entitled 'The Almshouse and Trustees' supplies some of the most powerful and incisive portraits. Among the trustees was the great man of the place, Sir Denys Brand, a type of the social sultan, whose portrait is evidently finished *con amore*; who built the public Room, revived the races, instituted the lifeboat—'his were no vulgar charities'—and browbeat the whole place, while keeping up a calculated ostentation of humility in his personal equipment. His scantily furnished private room contrasted effectively with the luxury of the servants' hall, and all the rest was in keeping:—

'An old brown pony 'twas his will to ride,
Who shuffled onward and from side to side';

but he was attended by a groom on a splendid animal:—

“Yours, without question?” “Yes, I think a groom
Bought me the beast; I cannot say the sum:
I ride him not: it is a foolish pride
Men have in cattle—but my people ride;
The boy is—hark ye, sirrah! what’s your name?
Ay, Jacob, yes! I recollect—the same;
As I bethink me now, a tenant’s son—
I think a tenant—is your father one?”

Never, surely, has the pride that apes humility been more happily hit off. For Sir Denys to become an almshouse trustee was, of course, rather a condescension—

‘True, ’twas beneath him—but to do men good
Was motive never by his heart withstood’;

and he exercised his opportunity of doing good by finding an asylum for Blaney, a broken-down *roué*, whose history and character form a separate study of the baser side of human nature which must be read *in extenso* to be appreciated. The reminiscences of the drunken old sailor inmate, Benbow, with a face like Bardolph’s, include some historically interesting studies of almost extinct species, such as the portrait of Captain Dowling, lighted by flashes of a somewhat lurid irony.

‘Schools’ and ‘Prisons’ contain some of the most powerful passages in the poem, but the only other quotation we can allow ourselves is a passage from ‘The Poor of the Village,’ a subject after Crabbe’s own heart, in which he puts the climax to the whole by a description of a large warehouse room which, originally built for some purpose that had failed, was bought cheap by an ill-judging philanthropist as a refuge for all such tramps and outcasts as were without a home:—

‘In this vast room, each place by habit fixed,
Are sexes, families, and ages mixed—
To union forced by crime, by fear, by need,
And all in morals and in modes agreed;
Some ruined men, who from mankind remove;
Some ruined females, who yet talk of love;
And some grown old in idleness—the prey
To vicious spleen, still railing through the day;

And need and misery, vice and danger bind
In sad alliance each degraded mind.

That window view!—oiled paper and old glass
Stain the strong rays which, though impeded, pass,
And give a dusty warmth to that huge room,
The conquered sunshine's melancholy gloom;
When all those western rays, without so bright,
Within become a ghastly glimmering light,
As pale and faint upon the floor they fall,
Or feebly gleam on the opposing wall;
That floor, once oak, now pieced with fir unplanned,
Or where not pieced, in places bored and stained;
That wall, once whitened, now an odious sight,
Stain'd with all hues, except its ancient white;
The only door is fastened by a pin
Or stubborn bar, that none may hurry in;
For this poor room, like rooms of greater pride,
At times contains what prudent men would hide.

* * * *

High hung at either end, and next the wall,
Two ancient mirrors show the forms of all,
In all their force—these aid them in their dress,
But with the good, the evils too express,
Doubling each look of care, each token of distress

The concluding line is surely a masterstroke of concentrated force.

The series of 'Tales,' not bound together by connexion with any special subject, which were published in 1812, includes, among some work of minor interest, two or three of Crabbe's most successful efforts. 'The Squire and the Priest,' though not in every respect one of the best, has special interest as illustrating Crabbe's unclerical impartiality. The story turns on the project of a coarse-minded old squire, tired of being preached at, to present to the living (in his own gift) a young relative whom he had educated into proper views, as he hoped, on the difference between the sins of the rich and those of the poor; and his dire disappointment when his *protégé* turned against him in the pulpit. There is a great deal of humour in the old gentleman's exposition of his system of religion and morals; in the account of the blundering penitence of his dull-headed bottle companion, and of the efforts of his 'kept lady' to improve the occasion from her own point of view. With such a subject, it is no wonder that any other clerical

poet on record who would not have left the Christian minister triumphant? Crabbe knew life better:—

'James too has trouble—he divided sees
A parish once harmonious and at ease;
With him united are the simply meek,
The warm, the sad, the nervous, and the weak.

* * * * *

He sighs to hear the jests his converts cause;
He cannot give their erring zeal applause;
But finds it inconsistent to condemn
The flights and follies he has nursed in them:
These, in opposing minds, contempt produce,
Or mirth occasion, or provoke abuse;
On each momentous theme disgrace they bring,
And give to Scorn her poison and her sting.'

This passage, which concludes the poem, is a good example also of one literary merit of Crabbe's—he never ends weakly; he always has a terse and vigorous line to sum up and, as it were, clench the whole.

In 'The Borough' Crabbe had attempted to give a certain unity to the poem by professing to describe the personages of a single neighbourhood, with a sketch of the town as a background. In 'Tales of the Hall,' the latest work published during his lifetime, he sought the same end by another device, that of representing the tales as told between two half-brothers who, having been strangers for many years, meet at the country seat of the elder one, and exchange stories over their wine, or hear them from one or two friends and neighbours. This is slight enough as a narrative basis, but it serves its purpose; the personality of the brothers, George and Richard, is sufficiently defined to give us an interest in them, while the stories of their respective love affairs form two of the best sections of the poem. 'Tales of the Hall' is undoubtedly Crabbe's best work, and a remarkable production for a man of sixty-five who describes it (in the preface) as merely 'the fruits of his leisure.' His style is here more sustained and elevated than in most of his earlier works; his interest in life is wider; and he strikes deeper chords of feeling and passion than he had ever struck before.

There is only space here to indicate briefly the nature of the interest awakened by the various tales which make

the sum of the book, and the variety of characters and situations which it contains. 'Ruth' is the tragic story of a gentle girl who has loved too well and been deserted, but who has discernment and delicacy enough to feel that the loveless marriage which her parents would now force upon her is a prostitution of a far deeper dye than her first fault.

"A second time,"
Sighing she said, "shall I commit the crime,
And now untempted?"

and drowns herself in the sea rather than have the profanation forced upon her. The whole is in Crabbe's best manner, rising to a tragic ring at the close. 'The Preceptor Husband,' one of the best of the stories in Crabbe's lighter vein, relates the disillusionment of a man of learning who had been caught by an empty-headed girl with just wit enough to play up to him. The first waning of the honeymoon is touched off in one of those mischievous couplets in which Crabbe transfixes, at one thrust, a whole category of social or domestic shams:—

"Twas now no longer, "Just what you approve";
But "Let the wild fowl be to-day, my love."

'The Bachelor's Story,' the autobiography of an elderly gentleman who had been shipwrecked in four successive attempts at matrimony, is one of Crabbe's finest efforts, half pathetic, half humorous, and rising to a noble strain of philosophic reflection at the close. A moral of another kind emerges from the next tale, 'Delay has Danger,' the story of a man, engaged to a gifted and superior girl, wrecking his whole happiness through the mere weakness of not being able to resist love-making to a pretty but commonplace lass with whom he was accidentally brought into contact. The account of the gradual progress of his infatuation, with the revulsion of feeling that followed the moment after he had committed himself irrevocably—

"I will," she softly whispered; but the roar
Of cannon would not strike his spirit more'—

and the blankness of all the world to him the morning after, should be read by all young men who are in danger

of letting themselves be snared for life by the demon of 'Juxtaposition,' as Clough puts it:—

'Allah is great, no doubt, and Juxtaposition his prophet.'

The girl's vulgar relatives, the steward of a large estate and his wife, who are instrumental in entrapping him, are painted with a truth and humour worthy of Shakespeare.

Other tales containing passages of great power must be passed over here; but some more lengthened notice is claimed by the narrative of 'The Elder Brother,' which may be said, perhaps, to be Crabbe's highest effort. It is hinted, from the first, that George, the elder brother, was a man with 'a past,' one who had enjoyed material success, had amassed wealth but never known happiness, and had taken refuge from stinging remembrances in an acted cynicism, through which his genuine feeling penetrates as he becomes more intimate with his new-found relative. The interchange of the history of their love affairs is led up to by a passage which will find an echo in many a heart among those who have had more than the average share of life's trials and disappointments. The younger brother speaks:—

"Can you not, brother, on adventures past
A thought, as on a lively prospect, cast?
On days of dear remembrance! days that seem,
When past—nay, ev'n when present, like a dream;
These white and blessed days, that softly shine
On few, nor oft on them—have they been thine?"

'George answered: "Yes! dear Richard, through the years
Long past, a day so white and mark'd appears;
As in the storm that pours destruction round
Is here and there a ship in safety found;
So in the storm of life some days appear
More blest and bright for the preceding fear."' "

A few more lines introduce Richard's story, the story of a happy day crowned by a happy engagement—just such a day as thousands of wedded lovers may look back upon. The whole is very simply told; it is in its simplicity and reality, rising to a warm gush of sincere and unaffected emotion at the close, that the charm lies. This is succeeded by the very different story of the elder brother, prefaced by the observation—

'Who tells what thou shalt hear, esteems his hearer well'—

the history of a romantic and foolish passion, aroused by a girl whom he had casually met, whose surname even he did not know, and whom he lost sight of for years—a passion which preyed upon him and weakened his mind for any purpose in life, until in an equally casual way he met her again as somebody's cast-off mistress and the inmate of a disorderly lodging-house. The meeting is told in Crabbe's most incisive style. The narrator had been commissioned by the head of his firm to ask an explanation of another house as to an unsatisfactory document; he was too late to catch the principal partner, but was referred to an address where he might find him:—

'I found, though not with ease, this private seat
Of soothing quiet, wisdom's still retreat.

* * * * *

The shutters half unclosed, the curtains fell
Half down, and rested on the window sill,
And thus, confusedly, made the room half visible.
Late as it was, the little parlour bore
Some tell-tale tokens of the night before;
There were strange sights and scents about the room,
Of food high-season'd, and of strong perfume;
Two unmatch'd sofas ample rents display'd,
Carpet and curtains were alike decay'd;
A large old mirror, with once gilded frame,
Reflected prints that I forbear to name,
Such as a youth might purchase—but, in truth,
Not a sedate or sober-minded youth:
The cinders yet were sleeping in the grate
Warm from the fire, continued large and late,
As left, by careless folk, in their neglected state;
The chairs in haste seem'd whirl'd about the room,
As when the sons of riot hurry home,
And leave the troubled place to solitude and gloom.'

The man of business was not forthcoming, but the lady lodger had heard the old name, and enters hurriedly, 'speaking ere in sight':—

'But is it she? O! yes; the rose is dead,
All beauty, fragrance, freshness, glory fled:
But yet 'tis she—the same and not the same—
Who to my bower a heavenly being came;
Who waked my soul's first thought of real bliss,
Whom long I sought, and now I find her—this.

To the question whether his heart had been 'faithful' he finds spirit enough to retort:—

'My faith must childish in your sight appear,
Who have been faithful—to how many, dear?'

a shrewd hit which turns the lady to explanation and excuse, rounded off with a song in which her easy philosophy of life is set to a sweet sad music:—

'Buried be all that has been done,
Or say that nought is done amiss,
For who the dangerous path can shun
In such bewildering world as this?
But love can every fault forgive,
Or with a tender look reprove;
And now let naught in memory live,
But that we meet, and that we love.'

Penitence, half sincere in intent, wholly pathetic in expression, is the next move in this moral duel, till the man is worked upon to accept the position of Armand in 'Les Faux Ménages,' and promise to cast the marriage garment of social righteousness over the sinner, if she will turn entirely from the error of her ways. But, with whatever sincerity of intent, she was too far gone into the slough, too morally weakened to reform—

'She looked for idle vice the time to kill,
And subtle, strong apologies for ill':

and the former lover saw her no more till summoned to console her on her deathbed, so far as consolation might be possible. The lines in response to his question whether there was any one thing he could do to relieve her mind, are a remarkable example of Crabbe's power of what may be called the pathos of intense simplicity:—

'Yes! there was yet a female friend, an old
And grieving nurse, to whom it should be told—
If I would tell—that she, her child, had fail'd,
And turn'd from truth! Yet truth at length prevail'd.'

The man's sorrow, at once over this poor lost though finally repentant creature, and over the wreck of the best years of his own life on her account—his lapse into commercial greed and speculation as some kind of object for living, and his final revulsion from so low an end of exist-

ence, are briefly but powerfully described in the remaining portion of the narrative, which the speaker sums up in the following lines:—

‘ Yet much is lost, and not yet much is found,
But what remains, I would believe, is sound ;
That first wild passion, that last mean desire,
Are felt no more ; but holier hopes require
A mind prepared and steady—my reform
Has fears like his, who, suffering in a storm,
Is on a rich but unknown country cast,
The future fearing, while he feels the past ;
But whose more cheerful mind, with hope imbued,
Sees through receding clouds the rising good.’

Although the human interest is always paramount with Crabbe, he has an eye to the scenic setting of his drama, and even where there is no lengthened or detailed description we seem to be conscious of the background. The influence of the flat dreary landscape of the Suffolk sea-coast, with its marshy tracts and its miles of shingle beach, seems indeed to have got into his blood, and colours his scenes almost unawares to the reader and perhaps to himself. Where he gives special attention to the landscape he is, as already observed, essentially a realist ; he brings it before us by a series of minute touches, as in the description of the fen country in ‘The Lover’s Journey,’ and the admirable painting of the melancholy morning landscape which Tennyson so much admired in ‘Delay has Danger.’ In less detailed descriptions he has nevertheless very real touches ; in the section on ‘Prisons’ in ‘The Borough,’ the walk through the lane and over the cliffs down to the bay is sketched so that we seem to accompany the party on their route ; in everything concerning the sea (for which he had a passion) he is truthful and observant ; we see on a calm hot day the

‘ Faint lazy waves o’er-creep the ridgy sand,
Or tap the tarry boat with gentle blow’ ;

the long stretch of coast ‘where all is pebbly length of shore’ ; the strong ebb-tide running out between the ‘stakes and seaweed withering on the mud,’

‘ And higher up, a ridge of all things base,
Which some strong tide has rolled upon the place.’

Occasionally, though rarely, he can give us one of those true poetic generalisations which seem to sum up the spirit of the scene in a single line, as in the calm where we see

‘Ships softly sinking in the sleepy sea,’

or the bright fresh incident in the morning scene in ‘Tales of the Hall,’

‘The morning breeze had urged the quickening mill’—

recalling one element of the picturesque which is now all but swept away from English landscape.

Reference ought to be made, before concluding, to three poems of Crabbe’s which are exceptional among his works both in form and feeling—‘Sir Eustace Grey,’ ‘The Hall of Justice,’ and ‘The World of Dreams,’; all comparatively early poems, in which a rather free stanza form takes the place of the rhymed couplet, and which contain passages of great power and pathos, though they are somewhat crude in form and expression. These are of special interest as indicating that Crabbe, had he devoted himself entirely to poetry, might have proved that he possessed higher imaginative power and greater versatility in literary handling than would be surmised from the realistic tendency and the uniformity of style which characterise the bulk of his poems. It is by these latter, however—by his studies of human nature, character, and passion, drawn from direct observation of life—that he is mainly to be judged; it is in these that his peculiar powers are displayed; and the reader will, we hope, admit that even the inadequate illustration furnished by the foregoing remarks and quotations is sufficient to justify the question already propounded—what have our literary critics been about, that they have suffered such a writer to drop into neglect and oblivion?

In conclusion, let it be added that we do not think any real good has been done for Crabbe’s reputation by the well-intended efforts of Fitzgerald and of Mr Holland to reintroduce him to the public by selections and extracts. Fitzgerald indeed took what, considering that he had a real and enthusiastic admiration for Crabbe, must be called the reprehensible course of partially re-writing and altering passages, to get rid of what he considered to be the

poet's defects. A poet, who is not worth retaining except in this left-handed fashion, had better be dropped. But we maintain that Crabbe's weaknesses, as regards their quantity at all events, have been greatly exaggerated. In Shelley's complete works, the proportion of writing which is not worthy of Shelley at his best is much greater than the proportion of Crabbe which is below his best; yet no one objects to a complete edition of Shelley. And in many cases a real injustice is done to the poet by divorcing his best passages from their surroundings. Mr Holland, for instance, gives as a separate short poem, under the title 'The Old Bachelor,' the noble concluding lines on old age from 'The Bachelor's Story' in 'Tales of the Hall.' Yet we venture to say that this passage, taken alone, does not produce half so strong an impression on the reader as it does when read as the climax and summing up of the whole poem. What we wish to see is a re-issue—with some emendations in respect of punctuation and misprints—of Murray's beautiful edition of 1834; and we are inclined to think that the time is ripe for it.

Art. III.—THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

1. *A History of British India.* By Sir William Wilson Hunter. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1899-1900.
2. *The Diary of William Hedges* (1681-1687). Edited by Col. Henry Yule and R. Barlow. (Hakluyt Society.) Three vols. London: 1887-1889.
3. *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal.* By C. R. Wilson. Vol. I. London: Thacker, 1895.
4. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619.* Edited by W. Foster. (Hakluyt Society.) Two vols. London: 1899.
5. *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India.* By R. S. White-way. London: Constable, 1899.
6. *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East* (1602-1616). Edited by F. C. Danvers and William Foster. Four vols. London: Sampson Low, 1896-1900.

WITH the death of Sir William Hunter there came to a close a very brilliant career, a career of extraordinary performance and, till the very end, of extraordinary promise. He was in his sixtieth year; but his physical frame, broad-shouldered, stalwart, and supple, looked as though it had little more than reached its prime of health and strength, and appeared still fully able to bear all that his ardent and resolute soul demanded from it of versatility and effort. He died in harness; we have in one of the volumes at the head of this article sentences penned within a fortnight of his death. His whole career had been one of preparation for the great work of which, in the form he intended it ultimately to take, a mere fragment, on many sides unpolished and on all imperfect, was to be achieved. Sir W. Hunter, among the many Scotsmen we have met, was perhaps the most conspicuous example of the perfervid element in the genius of North Britain. He was eager, excitable, enthusiastic to a high degree, and overflowing with nervous energy. Over-daring in conjecture and over-confident in statement, he could also be, as an enquirer and investigator, very patient, painstaking, and persevering. Having sat at the feet not only of Scottish but of French and German professors,

the Glasgow graduate, the eminently distinguished competitor for the Indian Civil Service, started on his career in the East not only with the usual ambitions, but in the spirit of the schools of Paris and of Bonn. He was irrepressibly sanguine, and at the same time emotional and susceptible; viewing human existence generally in its brightest and most favourable lights, and very desirous to make the best and the most of it. His own exceptionally busy and varied life offered in many departments abundant opportunities. Looking back upon it, we are inclined to judge that he availed himself of every chance and missed none of his openings. He loved to meet with men, he loved to read and write and think of men who had engrossed the literary or political stage, who had subjected to themselves a wide region of literature or of politics. To be counted among such men was in some sort his own aim. Nor need we hesitate to affirm that he has obtained a place of this kind for his memory.

If he was always imaginative, not less was he always industrious. If he enjoyed life and letters, and if in life and letters he enjoyed most the study of character and of personality, it was to life at the desk, to official work, to the sedulous comparison and computation of unadorned facts and figures that, for many years, he day by day not unwillingly devoted himself. Here peculiar facilities fell in his path and were seized upon. Here his skill was quite unprecedented, and so was his success. His fame rests, and will rest, on his toil rather as an editor than as an author, on his powers of organisation and of superintendence rather than on his own final and finished contributions to history and to biography. He exercised, and with wonderful mastery, a great command over able men and over vast materials. With regard to the history of British India, he has been the chief surveyor and 'prospector,' the chief road-maker, the chief contractor and employer of literary labour, the statistician-in-chief. His official and literary activity and influence in general, well worthy as they are of commentary, we cannot on this occasion discuss; what we have to consider is that incomplete summary and supplement to the rest of his work on which, during the last year or two of his life, he was engaged.

It is as though the author, even if not guessing that

his days were numbered, had yet felt that, as never before, he was writing against time. He is anxious about nothing so much as to cover the ground as speedily as he may, and new ground where possible, and to record roughly his impressions concerning it. Particularly in his opening chapters is this the case, and, indeed, all through the first volume. Curiously, among these latest labours of his, his own best work seems to us to be the very last chapter he wrote, the eighth chapter of the second volume; while in the whole two volumes the best chapter of all was written not by Sir W. Hunter himself, but, after his death, from his notes, by his young literary assistant and friend, Mr P. E. Roberts. Sir W. Hunter has left not only labours behind him, but labourers. Next to producing a masterpiece, he would have chosen to train a disciple, to establish a tradition, to equip a successor. We think we trace throughout the work, and especially throughout the second volume, the pious but never meddlesome hand, the alert but never pedantic or obtrusive care, of Mr Roberts, a fresh adventurer, introduced by Sir W. Hunter to the domain of historical research and composition, whom we trust we shall meet again. Mr Roberts falls, it may be, here and there a little into his master's manner of generalising too soon and too absolutely; yet, after all, we desire to bestow nothing but cordial praise both on his introduction to the second volume and his concluding chapter to the whole work.* Sir W. Hunter's own introduction to the first volume, written at Tiflis in December 1898, contains some finely appropriate reflections, weighty with thought, and eloquent in expression. We would select further for special commendation from that first volume the account of the machinery of the East India Company. Similarly, the sixth chapter in the second volume, entitled 'The Company's Servants and Trade to 1660,' is a first-rate example of Sir W. Hunter's very remarkable faculty for the collection and condensation of materials and then for their clear and facile and luminous reissue and recapitulation. It is because of work such as this that, for a time at all events, these two volumes will stand out as a landmark

* It is not often that, where Sir H. Yule fails to discover missing facts, another succeeds. Mr. Roberts has done this with regard to the last exploits and death of Sir John Gayer. Cf. 'A History of British India,' ii, 375, and 'Diary of William Hedges' (Hakluyt Society), ii, 155.

among histories of European and, in particular, of English commerce with India. In spite of repetitions and dislocations, contradictions, over-hasty and over-bold generalisations and assumptions, our intrepid and indefatigable explorer has, in this his last literary campaign, entered upon and captured unoccupied and difficult territory, wherein he maintains, and is likely for the present to maintain, a species of sovereign title.

We have said that, especially in the first volume, the symptoms of haste were everywhere; and it is incumbent upon us to justify the criticism. Some of the leading aspects of Indo-Portuguese history are cleverly handled, but, on the whole, no comparison is admissible, with regard to their real value as an addition to our knowledge and insight, between Sir W. Hunter's Portuguese chapters and Mr R. S. Whiteway's almost exactly contemporary volume, 'The Rise of Portuguese Power in India.' What are we to think of Sir W. Hunter leaving in two places* his authorities unamended, so that, for all he tells us, we might suppose that Mohammed died and was buried not at Medina but at Mecca. As to his Dutch chapters we shall have to begin our remarks on them with considerable distrust of his argument and to end quite out of agreement with his conclusions. In our view he is here almost perversely wrong in his appreciation, and one or two examples will be enough to show how untrustworthy is his manner of citing and of co-ordinating and subordinating facts. He tells us† that the London merchants in Founders' Hall had before them, on September 22nd, 1599, three models, one being the semi-state pattern of the Dutch. But this semi-state pattern did not come into existence till the year 1602. Again he informs us that‡ 'the chances of the Company rose and fell with the fluctuations of parties, the older politicians like Burleigh being for peace.' The Company was founded December 31st, 1600. Lord Burghley departed this life August 4th, 1598. Once more he assures us that the smaller islands of the Banda group§ 'are not mentioned in Vivien de Saint-Martin's great 'Dictionary of Geography' (Paris, 1879). They are to be found enumerated in that work under the heading 'Banda,' and a second time under the heading 'Moluques.' As with regard to

* 'A History of British India,' i, 101, and 124, 5. † *Ibid.*, i, 236.

‡ *Ibid.*, i, 256 n.

§ *Ibid.*, i, 372 n.

the earlier history of the Portuguese in India Sir W. Hunter's investigations are in many respects outweighed by Mr. Whiteway's researches, so, with regard to the later history of the Portuguese and with regard to his Dutch chapters, do several of his statements stand corrected by the third volume of 'East India Letters,' and the two volumes, edited for the Hakluyt Society, containing and illustrating the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe. Neither Sir W. Hunter's battle scenes nor his heroic portraits are in drawing. His somewhat detailed narrative of Captain Downton's exploits in Swally Roads is already superseded.* The whole perspective seems to us lost, with regard to the Dutch as compared with the English activity, during the seventeenth century: the sketch of the general movement is at fault and distorted, and so is the delineation of the individuals who took part in it. Thus the one man of whom in Sir W. Hunter's first volume we have anything like an original picture is the Dutch Governor-General, Jan Pieterszoon Coen. 'A really great book,' exclaims Sir W. Hunter, 'might be written on Coen.' Possibly, but it would not be the biography of a really great man. 'He will either win the horse or lose the saddle,' as the English of his own day reported Coen to have said, 'expel the English or be expelled himself.' From the Dutch point of view much was to be urged, at such a moment, for such a policy. But the manners and measures of the man, what did they but tempt to still more ruffianly and brutal courses creatures like the unhappy van Speult, and, in a later age, van Gysels, van Deutekom, Demmer, and the rest—blots on the history of civilisation and colonisation, on the history of the Dutch and the Moluccas?

Let us grapple at once with Sir W. Hunter's main topic and our own, and enquire what was the circumstance which brought the Dutch East India Company and the English East India Company upon the scene. It was the unification of the Iberian Peninsula, in its bearing upon the conflict, in which both Netherlanders and English were engaged, with Philip II. The annexation of Portugal to Spain, which lasted till 1640, took place in 1580. A sudden stop and block occurred in the business of the world, in the trade between Lisbon and Antwerp and

* 'A History of British India,' i, 319-26. Cf. 'Letters received by the E. I. Co. from its servants in the East,' III, xiv-xvi.

Amsterdam. For a moment the Dutch were in despair. They recovered their equanimity, and they threw their whole strength for a hundred years into a course of unprecedented daring and almost fabulous prosperity. The earliest incidents are the following. In 1591, some English merchants sent out a tentative expedition to the East Indies. Between 1595 and 1600 the Netherlands merchants sent out larger and more fortunate fleets. Then, in 1600, the English East India Company secured its charter, and commenced its operations, with a capital of, say, 70,000*l.*, to be speedily overtaken and outstripped, in 1602, by the Dutch East India Company—the venture, so to speak, of a whole nation—with a capital of, say, 550,000*l.*

It was, accordingly, as an incident in the great war with Spain, on the Spanish seas, on the sea-frontiers, that this armed enterprise of the Dutch and English merchants and skippers began, this irregular advance, as of seafaring sharpshooters and squatters, apart from, to some extent, and independent of, the regular conduct of the war in Europe. The year in which the smaller Dutch companies were fused into the great Dutch East India Company had been already marked by fighting in the East Indies between Dutch and Spanish ships. The conflict had been not unlike that carried on in the Channel, fourteen years before, during the 'Great Armada' season. The triumph was immediately utilised for purposes of commerce and settlement. The Company stepped in. Trading stations were founded. The war, from the first, paid, and far more than paid, its expenses. Besides, the Dutch appeared at the outset, in the Indian Archipelago, as deliverers of the natives, as sworn opponents of the Portuguese and Spanish tyranny, in the guise—which in the East they soon lost—of champions of freedom. Jacob van Heemskerck, the noblest of the Dutch naval captains of those times, the Francis Drake of the Netherlands—who had braved every climate and conquered in every sea, who had spent a winter in Nova Zembla, and who was to meet his death at the moment of victory in a great battle in the Bay of Gibraltar—Jacob van Heemskerck distinguished himself, in this same first year of the Dutch Company's undertakings, by seizing a splendid prize, a Portuguese carrack, at Malacca, and coasting in her as far as Macao. From Java the Dutch sailed to Banda, everywhere intent on making

treaties with the local potentates, which were to transfer the monopoly of trade from Portugal to Holland; while, at the same time, the Dutch met the natives on equal terms, professing, at all events at first, to have no intention of interfering with their religion, their customs, or their liberties. Indeed, the king of Acheen, or Sumatra, was invited to send a royal embassy to Holland, to inform himself as to the Western World, to assure himself of the feud between the Dutch and the Spaniards and Portuguese, and of the general revolt on the European seaboard against the theories and practices, ecclesiastical, civil, and mercantile, of Rome, Madrid, and Lisbon. Arrived in Europe, these envoys were presented to Prince Maurice in the lines before Grave at a conjuncture when the fortune and discipline of the Dutch army—and, not least, of the English contingent—had reached the highest point of fame, while their opponents were at the other extreme of military repute, disorderly and dispirited, and, to a large extent, in declared mutiny.

The whole Dutch community, firm after firm, city after city, province after province, embarked in the enterprise of the East India Company. It was a way of both beating the enemy and bettering the trade, of weakening war at close quarters while accomplishing distant conquests; it obtained immediately gigantic commercial returns; it opened out upon almost defenceless and unbounded tracts of sea and land. The Universal Dutch East India Company was a great national venture for a century—indeed, for centuries—in which the spirit of association passed from the States-General and the municipal councils to the ships, from port to port, animated the cabin and the factory, bound up the whole cause of the Netherlands with the acquisition and administration of one group after another of the islands of the East Indies. Three years, we may say, sufficed for the capture of the richest little cluster of colonies, the most compact and productive island realm on our planet. What had been the central mine of wealth in the King of Portugal's monopoly was now to be worked by, perhaps, the keenest, the shrewdest, the boldest, and, as it ere long became, the most grasping and the least scrupulous commercial confederacy Christendom has ever seen. Europe looked on amazed—here and there the old-fashioned Dutch citizen

must have shared with sad foreboding the amazement—at this state within and beyond the state, this republic within and beyond the republic, at this attempt to direct first a particular and then a universal commerce from the counting-houses of Amsterdam, at war waged explicitly for treasure, at treasure extorted methodically by war. Thus Holland passed into the room of Portugal, and with a wider and more vast, if a vaguer, a coarser, a more commonplace ambition. What Venice had been, when mistress of the Mediterranean waters, Holland became; what had been the maxims and measures of Venice became the maxims and measures of Holland, only more cynical and more cruel, in the Indian Archipelago. A great insular isolated colonial Power the Dutch gained, organised, and have maintained to this day. A great imperial policy they have never instituted; nor is anything more foreign to the Dutch national genius as such than the bare conception of such a policy.

There was this difference from the beginning, a difference strongly marked even in the first quarter of a century, in the history of the two companies, when militant Prince Maurice was Dutch Stadtholder and pacific James Stewart was English king. They died in the same year, 1625, within a month of each other. Prince Maurice, for all his forcefulness, could not keep in check his sea-captains in the East; King James, for all his flightiness, never let his London company slip out of his control. And James, here, was even willing to hazard much; he had a plan, from which we do not know that he ever quite receded, for amalgamating the Dutch and English companies.

It may be that, if the English had been able to displace the Dutch in the Spice Islands, they themselves might never have cared, in those regions towards which the Cape of Good Hope points and leads, for inland, continental, imperial sway. It is probable that, in such a case, the English would have been content to be merely in touch with sites like Sierra Leone, the Cape itself, Zanzibar, Aden, Ormuz, and Ceylon; naturally, what they would have most affected and preferred would have been a lordship of the isles. They would thus in time have dispossessed the French of Ile Dauphine, Ile de France, Ile de Bourbon—Madagascar, Mauritius, Réunion; they might have come into collision with Spain for the Philippines, and with

China for Formosa; they might have anglicised Japan. But the Indian Peninsula, especially as experiences in America grew monitory and menacing, we can imagine them anxious to leave alone, ready to resign. Think what might then have happened! The path of conquest might have lain open and unencumbered before a Dupleix and a Bussy; the French might have become, in politics and arms, as influential on the continent of Asia as on the continent of Europe—more revolutionary, more imperial. A Napoleon, for whom not only the revolutions of Paris and of Europe, but those of Bengal, of the Deccan, and of Delhi, had paved the way, might, indeed, have eclipsed Cæsar, and left to his marshals more to divide than Alexander left to the Diadochi.

As it was, the English had to retreat before the Dutch from the Malay Archipelago, and from the Spice Islands. Bit by bit the Dutch occupied the ground; over one island circle after another they established their authority. In proportion to their means, and judged at the moment of their ascendancy, the Dutch, as seafarers and as speculators, have never been surpassed. We have seen how, as against the English, they had gained, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as it were by only a few steps—a ship's length or two—precedence and predominance in the East, how they claimed and secured the richest market in the world, how they held the posts of advance towards further discoveries. Just as, three or four generations previously, the West Indies, the Bahamas, the Bermudas, Newfoundland, had guarded or revealed the approaches to one New World, so did the Spice Islands, the Moluccas, Japan, lie on the threshold to another. The progress would soon begin—and the Dutch would lead it—into Melanesia, into Polynesia, towards the colonisation of the Pacific. But here again the history of final settlement, the inland, continental, imperial history, was fated to belong not to the Dutch but to the English; the acknowledged capitals in the remoter future were to bear such names as Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne, Hobart. The Dutch lived in the present—no nation, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, so much and so successfully. And throughout the seventeenth century they pressed and pursued the speeding steps of fortune with the whole array of their national resources and reserves,

'Hora ruit' is said to have been the favourite motto of Grotius. 'Time flies; snatch the opportunity!' No motto would more appropriately explain the heat and hurry of the contemporaries and countrymen of Grotius, their irritability, their restlessness, their impetuosity, their recklessness in battle, their audacity in controversy, their impatience of contradiction, in Asia their barbarity towards the natives and their exhaustion of the soil, their fevered haste to get rich.

Here, for a moment or two, let us pass from the first quarter of the seventeenth to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, from the age of Elisabeth and James to the age of William III and Anne, and the accession of the House of Hanover. We shall thus dispense ourselves from returning again at any length to these parallels between the Dutch and the English. We shall also have passed from the situation as depicted by Sir W. Hunter at the end of his first to that left with us at the end of the second volume; and we shall have suggested the lines along which the rash and unchastened opinions of the former volume might be brought into harmony with the safer and more sober deductions of the latter.

Throughout the struggle for political liberty in the West, which we associate with the Reformation and the revival of learning, and which was hardly determined till somewhere about the year 1714, the Dutch and English fought mainly side by side. In the movement against the autocratic, the absolutist principle in Spain, at Rome, and, later, at Versailles, honours are divided between the Dutch and the English. But there is a further aspect, in which the history of the seventeenth century, both in the distant Eastern waters and in the narrow seas near home, is that of a close and strenuous opposition of Amsterdam and the Hague against London and Hampton Court. It is the history of the fluctuations between Dutch and English trade and policy and progress. There were possibilities of the balance inclining towards the United Provinces rather than towards the United Kingdom. This history, at its different stages, intensely and indeed surpassingly interesting as it is for our race, has been interpreted, not always quite in the same sense, during our Victorian era by very notable historians writing in our language—Froude, Motley, Carlyle, Macaulay, Seeley. No one has

reviewed it so dispassionately, no one has analysed it so minutely, as our greatest living historian, Dr Gardiner.

The reign of Elisabeth begins the period. She is at once the protectress of Dutch independence and the asserter of the liberties of England. The reign of William III, if it does not set a term, imparts its final bias to the period. He again is both champion of the freedom of the Netherlands and defender of the cause of the British Constitution and Parliament. His name, given to Fort William on the Hugli, as an English not as a Dutch citadel, might be taken to denote at once an Asiatic landmark, an unfurling of the flag of Greater Britain, and a great milestone in universal history. We may remind ourselves in passing that this very landmark was subsequently at a critical instant submerged, and that it was the genius of Clive that bade the waters subside. The same genius of Clive it was that checked a new advance of the Dutch up the Hugli and that compelled France's ultimate consent to the hegemony of England in India. But just now it is enough for us to keep our eye on William of Orange and his relation to Dutch and English policy. With his succession to the crown of England there came in a sort of recognition—tardily tendered in Europe, still more slowly to be admitted in Asia—on the part of Holland, of English political principles, their currency and their genuineness, their superiority, their supremacy, among the free States of the world. We might add that a somewhat similar acceptance Portugal had already signified.

And now the way is clear for us to examine, within the too confined limits our space imposes, the English movement, and to ask ourselves what was the character of such English expansion as can be said to have begun with and to have taken place under Queen Elisabeth and King James. We hold that, in universal history, this was for England the epoch of opportunity; and that, in English history, it was then that England was most self-conscious.

Here again our narrative must convey our verdict on the treatment in Sir W. Hunter's first volume of this part of our theme. We will quote but one specimen sentence of his (p. 351): 'The English company was the weakling child of the old age of Elisabeth and of the shifty policy of King James.' It seems to us impossible to misread and misrepresent more egregiously than is done in such a

sentence as this the whole tone and tenor of the age and its activity. Let us put over against this sentence from Sir W. Hunter another sentence from Dr Creighton: 'The days of Elisabeth were emphatically the days of the hard-headed and long-headed men'; and let us sub-join to this sentence, as an instance, the name of one who was born in the first year of Queen Elisabeth and died in the last year of King James, Sir Thomas Smith (1558-1625), the first Governor of the East India Company.

A charter had been granted, as we saw, to the London East India Company, under Elisabeth, at the very close of the century, on the 31st of December in the year 1600, and, under her, the first voyage had set forth. It came back into port under James. The venture is thus a legacy from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth, and towards the fabric which the latter century was to rear—a legacy from the policy of the Tudors to that of the Stewarts, from Elisabeth of England to James of Britain. It marks a continuous policy. One is apt to consider the reign of Queen Elisabeth too exclusively in relation to the dynasty of the Tudors, to bring her into comparison and contrast with Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Philip and Mary, and to make a break at her death; again one is apt to read the history of James I in the light, chiefly, of subsequent events, those of Charles I's reign, of the Commonwealth, and of the reigns of Charles II and James II. But there are points of view from which the reign of the last Tudor and that of the first Stewart are best studied together. Dr Prothero has seen this in his collection of statutes and documents, 1558 to 1625, and he says (p. xxi): 'In the history of the constitution no hard line can be drawn between the reigns of the last Tudor and the first Stewart.' If this is true of the history of the English constitution, it will be found to be also true of English foreign policy, of the history of English commerce and of the English colonies, of the history, in the main, of English thought and of the English conscience.

James, the conditionally disinherited son of Mary Stewart, was the heir, successor, and disciple of Elisabeth Tudor. He continues the Tudor, not the Stewart policy. So far as he founds a Stewart policy, it is not that of his son, or of his grandsons: it is that of his great grand-daughters. James I, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, each on his or her own

lines, carried on the Elisabethan, the Tudor, tradition, the tradition which Elisabeth herself had moulded and modified after the strange career and character of her father, the Tudor *par excellence*, Henry VIII. Something of that loneliness which surrounds the throne, and the heart, of Elisabeth, hangs also about the political figure of James I. In the conflict between the Queen of England and the Queen of Scots, James took a side against his mother. Elisabeth went through life remembering that her father had condemned her mother to the block. Something like the aversion between Mary and James I re-appears between James II and his daughters, Queen Mary and Queen Anne. But policy overrules the dictates of the blood. A nation is being born, a new nation with new destinies, a nation with imperial destinies, a new creed, a new conscience; and the birth-throes are tremendous. The family bond yields, that of friendship, that of religion; all the bonds are stretched and strained of faith and fidelity, as these terms have been hitherto received. It is one of those times when son turns against father, brother against brother, and when—it cannot be otherwise.

Shakespeare, after his fashion, investigates for himself, transmits to us, the problems of the day—in 'Julius Cæsar,' in 'Hamlet,' in 'Othello,' in 'Measure for Measure,' in 'Macbeth,' in 'Lear,' in the 'Tempest.' We mention the leading plays between 1601 and 1611, the leading plays of the first ten years of the existence of the East India Company. In 'Julius Cæsar' there is a study of imperial design; in 'Hamlet' a study of the curse on the crown and at the court; in 'Othello' a great sea-captain meets us, with his hot jealous blood, and we see him pass from the extreme of self-assurance to the extreme of perplexity, and from self-sufficiency to suicide. In 'Measure for Measure' the 'favourite' is in power; in 'Macbeth' there is a scheming Scottish Queen; in 'Lear' a father wishing to be loved for himself is loved only or almost only while a king; in the 'Tempest' Shakespeare's fancy wanders from the Avon to the Atlantic, and calms a Pacific of his own.

Shakespeare deals, more or less allusively, with the England, the Scotland, the Great Britain of his times. James I, we are told, 'heard him gladly.' This is a particular perhaps worth noting in forming our estimate of

James's own reading of the drama of his own life and times. Shakespeare deals besides, as we know, with universal scenery, with an Italy, a France, a Greece, a Venice, a Vienna, partly of the past, partly of the present, partly of all time. He is himself part of universal literature; but, above all, the master, the incomparable master, of our native language and of our national imagination. Is there any of our poets in whom the policy, the history, of England is more incorporate, to whom the English State is more present, alive, life-giving? He belongs to the New World, also, which was being discovered in his day. He is aware of the greatness of the moment, but, further—and it is this we are trying to emphasise—of its dangers, its difficulties, its snares, its temptations. There is a caution about Shakespeare, as there is about Bacon, Hooker, and the Cecils. The leaders in literature, in science, in theology, in politics, of that critical and culminating age, all have a sense of its importance; but they have, moreover, a very strong sense of the possibility and the peril of a false step.

It is scarcely more true of Elisabeth than of James, it is true equally of Elisabethan and Jacobean statesmen, that, at every step, what looks like uncertainty of vision and action is coupled with exercise of most intense watchfulness and calculation. For the matter of that, we meet it again under the Protectorate. However daring in ideas,* who more cautious in deeds than Cromwell? That a great future was before the nation seems to have filled the imagination of people and of princes, the imagination of Elisabeth and James, the imagination of poets and philosophers, of diplomatists and divines, of the merchant, the soldier, the mariner. But in them all the sentiment was mixed; there was anticipation and there was apprehension. The impediments in the way of England were great. There was an absolute want of allies. There was an absolute want of precedent. There was consciousness of a want of unanimity, of serious divisions at home. Something like what we call now-a-days the Expansion of England was expected.

* We regret not to be able to discuss at length Sir W. Hunter's very characteristic chapter on Cromwell, II, 101-42. He has something of novelty to produce; but, in order to exaggerate the discovery, how much has to be omitted or concealed! To correct Sir W. Hunter's silence *vide* Gardiner, 'History of the Commonwealth,' II, 339-76, particularly 350-2; Ranke, 'Engl. Gesch.' (1861), III, 467-70; Seeley, 'Growth of British Policy,' II, 47-54.

The internal convulsions were, as we know, to interrupt, to postpone this expansion. And it was early felt that the greatness of the English nation would only be achieved with great trouble and through great trials.

What actually was to happen does not appear to have been foreseen—the sharpness and severity of the domestic struggle, the armed collision between Crown and Commons, the Civil War, the sword of Cromwell thrown into the balance in England, in Scotland, in Ireland, thrown, decisively, into the European scales. No! the disorders of the fifteenth century were deemed overcome—the wars of York and Lancaster, the factions, so fierce as to overturn the State, among courtiers, and nobles, and citizens. No one under Elisabeth or James seems to have had any expectation of such a catastrophe as that of Charles I, such a career as that of Oliver.

Among the perils that obviously seemed to prohibit the expansion of England, were, first and foremost, the perils of the sea, where no foreigner was a friend, where Spaniards and Portuguese were open foes, and where the Hollander was seen to be a more or less undisguised enemy. Then, on our own shores, company rose against company, or, at least, company would undersell, would outbid company. Moreover, the ties of kindred and custom seemed nowhere so easily loosened and lost as at sea. What was the relation to the State of trading cities, of companies, of commerce, of colonies, of the mercantile class, of the seafaring population? All these questions began to assume, in regard to home policy and in regard to foreign policy, intricate bearings and novel proportions. Where was one to draw the distinction—even in such a case as that of Drake or as that of Raleigh—between the patriot and the pirate? There was room everywhere—in Spain, in France, in the Netherlands, at Bristol, at Plymouth, on the Thames—for Shakespeare's comic yet compromising personage,*

“the sanctimonious pirate, that went to sea with the Ten Commandments, but scraped one out of the table.”

—“Thou shall not steal?”

—“Ay, that he razed.”

“Why, 'twas a commandment to command the captain and all the rest from their functions: they put forth to steal.”*

* ‘Measure for Measure,’ act i, scene ii.

The East India Company was founded on the last day of the sixteenth century, and we may consider it as the last great act of the Tudor dynasty. But the policy on which it sets the seal had accompanied the whole history of the Tudors; it is seen prominently throughout the second, and may easily be traced even in the first, half of the sixteenth century. As trade at home had grown up under the direction of the Guilds, and then, as cities and the capital became more and more important, had been regulated by the great Livery Companies, so was it found necessary, in view of the increase of foreign trade, to bring it, if it was to be carried on with any degree of safety and also of honesty, under the management of committees of able and leading and responsible merchants, and to connect these, by means of charters and the control which charters implied, with the Government and with the Sovereign.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in 1505, under the first Tudor, Henry VII, the 'Merchant Adventurers' obtained their full and formal charter, though they themselves dated back their origin and activity, as an offshoot from the London guild of 'Mercers,' to the thirteenth century. To meet a typical 'Merchant Adventurer' and 'Mercer,' with whom to compare, from whom to derive the typical 'Cape Merchant'* and Chief Agent of the East India Company of later times, let us glance at the career of Sir Thomas Gresham. 'Statesman as well as merchant, half ambassador, half hawker,' a sort of 'consul-general' in the Low Countries and at Antwerp, with vaguely drawn and sometimes very widely interpreted functions, he became 'Royal Agent' and 'Queen's Factor'; he was Intelligencer to the English Government; he contracted loans in the Netherlands on behalf of the English Crown; he carried on a large private trade. Moreover, in his interest or in his pay he employed a considerable number of confidential scribes and correspondents, engaged indifferently on financial experiments and diplomatic missions. In London he stood foremost among the city knights, founded Gresham College, planned and built the Royal Exchange. A detailed study of his life would show us

* 'Head merchant, an adaptation of some foreign title in *cap* or *capo*': *vide* 'New English Dictionary.'

how the Tudor merchant of the first class got both his commercial and his political training, on both sides of the Channel.

But the English merchants and their associations soon went further afield. The Russia Company started on its first voyage while Edward VI was king, in May 1553, and received its full charter of incorporation from Queen Mary in 1554. 'The discovery of Russia by the English'—to use Milton's words, and his phrase is still current among Continental historians*—was the work of this Company. Did our space permit us to follow the operations of the Russia Company, and the fortunes of a Chancellor and a Jenkinson,† we should track the English travellers to the uttermost borders of Eastern Europe, and beyond, among the markets and caravans of Central Asia.

About the same time emerges at Constantinople the figure of William Harborne, the pioneer in Turkey of the merchants of London and the diplomacy of Queen Elisabeth. The Turkey, or Levant, Company was incorporated in 1581, one of its founders being a young merchant we have already had occasion to name, Thomas Smith, afterwards Sir Thomas Smith, the first governor of the East India Company, one of the greatest merchants that ever lived, a leader in all the commerce of his country with the known world of his age. Harborne's second mission to Constantinople was as Queen Elisabeth's ambassador to the Porte (1583-8). The embassy at Constantinople was from the beginning a special school of English diplomatic fence and observation. The first official agents who visited the court of the Great Mogul, that of Akbar, at Agra, on behalf of English commerce and of the English Crown, were members of the Turkey, or Levant, Company. Newberry, Fitch, Leedes, and Storey set out in 1583, the first year of Harborne's embassy; Mildenhall, later, in 1599.

Then comes the incorporation of the East India Company, a demonstration, but with all the moderation which ever accompanied distinct Elisabethan menace, at once against Spain, with whom we were at war, and against

* Cf. Lavissee et Rambaud, 'Histoire Générale' (1894), iv, 694; and Brückner, 'Geschichte Russlands' (1896), i, 26-31.

† Anthony Jenkinson, it is worth noting, was by marriage one of the Gresham clan; his wife's mother was Alice Gresham, a daughter of William Gresham, cousin of Sir Thomas.

the Dutch, with whom we were at peace. The defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588 had taught our royal and our mercantile navies what they might dare; and the Dutch, manipulating the pepper trade, and increasing their Eastward sailing fleets, had touched our commercial pride.

It was a London company which thus launched out into the deep; a City company; in the main, a Puritan venture. It had its heart and hearth on the Thames; the energy of its head and hands was chiefly addressed to bringing respectably and honourably earned treasure thither. To mark the historical traditions it followed we might say they were those of a Gresham; to indicate the personal note in its directorate we might say it was guided by a Smith, by an Abbott, by the counsels of a Mun. It strove to be, and to keep, in touch with the Queen, and then with the King, and with their ministers; whenever necessary—though the necessity was urged and acknowledged as rarely as possible—its affairs were discussed as affairs of State; it was a part of what, with reference to Burghley and Salisbury and their school, we have seen styled the ‘*Regnum Cecilianum*’; its policy, if bold, was prudent; it was very ready, on the least occasion, to put as cautious, as pacific, as modest a cloak as possible on its proceedings. It was, at first, not so much national as somewhat specially and stringently metropolitan. It identified itself and its interests with the life of London. Till the winding-up of its affairs it continued the great controller of capital and employer of labour at the East End. It was not till after William III’s reign—till after all that jealousy, of which we spoke, between Amsterdam and London had died down—that ‘the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the East Indies’ became, even in description, ‘the United Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the East Indies.’

It was no ‘weakling child’; its waking hours were full of vigilance and vigour; it had its dreams and it had its visions, to be more than fulfilled. Its foundation sums up the English life of the sixteenth century. Its charter is the last great privilege granted by Elisabeth, by the Tudors, to the Companies—the final document of the century. Her reign, her dynasty, are all but over. Her Charter to the East India Company marks the first great stride of London towards becoming the capital of the com-

merce of the world. England—aye, and the old Queen—took pleasure in the swell and sweep of her affairs, at the distances to which her diplomacy and her trade extended. What a lifetime, what a reign, what a dynasty, what a century, it had been! In that lifetime alone, what a literature, what warfare, what victory! The note of Elisabethan literature—peculiar, and in some sense provincial, as it is, but ranging far and wide, and never out of breath, always strong and sound of voice—Shakespeare's note, is already the note of the reign, of the nation. It addresses the world, it echoes back, it resounds again, everywhere, at home, particularly in the capital, at the theatre, and on 'Change. People look beyond the angry Channel, the Dutch danger, the Spanish dread. They see the Tsar of Moscow, the Sultan of Turkey, the Shah of Persia, the Great Indian Mogul, coming to terms of alliance and intercourse, from far overland, from far beyond the seas, glad to negotiate with the London Companies and to treat with the English Crown and nation; and thus a fresh bond is knit between the growing commerce of England and the sagacious Sovereign and her advisers, who have known so well how to guide the State. The loyalty of the citizens, the credit of the merchants, the dignity of the throne, the outlook of the realm, all are interwoven, each is enhanced. England believed in God and her right—'Dieu et mon droit'; she believed in her mission; she believed that she had worked out, however rudely and crudely, her own Reformation and Renaissance.

The place of the ideal historian of British India is still unfilled. We cannot prescribe his course, or predict his language. But, assuredly, he would dwell on some such thoughts as the above, and, perchance, he might pass on to some such illustrations as the following. On the first beginnings of the Company he would discourse with predilection and in detail. The materials are ample; they require to be mastered at leisure and to be nicely adjusted, combined, brought to something like final form and finish. He would have to catch at little traits and gather up small hints. We imagine him pointing the moral of a Mr Sturdivant's sermon* or a Mr Copeland's remon-

* 'Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1513-1616,' p. 182.

strance;* then painting at full length such portraits as those of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Maurice Abbott, Sir Dudley Carleton, Sir Dudley Digges, Mr Thomas Mun. He would show how the political pamphlet of the later seventeenth century was a child of the commercial and economic tract of the first decades of that century, and how this earlier literature centred round the earliest fortunes of the East India Company; he would connect the perseverance of the Company with the enthusiasm which still lives in the pages of Hakluyt and Purchas. After digressing on Persia, on Persian trade, on Sir Robert Sherley and his brothers in search of a creed, of credit, and of a court which should appreciate their English accommodation of the Spanish Don Quixote type, he would note how the history of the Virginia Company, and of the colonies in America, runs side by side with the history of the East India Company and its factories in Asia. He would piece out the fortunes of men like Lancaster and Middleton, Rastell and Kerridge, at one time agents of the Company in the East, and at another prominent on its councils at home as committee-men or directors. He would sketch the naval commanders, the next generation after Drake, Cavendish, and Frobisher, seamen experienced in many waters, in the Atlantic as well as the Pacific—a Best, a Pring, a Newport, a Downton; he would commemorate the great surveyors, the great commercial travellers and settlers for the Company, their journals, and their reports—an Aldworthe, a Courthope, a Methwold, a Gibson. Finally we would have our chronicler round off his record and legend of the whole century with many a picturesque touch out of the stories of what we might call the waifs and strays of the movement, from the 'Odcombian leg-stretcher,' Thomas Coryat, the contemporary of Sir Thomas Roe, to the 'twenty years' captive' in Ceylon, Robert Knox,† the contemporary of Sir Josiah Child.

The 'really great book' that 'might be written'—to borrow part of Sir W. Hunter's suggestion—on the beginnings of the East India Company and the relation of those

* Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1617-1621, pp. 269, 70. And see Doyle, 'English in America,' p. 217, and Peckard, 'Life of Ferrar,' pp. 106, 7.

† The long-missing additional notes, written in later life by Knox on his adventures and experiences, have recently been discovered in the Bodleian, fol. A 623.

beginnings to the general history of the age, would have for foremost figure that of Sir Thomas Roe. Over and over again his biography has been taken in hand, in part prepared, then left in fragments. It is as if destiny had reserved it for our ideal historian. There was, in those times, no truer Englishman, no more accomplished Englishman, no more travelled Englishman than Sir Thomas Roe. In his youth he had been an explorer in America; in Africa he set up a pillar to commemorate his embassy at the Cape; he was then *en route* for Asia and India. If, after his return from the Great Mogul, he had gone out, as was proposed—November 19th, 1619—as principal of the fleet to Bantam, affairs in the Spice Islands might have taken a different turn. He had strange influence over half criminal, half heroic, dispositions. He might have made another man of Coen. Instead, he went, for the Turkey Company, as King's Ambassador to the Sultan. In later life he was envoy to Gustavus Adolphus and to the Empire. He watched the Thirty Years' War through most of its course. He came home to die just as the Civil War was breaking out. He had survived both Salisbury and Dorchester. After these among Jacobean statesmen and diplomatists he might rank third; and in all English history these three are not easily excelled in the science of statesmanship and the arts of diplomacy. At all its principal passages the tale of Roe's services flows in upon, and off from, the very core and centre of the history of the time.

'He was a part of all that he had met.
Much had he seen and known; cities of men,
And manners, climates, councils, governments,
Himself not least, but honour'd of them all.'

And, let us note again, his policy is everywhere the old Gresham policy—quite away from that of Coen*—is an Elisabethan, a Jacobean, in a word a waiting policy. Roe, like Jenkinson, is still in the Gresham tradition and connexion; his grandmother was a daughter of Sir John, a niece of Sir Thomas, Gresham.

* For Roe's strong opinion as to the violence and ingratitude of the Dutch, we need only refer to a letter from Constantinople to Carleton (Dorchester), then still English envoy to the United Provinces, dated November 27th, 1624. ('Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1622-4,' p. 453.)

As Roe is the typical Anglo-Indian statesman of the first generation, so is Surat the typical factory, cradle of Anglo-Indian character, and nursery of Anglo-Indian commerce. Bantam looked forth towards altogether new departures and destinies; it might have caught up, almost prematurely, might have led astray, the spirit of English adventure among strange islands and into unknown seas. Surat lay on an ancient trade route between the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Gulf of Cambay. It could pick up, it could link into a new chain, an older mechanism. Surat and Jedda were the two ports of embarkation along a line of continual movement; Mecca was at one end, the goal of merchants and pilgrims, Agra at the other. The tone of the Surat settlement was Protestant and Puritan, corresponding to that of the party with which Leicester had been in sympathy, and then Essex, and to which Archbishop Abbott belonged; it partook of the grave and serious seventeenth-century vein—Jacobean, Caroline, Cromwellian; it is in kinship with this grave and serious country gentleman and London city magnate who directs affairs at Surat. Men like Sir George Oxinden and Mr Gerald Aungier are worthy contemporaries of Mr John Milton. John Milton was born in 1608; and that is the very year in which Captain Hawkins, with the *Hector*, being the first vessel of any English company to anchor in any port of the continent of India, arrived at Surat. Milton couples immediately the trade of the Persian Gulf with that of the coasts above and below the estuaries of the Indus—

‘the wealth of Ormuz, and of Ind,’

and this marks exactly the outlook of his age and that taken by the English factors at Surat. Thoughts reflecting abroad those which inspired Milton at home—for on the serenity and tolerance of Shakespeare had followed the scrupulosity and severity of Milton—of the duties rather than the delights, of the temptations incident to an ‘earthly paradise,’ may well have dominated this earliest Anglo-Indian society, ‘the President, and Council, and family’ at Surat. Its life was that of an extended domestic circle, of a concentrated guild, with its divisions or gradations, of senior and junior merchants, factors, writers, and apprentices. Its discipline reminds one of that of a college.

almost of that of a cloister. During, say, the first three quarters of a century, promotion to Surat would be the highest promotion in the gift of the Company's Court at London. At Surat would sit their oldest, soberest, trustiest, and most trusted advisers and agents. The younger, bolder, less precise crew, shippers and brokers, with their positions and reputations to make or mar, would go on to the rougher, wilder, more unsettled life in the islands round Bantam, or beyond into the Chinese and Japanese waters. The Surat factory, 'the English house at Surat,' was maintained, not as a freehold, still less as a fort, but on a kind of experimental sufferance. The seeds were in planting, then and there, for a far-distant harvest. It was a small overflow of, it was a little parcel from, the England which had been sown under the Tudors, and was being sifted under the Stewarts.

We have described how Queen Elisabeth saw the Company projected and instituted, how she gave it the charter, how she sent it out to sea. But she had not granted that first charter at once, or without conditions; she had held it back because of the momentary exigencies of her policy in regard to Spain. Through all their history, the directors of the Company were to have a similar experience of procrastination, interference, check; their policy had to be considered side by side with, or over against, dynastic and national policy; this first occurrence in their life as a corporation, the postponement of their charter, was a typical occurrence. It is quite true, though Sir W. Hunter repeats this too often, and builds upon it too much, that there was no such identification of the concerns of trade with the affairs of the State, in the case of the Company of London Merchants and the Council and Crown of England, as existed between the Dutch East India Company and the executive authorities of the United Provinces. It is none the less true that the leading merchants of London, trafficking in the East, had to watch general international circumstances, the causes and consequences of war, the meshes and manœuvres of treaties, at every step and turn, as much as, perhaps more than, any of their neighbours, primarily in Europe, but also, and this more or less from the first, in Turkey, in Russia, at Ispahan, at Agra, and, as time went on, in the camp of the Maráthás, at the court of the Nizám, and in the councils of Surat,

Murshidábád, and Lucknow. They had their eyes on this distant commerce, these merchants, but in their ears were all the rumours of the hour, the cries of the street, the troubles of the Crown, the dissensions of the Commonwealth. If we consider the education of this last offspring of the policy of Elisabeth, how elaborate was its training, how intricate its course, how skilful had to be its pilotage!

The first quarter of the seventeenth century ends with the death, in 1625, of James I. In his island kingdom, and so far as his sway extended, it was a time of absolutely unbroken, though of highly artificial, tranquillity, during which he did his best to maintain the old Tudor prerogative and the position of both defender of the Church of England and protector-in-chief throughout Europe of the Protestant Reformation. Everywhere he had to trim, and especially between Scotland, England, and the Netherlands. He wished to meet Spain on terms of equality and of amity. He would fain have arbitrated so as to avert from Germany the Thirty Years' War. Among the perplexities of the reign, as rival of the Portuguese, now dependent on Spain, and of the Dutch, a new, ambitious, avaricious, and valiant nationality among the Protestant Powers of the Continent, the English East India Company embarked on its career; and, in the main, the King's aims and those of the City magnates engaged in the East India trade did not disagree. But, passing away from these formative reigns of Elisabeth Tudor and James Stewart, what an incongruous, and, in every sense but one, inconsequent series of rulers is to follow! Face after face, character after character, down to the days of Clive—what contrasts of private taste and of public fortune! what contrasts in the conduct of affairs! what contrasts even in mien, and race, and language! How should we compose a dialogue among the shades between, for example, the first and last of these rulers, Charles I and George II, on foreign policy; or, on Church government, between Oliver Cromwell and James II? Far more easily would Francis Drake and Robert Clive light on a congenial theme and a common understanding. How wonderfully, in spite of all—such might be, between this couple, the reflection—had the English roving spirit survived, and the instinct of English eastward trade been strengthened and confirmed!

After the birthday under Elisabeth, and the schooldays

under James, fell the apprentice years under Charles I and Oliver Cromwell. It was a time of probation for the country, and for the Company. The design on the Indies and the East could grow only very slowly towards full stature, and on hard and frugal fare. Yet the Company did not perish; if it had to contract, it managed to consolidate, its methods and its efforts. 'We could wish,' wrote the President and Council at Surat, 'we could wish,' echoed back,* in 1638, the Governor and committees from London, 'that we could vindicate the reputation of our nation, and do ourselves right . . . but we must bear the burden, and with patience sit still until we may find these frowning times more auspicious to us and to our affairs.' Their whole policy, from 1638 or thereabouts to 1660, is expressed in these words. Yet there did take place, during the reign of Charles I, on the Indian mainland, in a territory hitherto comparatively unfrequented and unexplored, but to be hereafter the rallying ground of commercial and political expansion, a tentative movement. On what was known in Anglo-Indian parlance as 'the Coast'—that is the coast of Coromandel—and towards what was known as 'the Bay'—that is the Bay of Bengal—roots were driven and feelers pushed forth towards factories which should also be forts. What was tentative soon became deliberate, and we date from 1639 the first definite act of seisin in India, the first grasp of the English at property and possession on the continent of Asia. It is the year before the meeting of the Long Parliament, it is on the very eve, at home, of the great Civil War, of the greatest national disturbance in our history. In 1639, in the very last year of the Peace of King Charles, and in the name of the patron saint of his kingdom—so some contemporary churchman or cavalier might have read the signs of the times—was Fort St George founded, to be governed and garrisoned from England, to inaugurate a fresh chapter in Anglo-Indian annals.

The English House at Surat stands for the policy of the Company till about the year 1640. From, say, 1640 to 1690 Fort St George symbolises and represents that policy. There had been some previous discussion whether Arma-

* Cf. Bruce, 'Annals of the East India Company,' i, 349, and 'A History of British India,' ii. 65. and note.

gaon or Masulipatam or Madras was best suited to be a place of arms and of stores from whence to control and command the traffic on the Eastern shores of the Indian peninsula. As in the first quarter of the century among the Spice Islands, so during the second quarter of the century on 'the Coast'—from Cape Comorin up towards the Ganges delta—the English factors, now advancing, now receding, had spied out the land, studied the temper of the inhabitants, sought a permanent and defensible foothold. Pathfinder-in-chief, and then successful city-planter—little else is known of him—was a Mr Francis Day. He helped to found the factory at Armagaon in 1625, he founded Madras, or Fort St George, in 1639, he revived the factory at Balasor in 1642.

To sum up the years, indeed the century, which ensued : through the whole period of the Long Parliament, of the Great Rebellion, of the Civil War, of the Restoration, of the Revolution, of the settlement of the succession, the government of the East India Company could not but shift a good deal away from exact dependence on, or clear subservience to, Leadenhall Street. Much had to be left, much was left, to the discretion of the agents abroad, at Surat, Bantam, and Masulipatam, and then, as later stations grew into importance, at Fort St George, or Bombay, or Kásimbázár. The Company needed all their craft to be able to transfer authority and to disclaim responsibility, were they to weather the times of Cromwell, of Charles II, of James II, of William III, of Anne, of the first two Georges. The seasons changed, as it were, and the dangers, with each new ruler ; but the dangers never diminished, and, though the storm-cloud veered from one point on the horizon to another, it never dispersed. In 1653, Fort St George became the seat of a Presidency. Mr Francis Day had handed on his gift for scrutiny and acquisition. We find the Presidency examining—at the moment negativing—the practicability of an overland India trade right across country between Madras, Goa, and Surat. Always we have the outposts maintained, the approaches multiplied, in the direction of Bengal, of the delta and valley of the Ganges.

With the restoration of the Stewarts and the return, in 1660, of Charles II to Whitehall, there set in, along with the magnificence of a court modelled on that of Louis Quatorze, a steady revival of trade, a growing demand for

luxuries and curiosities, not least for the gems, the gauzes, and the spices of the East. Charles II and his brother took a keen interest in mercantile affairs. Their policy was propped on the secret alliance with France; they hoped to win personal popularity by offering every encouragement to the spread of distant colonies and conquests; it was their cue to proclaim against all comers and to assert at every opportunity their sovereignty of the seas. They desired to put an end to the power and the pretensions of the Dutch Republic, its theory of the state, and its organisation of commerce. Cromwell had been a kind of 'Stadtholder' in Britain, a Protector of the genius of a nation much after the Dutch pattern, a William the Silent on the most impressive and extensive scale. As we know, it was to be the fate of the whole system of the Stewarts to be ultimately recast by another 'Stadtholder,' the third William as stadtholder of Holland, the third William as king of England. Meanwhile, though there was a marriage in Charles II's reign of his niece the Duke of York's elder daughter with this very Prince of Orange—as there had been in Charles I's reign of the then Princess Mary with the then Prince William of Orange—the two Stewart brothers were in sentiment and sympathy absolutely and entirely anti-Dutch; and, with regard to business, if not with regard to politics and religion, they had the merchants of London with them. The final issues we have already hinted at. The principles of freedom, which after all were identical in Holland and in England, prevailed at Westminster, were recombined, assimilated afresh, were finally Englished and nationalised. There was a kind of momentary personal triumph of the Dutch, of the spirit of de Ruyter, of the policy of the House of Orange. On the other hand, the ordering and regulating of the commerce of the world passed from the United Provinces and from Amsterdam to the British Isles and to the City of London.

But we are hastening on too quickly to the close of the seventeenth century. Let us pause on some such date as the year 1674. The third quarter of the century has all but expired. It is the year of the peace between England and the States-General. It divides fairly well the reign of Charles II into two parts. Down to 1674 the history of foreign complications is what most interests

the student of the reign; from 1674 onwards the history of the reign is that of plot and counterplot at home, with regard to the succession, and with regard to the controversies of the creeds. In 1674, moreover, Pondicherry was founded, and French rivalry came definitely into view on 'the Coast'; as, a couple of years later, the founding of the French settlement of Chandarnagar disclosed it on the Hugli and in 'the Bay.' It is in the year 1674 that Josiah Child first becomes a director of the East India Company. It is the year in which Thomas Pitt is first mentioned as an interloper. Child, afterwards Sir Josiah Child, baronet, inspired the councils of the Company at home till the end of the century. He died in 1699. At the end of the century Thomas Pitt was governor at Fort St George. He was still governor when his grandson William Pitt—the first Earl of Chatham—was born. The 'tales of a grandfather' which the Great Commoner might remember would be tales of adventurous voyages in the Persian Gulf and in the Bay of Bengal, of the 'Pitt' diamond, of the siege of Madras by Daoud Khan, of the campaigns of Aurangzeb. The career of Clive—which again and again commenced and recommenced from Fort St George—must have had a quite peculiar interest for William Pitt. The year 1674 marks, further, a very large increase in the shipping and stock sent out from England as the nucleus of the commerce with Asia. The merchants and factors abroad were made aware that capital and intelligence at home were engaged as never before in the affairs of India. We note the question arising in 1676 as to whether the trade with Persia could be most effectively re-established by the employment of force or by treaty. In 1676 the Surat Presidency was still in favour of pacific measures. But nine years later, when a similar question arose with regard to outlying provinces of the Mogul's dominion, the Bay of Cambay and the Bay of Bengal, the verdict was for open war. That is the year 1685, in which James II came to the throne, in which Sir John Child, Sir Josiah's brother, was made a baronet, and was in authority at Surat, or rather at Bombay—for that is the moment, too, when Bombay, instead of Surat, became the seat of the Western Presidency, to be for a while indeed factory and fortress-in-chief of the whole English adventure in India.

It was the day of many great designs as well as of what, in the Anglo-Indian history of the seventeenth century, goes by the name of 'the Great Design.' The King himself had a hand in it. Inconsistency is a Stewart characteristic; in some of the Stewarts it becomes an altogether baffling quality. It is hard to explain the inconsistencies of Charles I; it is harder still to explain the inconsistencies of James II. He narrows his views—and narrowness is far too weak a term—where and when we should least expect him to do so; again, when we least expect it, his policy soars to skilfully planned and even highly imaginative flights. We see him listening to Penn when America is in debate, and in India giving a free hand to Sir Josiah and Sir John Child. Sir Josiah Child was the ruling spirit in Leadenhall Street. At Surat and Bombay he relied on his brother, Sir John, who was captain-general and admiral in the regions and harbours to which the English resorted, and had directions to proceed, if necessary, to Fort St George, and even to Bengal, in order 'to bring the whole under a regulated administration.*' On the other side of India, up the Hugli and on the Ganges, Sir Josiah Child's confidant, correspondent, spy, and chosen captain and chief, was Job Charnock, the founder and father of Calcutta.

They must have been nearly if not quite contemporaries, Josiah and Job; their names seem to indicate a Puritan stock; one could fancy them to have been boys together, companions in obscurity and poverty, in day-dreams, at their start in life. They rose from the ranks, the one to be the foremost British merchant of his times, the other to fix the site and begin to build the city from whence the Anglo-Indian Empire is governed. Child was born in 1630, and died in 1699. Charnock's name first meets us in India in 1655 or 1656; he died in 1693. They were born under Charles I: they passed away towards the end of the century under William III. Each might have changed places with the other—so it strikes us as we study what remains in the way of record of each: Charnock might have been the great head of the Company in London, Child the letter-writer and explorer on the Lower Ganges. Charnock is about our earliest specimen of the

* Bruce, ii, 568.

Anglo-Indian 'Nabob,' of the orientalised, in this case the somewhat sultanised, Englishman. Through what changes, while he lingered in the East, had his country passed! The East India Company had lived through them all; through them all his friend and patron, Sir Josiah, had flourished; but how could the man who had come out to Bengal under the Commonwealth picture to himself the court of Charles II, the cabinet of James II, the sentiment which placed the Prince of Orange on the throne? He may have planned to christen the stronghold of his own Calcutta Fort St James; it was to be named Fort William. Once and again Charnock chose the spot; only at the third attempt did he succeed in settling the English at Sutanati. There he and his lie buried. It is not an easy character to decipher: fable and myth have overgrown it all along. Possibly we have here nature's and circumstance's rough draft for the figure of Clive. An agent far up country, at Patna, managing the saltpetre trade, with nothing but wars in the local and universal air, the wars of Aurangzeb, the wars of Louis Quatorze, the Rebellions, Restorations, Revolutions of England; a clerk at the desk, always reckoning to have to play the soldier and the engineer, never certain of his position, he may be bidden to obey a Hedges in council or to follow a Heath on campaign. He had a vakeel at Delhi: once at least there was a project for him to visit Delhi in person. We have a vague impression of a man with a strong, self-contained, self-asserting will, a man who makes himself felt and feared, a man who toils long to attain success, and whom successes do not after all satisfy. Legends there were in the factory of his having turned in the end capricious, indolent, something of a tyrant. Native legend paints him as a wizard who with a burning glass set the Hugli banks on fire, and who, when the Mogul general barred the river with chains, shattered them with one blow of his sword. Some dim notion that the man's fame would endure, that his warfare and way-faring on earth would have more than ordinary claim on the memory of posterity, might seem to haunt, and even to hallow, the words on his tomb: 'Qui, postquam in solo non suo peregrinatus esset diu, reversus est domum suae æternitatis.'

Thus have we followed, through evil and good report,

in adverse fortunes and at prosperous turns, the policy of these merchant-committees and of their factors in the East, all through the seventeenth century—a notable expression and expansion of civic and metropolitan thought and life, full of chance and change, yet animated with unity of purpose and persistence of endeavour, from the days of Sir Thomas Smith and Aldworthe, the settler of an English trade at Surat, to the days of Sir Josiah Child and Charnock, the founder of what was to be the Imperial capital at Calcutta.

Is it mere fancy that would trace a faint resemblance between Charnock and the industrious and indomitable civilian and publicist whose last volume, whose almost last words, celebrated Charnock once more? The one determined the site for a chief city of Bengal and India, the centre whence the conquest of Bengal and India was to proceed; the other mapped out Bengal and India for new studies, sociological, political, linguistic, historical. Three times he essayed, as it were, to clear the jungle: in his 'Imperial Gazetteer'; in his series of 'Rulers of India'; finally, in the volumes before us. He opened the quarries, he laid the foundations, he began to build. He left the conditions most favourable and the moment most apt for the erection of a splendid edifice. To write carefully a history of the East India Company during the seventeenth century and the earlier years of the eighteenth; then to describe accurately the policy of the Governors-General down to the end of the nineteenth century; then to discuss the Anglo-Indian problems which rush so thickly upon us, world-problems, as they threaten to become—here is a work which some young scholar of the finest gifts might well undertake, as we turn from the nineteenth into the twentieth century, and, if he gave himself fully to his task, he would find it test all his powers and employ all his leisure during the next fifty years. He would thus pursue in their natural order, though in the contrary order to that adopted by his predecessor, Sir W. Hunter's researches. Here is a labour which could never be better undertaken than now, and which would have in a rare degree the prospect of remaining, through the ages, classical and monumental.

Art. IV.—THE VICTORIAN STAGE.

1. *The Drama of Yesterday and To-day*. By Clement Scott. Two vols. London : Macmillan, 1899.
2. *Dramatic Criticism*. By J. T. Grein. London : John Long, 1899.
3. *Nights at the Play*. By Dutton Cook. Two vols. London : Chatto and Windus, 1883.
4. *Some Notable Hamlets of the Present Time*. By Clement Scott. London : Greening, 1900.
5. *Helena Faucit (Lady Martin)*. By Sir Theodore Martin. Edinburgh and London : Blackwood, 1900.

A RETROSPECT of the English drama from the accession of Queen Victoria to the present time, aiming at a complete record of the various changes in taste and manners which society has undergone during so long an interval, and gauging the fidelity with which they have been reflected on the stage, would, it is needless to say, require a volume to itself, and one very different from any of those which stand at the head of this article. Even a much less ambitious attempt, confined to a criticism of all the best-known plays and most popular actors of the Victorian era, would be entirely beyond the scope of a Quarterly Review article. All that we propose on the present occasion is to note some of the salient points which the retrospect presents, some of the leading contrasts which it affords between the middle and the close of the Victorian era, and some of the comparisons which it suggests between the comedy of the nineteenth and the comedy of the eighteenth century.

The Victorian period of the drama divides itself into two parts, which, though they run into each other, have sufficiently distinct characteristics. Sixty years ago we find the 'legitimate drama' struggling to hold its own against opera, burlesque, and melodrama. Some good pieces were produced, but they did not represent the real life of the period, or 'take' with society as the new drama has taken. 'London Assurance' is a conspicuous example of this defect, and betrays a total absence of that social knowledge which the author, when it was written, had enjoyed few opportunities of acquiring. The talk of the servants is even more absurd than it is in Sheridan's plays,

of which indeed 'London Assurance' is an obvious imitation. But it may be doubted whether the dramatists of that day aimed at producing anything like real life, like what they themselves saw either in private life or at their clubs and taverns. Now there was a reason at that time why this did not affect their popularity. During the twenty years that passed from about 1830 to 1850 the stage was gradually losing its hold upon the fashionable world; and the majority of play-goers neither knew nor cared whether the scenes set before them professing to represent that world were true to nature or not. It was sufficient that they were thoroughly amusing. Those who were satisfied with Sir Mulberry Hawk, Lord Frederick Verisopht, and Old Wardle, as types of the Kentish squire or the London rake, men whom you might meet at any time in a country manor house or a West End club, would not enquire very particularly whether such men as Sir Charles Coldstream, Alfred Evelyn, or Sir Harcourt Courtley, really lived and moved in English society. They paid for a good laugh, and they got their money's worth.

Now in most of the comedies of the eighteenth century, certainly in the best, the author does intend to hold the mirror up to nature, and to reproduce the society of his own day. It must be allowed that that society was easier to reproduce than our own. It was easier then for the actor who was not to the manner born to put on the outward semblance of a gentleman than it has been since. Dress and demeanour went much further, and there was less room for observing the little niceties of behaviour which now distinguish a gentleman or a lady from one who is neither. In Bulwer's 'Paul Clifford,' the highwaymen passed muster very well in the Assembly Room at Bath, save that one of the party talked and laughed a little too loudly. To be properly dressed, to know how to wear a sword and carry a cane, how to make a bow to a lady, and swear a round oath at a lackey, was all that was necessary to constitute a stage gentleman in the reign of George II. As the other sex are naturally more imitative, more gentle, and more graceful than the men, the task was still easier for them, so that there was no difficulty in finding actors and actresses quite equal to keeping up the illusion in society dramas.

If we turn to the comedies of Murphy, Bickerstaff

Cibber, and others of that era, we shall see at once they are meant for pictures of real life, and as long as they continued to be so society went to look at itself through the dramatic mirror. If we can trust the novels of that day, if we can trust the modern imitations of them, such as 'Esmond' and the 'Virginians,' if we can trust the evidence of the Essayists, from Steele and Addison down to Mackenzie and Cumberland, the stage in their day really was a reflection of living manners, of what one might see or hear in the 'gilded saloons,' in the clubs, and in all places of public amusement frequented by the best society. It was easy, says Mackenzie in 'The Lounger' (1786), for a clever actor so to play the hero of a comedy as to make young people confound the copy with the original, and suppose that a real gentleman was the same kind of man as the fictitious one: and therefore the immoral hero had a bad effect. But he could not do this equally with the hero of tragedy. It is clear, therefore, that the eighteenth-century comedies were meant to reproduce upon the stage the life of the boudoir and the ball-room, and that they did to a great extent succeed. As it became more difficult to do this, as there were fewer salient points on which the actor could depend, as the gap between life on the stage and life off it became wider and more apparent, English comedy began to decline, with the result which we have already noticed.

Webster's offer of five hundred pounds in 1843 for the best comedy of 'high life' shows that he felt, at least, the want of something different from 'London Assurance,' which came out in 1841. The prize was awarded to Mrs Gore, for a comedy entitled 'Quid pro Quo,' which was acted at the Haymarket in 1844. Mrs Nisbet, Mrs Glover, and Buckstone were all in the cast, and they all did their best. But 'Quid pro Quo' was not likely to succeed where 'London Assurance' failed. The champion destined to awaken the sleeping beauty was not yet found. Something very much better was required to bring back the world of fashion to the stalls and boxes. On this point we have the testimony of Mrs Gore herself. In her preface to 'Quid pro Quo' she says:—

'Were the boxes often filled, as I had the gratification of seeing them for the first representation of "Quid pro Quo," with those aristocratic and literary classes of the community

who have absolutely withdrawn their patronage from the English stage, . . . a new order of dramatic authors would be encouraged to write, and of performers to study. But no one familiar with the nightly aspect of our theatres will deny that they are supported by a class requiring a very different species of entertainment; . . . a mere daguerreotype picture of the manners of the day would afford little satisfaction to playgoers accustomed to the disproportion and caricature established with the custom of the stage.'

This 'aristocratic and literary' company which came the first night did not come again. It was twenty years before they returned to the play. Meanwhile, a reaction was slowly setting in, though we think it must in justice be allowed that it was not fairly established till Robertson made his first great hit. We cannot, indeed, see that he is entitled to such marked pre-eminence as is claimed for him; or that the comparison drawn by his biographer—to whose filial admiration, of course, something must be allowed—between the drama as Robertson found it and the drama as he made it, is a just criticism, 'Pieces,' says Mr Robertson, 'which reflected the form of English society were received by lovers of the drama as a breath of fresh air in a vitiated atmosphere.' We should not say that the atmosphere of the stage was particularly vitiated forty years ago. It was not that which kept the world away from the theatre. This is very clear, for the atmosphere is sufficiently unwholesome now, and yet society breathes it with delight. Nevertheless, it is an undoubted fact that the production of 'Caste,' 'Ours,' 'Society,' and what are known generally as 'the Caste plays,' was coincident with a marked rise in the popularity of the stage.

'The new drama' was in some respects a return to nature. Mrs Gore's prophecy had been fulfilled. A class of playwrights had sprung up whose realism made them something quite different from Bulwer, or Tom Taylor, or Charles Reade, or Boucicault, or G. H. Lewes. 'The Way to Keep Him,' for instance, on which the 'Serious Family' is founded, might have been a true reflection—'a daguerreotype picture'—of eighteenth-century life. The 'Serious Family' is only a caricature of modern life. But the later school of dramatists aim at reproducing on the stage the manners and morals of society as closely as Colman or Cibber, Bickerstaff or Murphy. After a long

interval we have returned to the methods of what many critics still consider the most brilliant days of British comedy; and a very important question which we have to ask is whether our dramatic authors are succeeding in the task which they have set themselves. We may ask this question with regard to both authors and performers; and—to take the latter first—if it is no longer so easy to counterfeit the character of a lady or gentleman on the stage as it was when costume was more marked and manners more formal than they are now, nevertheless it may be granted at once that such parts are usually very well filled at our best theatres. This appears to be, partly at least, owing to a cause with which some leading theatrical critics cannot be sufficiently angry. Mr Clement Scott, for instance, complains that the old-fashioned hard-working conscientious actor, full of stage traditions,* devoted to his profession, and caring nothing for social recognition, is thrust to the wall by sprigs of aristocracy and 'society schoolgirls' who neither possess any natural aptitude for the stage nor take the trouble to acquire it. Really finished acting is therefore, we are told, in danger of extinction. But is such the impression left upon one's mind after witnessing such plays as 'The Liars,' or 'The Squire of Dames,' or 'The Passport,' or 'Liberty Hall,' or 'The Fool's Paradise,' or 'Lady Ursula'? As to the truth of these dramas we shall have a word to say presently. But surely the acting, if in some cases it lacked power, seldom or never lacked finish. The fact that so many ladies and gentlemen have found room for themselves upon the stage is due, among other causes, to the change in manners which we have already mentioned. It shows that they were wanted. The supply has followed the demand; and in the plays that we have ourselves witnessed we see no signs of that crudeness and carelessness which Mr Scott denounces when he enlarges on the superiority of the old school of actors and the laborious study which produced it.

It is moreover to be remembered that what is complained of as injurious to the English stage has also its good side. The change in question has tended to raise

* Sir Theodore thinks that Helena Faucit's early success was partly due to her ignorance of stage traditions.

the social status of the actor. Actors and actresses are now welcomed in society. They have the manners and the habits of the class with which they mingle, and to which many of them naturally belong. This result has undoubtedly contributed greatly to the success of the drawing-room drama during the last quarter of a century. The theatre has again become the fashion. The aristocratic spectators who crowd the stalls and boxes see the characters which are taken from their own class simply and naturally acted. The social education which is open to a large proportion of the theatrical profession has enabled managers and proprietors to minimise the difficulties created by those changes in the external aspect of society to which we have before referred, and to bring before the curtain the ladies and gentlemen of Mayfair and Belgravia, of Pall Mall and Piccadilly, in such faultless guise that they might have stepped from the stalls on to the stage at that moment.

Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to do for the plays themselves exactly what has been done for the actor and actress. Modern life is externally so quiet and undemonstrative, the fine gentleman of to-day shrinks so rigidly from anything that is impulsive or emotional, and has so constantly before his eyes Lord Monmouth's great rule of conduct, the fear of making himself ridiculous, that to produce any effect upon the stage it is absolutely necessary to raise it somewhat above the actual level. It requires a little artificial colour, as the actress requires a little rouge. Incidents and actions must be accentuated: and it would probably be impossible for the most accomplished dramatist to construct a play which, while an exact and unembellished copy of what we should not be surprised to see at a London reception, should be neither insipid nor unintelligible. Broad effects are wanted on the stage: and the faint smiles and furtive glances and almost imperceptible gestures, all that makes up the by-play at a large party, would be invisible to nine tenths of the audience, if not to the whole of it, across the footlights. It is this supreme necessity which, in spite of admirable acting, still imparts a certain air of unreality to many of our most popular modern plays. On the stage the colours must be heightened, and they harmonise ill with the outward quietude, the general pallor, of con-

temporary life. It was different a hundred years ago, Strongly comic stage incidents, if not such as actually occurred, were then not inconsistent with the general tone of fashionable society: they bore about them no air of improbability. But they are improbable, if not impossible, at the present day.

We will give a single instance of what we mean. In that amusing piece the 'Liars,' a lady's husband is so immersed in business, and apparently so unconscious that it is any part of his duty to make himself agreeable to his wife after marriage, that she is on the point of consoling herself with some one else. The husband hears of it and rushes into a room where among a group of guests stands the favoured lover, with the lady on his arm, ready for an immediate start. The husband is furious. A common friend intervenes, and what is his remedy? The wife has consented to elope; she has already been unfaithful in her heart; and her husband is informed that it will be all right if he only takes her out to supper! The gentleman who prescribes this treatment is one who has a great reputation for composing marital quarrels, and getting ladies out of difficulties. He does not give this bit of advice to the husband in secret, but proclaims it openly before the assembled group. 'If you don't make love to your wife, some other fellow will,' he says. And the way to prevent this misfortune is to treat her to lobster salad!

Little incidents of this kind are constantly turning up in these fashionable pieces and destroying the illusion. Something of the kind seems to be indispensable to add piquancy to our domestic comedy. But if that quality can only be purchased by the introduction of broad farce, it is too high a price to pay for it. The contrast between the pure realism of the whole play and the absurdity of the comic 'relief' is too marked; and no gift of genius in the actor who presents it could make it appear otherwise. There is of course a farcical leaven, to which no one can object, in almost all comedies. But it should neither be relied upon as the centre of attraction nor introduced, however sparingly, in violation of all those social conventionalities which legitimate comedy is bound to respect.

To turn again for a moment to the performers themselves, as distinct from the plays in which they act—we cannot help enquiring whether, with all the grace and

finish, all the humour, and all the ease which characterise our best comedians, there is still not something wanting to the perfection of their art: a something rather to be felt than described: a something which, whether we call it greater earnestness, or greater reality, or greater power, should make us one of the party on the stage, and forgetful that we are only lookers-on. There is a good deal in Mr Grein's book with which we cannot agree. But we think he is approaching a truth, though we regret to say so, in what he writes of 'Lady Ursula.' At all events it will serve to illustrate our meaning:—

'The part [Lady Ursula] allotted to Miss Millard was worthy of a great actress; and a great actress would have lifted the play. But Miss Millard played nicely, sweetly, coyly, like a London *bourgeoise* of the outer circle who delights in male fancy dress, with due deference to Mrs Grundy. It was an agreeable performance in a minor key.'

Mr Grein is decidedly wrong on one point—there is nothing of the *bourgeoise* in Miss Millard's acting; but he is right upon the whole. Lady Ursula is one of those performances which on coming away we at once pronounce 'charming.' To vary Mr Grein's words, it is only pretty, where it ought to be powerful.

We have next to consider a much more delicate question: the morality of the modern stage. We remember, when 'Liberty Hall' came out, hearing a lady well known in the ranks of fashion, and an indefatigable playgoer, express lively satisfaction that a play had at last been produced to which you could take your daughters. It is undeniable that authors do not scruple to present upon the stage now what they would not have ventured to exhibit during the earlier years of the Victorian era. Vice and profligacy will of course supply food for comedy as long as the theatre exists. But there are two ways of introducing vice. It may be said that many of the heroines of the society drama go no further than Lady Teazle did, if so far. But in the 'School for Scandal' the scene between Lady Teazle and Joseph Surface, with the discovery of the former, is turned into a farce; and Joseph's arguments in support of his suit, and the lady's explanation of the only motives which could make her consent to it, are so laughable, and so far removed from

anything resembling passion, that no harm is done. There is no suggestiveness, no implied recognition of vice as a matter of course. The whole thing is a caricature.

It is very different with some modern plays, the chief interest of which is made to consist in bringing the two worlds, the *monde* and the *demi-monde*, into as close juxtaposition as possible, and even in blurring the lines by which they are separated from each other. We are told that the popularity of such plays is due to the fact that they do really represent a corresponding deterioration in the tone of English society and the moral standards which govern it; and that in this one respect, at all events, they reproduce the very form and fashion of the time. In two books which have lately been published by authors of repute, to whom the doors of society are open, we find this deterioration deplored as an acknowledged fact. The Warden of Merton, who may be supposed to write with knowledge, says in his 'Reminiscences' that there is, he fears, an inner circle of the fashionable world in which much is habitually said and done which in the earlier Victorian era was a comparatively rare exception, even in the gayest society; and Mr Lilly, in his recently published volume, 'First Principles in Politics,' tells us still more confidently that 'one of the notes of the age is a pronounced laxity of practice—and, what is worse, of theory—about sexual matters.' What weight is to be attached to the gossip of club smoking-rooms is, of course, a matter of opinion. But the fact remains that 'society' lends a favourable ear to such plays as 'The Second Mrs Tanqueray,' 'The Gay Lord Quex,' and 'The Profligate'; and that, if some ladies of fashion hesitate to let their daughters see them, many do not. Now if what Mr Brodrick and Mr Lilly assert is really true, we must not suppose that it is the licence of the stage that has led to the corruption of manners, but rather the corruption of manners which has encouraged the licence of the stage.

If there is any truth in the above remarks, it would seem that the palmy days of pure comedy must be looked for in the past; and the gradual encroachment of the novel on the province of the drama points the same way. The fact is, every kind of comedy, be it of intrigue or character, must of necessity be more or less the comedy of manners, dependent, that is, on the aspects and the con-

ventions of society at any given time ; and if the manners of the *fin de siècle* do not lend themselves readily to theatrical representation, we have only to expect that our dramatic productions will bear traces of the difficulties which they have had to contend with. The 'repose' of Vere de Vere cannot well be imitated on the stage, and the mirth which is introduced to relieve it is only purchased at the cost of congruity, probability, or decency.

Mr Robertson was the first playwright to set himself seriously to work to overcome these difficulties, and to present real life upon the stage in all its natural simplicity. His popular career may be said to have commenced with 'David Garrick' (1864), and to have culminated with 'Caste' in 1867. 'Society' and 'Ours' appeared between the two ; and 'Play,' 'School,' 'Dreams' and 'War' followed them. We cannot say that we think any of them models of constructive art. They were plays of home life, depending to a great extent on those domestic incidents with which we are all familiar and which English people always love. The two most popular of the series are, we suppose, 'Caste' and 'School.' But the misfortune of 'Caste' is that there is neither plot nor point in it. The marriage of George and Esther is no rebuke to caste ; and the marriage of Sam and Polly is no contrast. 'School' is even weaker in construction than 'Caste.' The young ladies' school, which gives its name to the piece, is not in the least degree wanted ; while the expedient of Bella Marten turning out to be a lost heiress and the cousin of Lord Beaufoy is too stale to cause the slightest throb of excitement. But in both cases the performers came to the rescue. Hare, Bancroft, and Marie Wilton formed a trio who would have made a triumphant success of any well-written play.

In our opinion 'Society' is Mr Robertson's best. There is a real plot in this, and fairly well worked out, but the story keeps less closely to real life than most of the others. Sidney Daryl, the literary barrister, is an old friend in whose reality we have little faith. He is a kind of cross between Charles Surface and Arthur Pendennis—the kind of man whom young writers, with little knowledge of the world, are fond of imagining, and what aspiring youths fresh from Oxford or Cambridge would like to be taken for. Sidney Daryl is thoroughly conventional, as much

so as Charles Torrens in 'London Assurance.' The 'man about town,' living in chambers in the Temple, writing a smart magazine article when he is in the humour, for which he is paid enormous sums, constantly receiving letters from the editor of the 'Times' begging for a leader on the question of the day, deeply in debt—this is an essential feature of the character—member of a fashionable club, with the *entrée* to all the green-rooms in London—this is the ideal hero of many a young man on first leaving college, though it is needless to say that he exists only in the imagination of such as have no other sources of information. These aspirations have been the ruin of many a clever fellow who but for this silly vanity might have been a respectable member of society, and died a county-court judge. We need not detain the reader any longer over what are known as 'the Caste plays.' Aided by some of the most skilful and gentlemanly actors and one of the most bewitching actresses of our time, they undoubtedly hit the public taste, and 'caught on.' Their realism we suppose was their novelty; they showed the public on the stage what they could see at home, and to appetites jaded with the traditional heroes and heroines, the plots and contrivances of the earlier and mid-century comedy, they came as a refreshing change.

We now turn to Mr Pinero. The worshippers of Robertson say that had there been no Robertson there would have been no Pinero. But Robertson and Ibsen have both gone to the formation of Mr Pinero as we now know him. If Robertson discarded one stage convention, Ibsen, we are assured, discarded another. If Robertson made the drama more natural and simple, Ibsen, we are told, made it still more real by a larger admixture of vice and misery. He banished from his stage 'the trickery of happy endings,' which long tradition had raised to the rank of a principle. At this point, then, we are confronted by two questions: what is the end of comedy; and, secondly, if we determine that our play shall not end happily, by what necessary process is our end to be attained? Those who object so strongly to the conventional happy ending seem sometimes to forget that comedy is concerned only with one aspect of human life; that it is a species of satire directed not against crime but folly; and that to introduce into it the machinery which we associate

with the darker forms of guilt is to break a butterfly on a wheel—in other words, to confound comedy with tragedy. It is true enough that in real life the two go side by side; but they are not necessarily or inseparably mixed up together; and comedy, we repeat, is concerned with only one of them. We cannot think, therefore, that the traditional happy ending is deserving of the censure which some modern critics have heaped upon it. If the great end of comedy is, as Dr Johnson declared, to make us laugh, why should we think it an improvement that it makes us weep?

We may be told that this is only a dispute about words. Dismiss the word comedy, it may be said, and the difficulty is at an end. The division into comedy and tragedy is not an exhaustive one; and the drama which combines both is a truer picture of human life than that which is confined to one. There is some truth in this reply; but the question is whether justice can be done to this combination on the stage. It can be done by the novelist, we know. But the action on the stage is compressed within too short a space of time, the canvas is too narrow, to admit of the proper proportions and due perspective being observed. Take Ibsen's 'Wild Duck' or Pinero's 'Hobby Horse' as examples. The comic parts of these are a very bad preparation for the tragic ending. In the 'Wild Duck' nothing prepares us for Hedvig's suicide. The incidents which lead up to it are sordid and vulgar, and inadequate either to bring about such a result or to throw the mind of the reader or spectator into the necessary mood for sympathising with it. Mr Pinero, in writing the 'Hobby Horse,' seems to have been aware of the 'restricted conditions of dramatic composition,' and how much they interfere with the perfect evolution of the comic and tragic elements. Then why struggle with such difficulties, which can never be successfully overcome?

Whether an unhappy ending must always be brought about by means of vice, profligacy, or crime is another question which the modern school seem inclined to answer in the affirmative. That this is a mistake, however, it requires no very wide research to demonstrate. The 'Bride of Lammermoor' and 'Kenilworth' are standing examples of this; and the 'Mill on the Floss' would be another if the drowning of Tom and Maggie had any

connexion with anything which had gone before. But both Ibsen and Pinero seem to take it for granted that the only kind of catastrophe worth producing on the stage is that which is caused by immorality, and immorality sometimes of a very coarse and revolting character. Surely it cannot be said that this is required in the interests of art. In the 'Wild Duck' the discovery of Hedvig's parentage is effected in the most disgusting fashion; while in 'The Ghosts' and 'The Second Mrs Tanqueray,' between which there is a strong family likeness, the flavour of the vice set before us is particularly nauseous. Unless it is contended that, in the fullest sense, there is not a single human action which is not fit for dramatic use if it happens to be wanted for the better evolution of the plot, it is not easy to see why a line should not be drawn at such scenes and characters as we are asked to contemplate in the dramas we have named. There is plenty of room for human frailties and vices to do their proper work upon the stage, and develope their natural consequences, without being exhibited in forms not only painful to modesty, but repugnant to ordinary good taste. Yet this is the kind of realism to which we are required to do homage as a special mark of the dramatic renaissance which distinguishes the close of the Victorian era.

We have no hesitation in adding that this so-called realism is often very unreal, and shows little insight into human nature. A woman like the second Mrs Tanqueray is not the heroine of suicide. Her one conversation with Captain Archdell is sufficient to show the stuff she was made of. Such creatures do not take poison: they are too fond of life. As much may be said of Dunstan Renshaw in 'The Profligate'; and it was a wise instinct which dictated his reprieve when the play was first produced in London. Suicide was too good for him; and though he certainly intended to destroy himself, the fact that he failed prevents the audience from feeling a sympathy of which he was totally unworthy. There has been a great run upon suicide in the modern drama. It is a very convenient exit for a troublesome character, we grant; but it imparts a sameness to the Ibsen and Pinero drama which we could well dispense with. These dramatists will discover in time, we think, that society, like the old lady who

had ceased to relish her murders, has had nearly enough of this highly-flavoured dish. At all events, we protest against this kind of plot being called realism. Of course, if either dramatist would consent to a verdict of temporary insanity in the case of their unhappy victims, there would be no more to be said; but that would not be 'high art.' As a matter of probability, the number of persons who commit suicide in full possession of their faculties is so few as to make these recurrent instances in the drama not a reflection of truth, but exactly the reverse. Legitimate comedy, we may repeat, is not intended to take life too seriously, and even to those writers who despise such canons, it is open to distinguish between different kinds of misery. If a play is not hilarious it need not be morbid, and if the ending is not happy it need not be nasty.

We should be unjust however to Mr Pinero if this was the last word we had to say about him. All his plays are not Ibsenite: and we should like to know to what extent he endorses the opinion of his editor, that Ibsen was necessary to 'clear the air' for him. The author of 'Sweet Lavender' required no such assistance as this from the author of 'Ghosts.' 'Sweet Lavender,' however, was written in 1886, before Ibsen had begun to make his influence felt on the English drama, which is chiefly seen in 'The Second Mrs Tanqueray' and in 'The Profligate.' There is a touch of it in 'The Hobby Horse,' a very disagreeable play; but it was perfectly easy to ridicule pseudo-philanthropy without introducing such a painful and we would say unnatural situation as that between the lady and the curate. Mrs Jermyn in the play must have seen that Noel Brice was falling in love with her. What woman would not have seen it? But Mr Pinero makes her totally unconscious. Pseudo-philanthropy lends itself very readily to comic treatment, witness Mrs Weller, Mrs Jellaby, and Mrs Pardiggle; and Mr Pinero was going out of his way to make an amiable young married lady and a guileless young clergyman the victims of this particular folly. As a satire the plot is both watery and clumsy. Ibsen seems rather to have thickened the atmosphere for Mr Pinero than to have cleared it for him. Somebody of course had to be miserable at the end: that is *de rigueur* with the Ibsenites. But the lady should have been the victim of a hopeless attachment as well as the gentleman.

They should have indulged in one last embrace and then torn themselves asunder. The knowledge that they were destined to pine away in secret for years to come could not have failed to be highly gratifying to all those cheerful playgoers who agree with Mrs Gamp that life is a 'wale.'

It is not easy to see why a bad ending is more like real life than a good one. People do get into scrapes and get out of them again every day; they even make love to other men's wives without anybody being consigned to hopeless wretchedness. We do not suppose that Mr Sullen broke his heart when his wife went off with Aimwell. The novelist or dramatist who first hangs his characters 'up a tree' and then cuts them down before they are quite gone is guilty in the eyes of Ibsen and his school of a vulgar weakness. It may be so; but it seems to us that the universal craving for 'happy endings' is something like a proof that they cannot be so unreal as the new school represent them to be. There are of course bad endings to equivocal complications in real life, but it is not the part of pure comedy to deal with these; and if we take the mixed drama in which tragedy and comedy are combined, it will not seldom be found that both have been spoiled. There is not room for both even in a five-act play.

The Victorian drama has not been rich in tragedy, and what we have to say on this subject had better be deferred till we come to our actors and actresses; but it shines greatly in farce, burlesque, and melodrama. To attempt to pick and choose out of the legion of plays over which three generations have split their sides would be a hopeless task. They all have this in common, that they depend even more than modern comedy does on particular individuals. 'Box and Cox' was nothing without Buckstone. 'Parents and Guardians' was nothing without the Keeleys. The Adelphi farce was nothing without Wright and Paul Bedford. These were actors whose entrance on the stage, before they had spoken a word, was the signal for a general titter; their faces were simply irresistible; and it was only necessary for them to open their lips for that titter to become a roar. It did not matter what they said, and they indulged freely in gag. We doubt if there is anything on the stage now, unless it is 'Charley's Aunt,' quite equal to the farces which filled the London theatres

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in 1840 to 1860. Among others never to be forgotten, besides those just mentioned, are 'The Camp at Chobham,' 'The Area Belle,' 'To Oblige Benson,' 'Boots at the Swan,' 'Send me Five Shillings'—all these and more come 'rollicking,' as Milton hath it, at the call of memory, which carries us back to the middle of the century. No doubt we have some capital farces at the present day, but somehow they seem to want the rollicking fun, the abandon, we might almost say the sincerity, of the earlier ones.

Perhaps it may be thought that with the improvement and refinement of comedy the taste for broad farce is less decided than it used to be. Yet he will scarcely say so who has been present at the performance of 'My Milliner's Bill,' or 'The Magistrate,' or 'The Widow Hunt,' or 'Charley's Aunt,' or 'The Curate,' or 'The Private Secretary,' plays which we select at random, and not as being necessarily the most laughable of those which keep the stage. 'There is touch-and-go farce in your laugh,' said Mr Crummles to Nicholas Nickleby; and though we never knew exactly what particular species of drollery was signified by 'touch-and-go,' we were willing to take it on trust; and we have known several actors of whose eyes, noses, mouths, and legs the same might be said, with the additional point in their favour that their gravity was more comic than their levity. We are not sure that we have any actor now, unless it is Mr Penley, who is walking farce in himself. Still it cannot fairly be said that farce is less popular now than it was in the days referred to, when an Adelphi farce was regarded as the greatest theatrical treat which a Londoner could enjoy. In spite of the little difference we have mentioned, English farce still holds a position higher of its kind perhaps though it may be a lower kind, than comedy. There is one thing in favour of it, namely, that there can never be any mistake about it. In looking at a farce which professes to be that and nothing else, we are at liberty to abandon ourselves wholly to inextinguishable laughter unchecked by any troublesome doubts of its artistic value upon us. But when we are trembling on the border between farce and comedy we feel no such freedom. With a large class of spectators this will always count in favour of the less formal drama so long as the theatre exists.

Melodrama stills holds its ground in its old hereditary home, but not in its original glory, nor need we say much about it in the present article. It hardly calls forth the highest powers of either actress or actor. Madame Céleste indeed made herself a great name in melodrama, but it is a name which we prefer to forget. The artificiality of melodrama places it almost beyond the range of dramatic criticism; and though it may be thought perhaps that this is no less true of farce, there is a difference between the two showing that the same canon is not equally applicable to both. Farce, after all, is only comedy in her cups: a grotesque exaggeration of what might really happen, and which in the wildest caricature retains some of the features of ordinary sober life. Now this is not so with melodrama. We are not reminded by it of anything that ever happens, or is likely to happen, in real life, and we are scarcely therefore in a position to criticise the actors in it, as men engaged in holding the mirror up to nature, though it be nature in a distorted shape. We admit, of course, that farce is only a very imperfect test of real histrionic ability, but still it is some test, and we have not felt called upon to exclude it from a notice of the English drama. We are considering the truth and nature of the modern English drama, and melodrama has little to do with either.

The English stage at present is not destitute of tragic talent, though the nineteenth century has given us no native tragedy of the first class. Our tragic actors have established themselves for the most part on Shakespeare, and it is remarkable that of his best representatives several have not been Englishmen. Since the accession of Queen Victoria our leading tragedians may be counted on one's fingers—Macready, Phelps, Kean, Fechter, Salvini, Sarah Bernhardt, Irving, Miss Glyn, Lady Martin, and Mrs Warner almost exhaust the list. But he who has seen Macready as Lear, Fechter as Hamlet, Salvini as Othello, and Lady Martin as Lady Macbeth, has seen some tragic acting which will make him regret the less that he was not born a century and a quarter sooner. If we add Sir Henry Irving's Shylock, in which he excels all his predecessors, we have named, we think, the best tragic performances of the Victorian era. We should say that in versatility, Lady Martin excelled them all; and on this point Sir Theodore

Martin, in his deeply interesting 'Life' of this delightful actress, lays particular stress. Our article was in type before the 'Life' of Lady Martin appeared, nor had we seen Professor Wilson's opinion of her Lady Macbeth when the foregoing paragraph was written. We are happy to find so distinguished a critic in agreement with ourselves. After seeing the performance he exclaimed, 'We have all been wrong: this is the true Lady Macbeth,' and thenceforth he abandoned the view that Mrs Siddons was the ideal impersonation of Shakespeare's heroine. This is a question on which those only who saw both Mrs Siddons and Lady Martin have any right to speak. The former is said to have been deficient in that quality which Sir Theodore Martin thinks essential to the highest histrionic art, a sense of humour and the power of giving expression to it.

Sadlers Wells was for a long time the home of the legitimate or rather, we should say, the Shakespearean drama; and here Phelps and Mrs Warner, who started together in 1844, made a gallant attempt to revive genuine tragedy, as Webster had done to revive genuine comedy, and to lure back to it the audiences which had crowded to hear Kemble and Siddons. The theatre opened with 'Macbeth,' and it was the opinion of some competent critics that in this character Phelps was superior to Macready. Mrs Warner is said to have played Lady Macbeth with 'great care and force.' But the undertaking was a failure. Phelps kept it up for eighteen years, though in 1847 he lost the services of Mrs Warner, who was succeeded by Miss Glyn, an accomplished actress, but who did not enable Phelps to effect the great object which he had in view. Since Macready's death, Fechter, Salvini, Henry Irving, and Lady Martin are the only four tragedians who have been the talk of society and been really run after. The dreamy, poetical, and refined character of Hamlet was admirably given by Fechter, who also looked the part to perfection; and Salvini's Othello was a still more wonderful performance. Here human passion was portrayed with all the violence of despair mingled with all the agony of grief, first for the infidelity of Desdemona and then for the loss of her, without the slightest suspicion of rant or any superfluous gesticulation. We should assign to Salvini's Othello the first place in tragedy during the

last fifty years ; and we hardly know whether to give the second to Fechter or to Lady Martin. In the banquet scene in ' Macbeth ' she rose to the summit of her noble art.

We shall wound no susceptibilities, we hope, if we add that Miss Ellen Terry is better fitted for Beatrice, Rosalind (which, however, she has never played), or Juliet than for Ophelia or Desdemona. Her personal charms, her animal spirits, her girlish gaiety, maintained to the last, and her clever assumption of characters which really suit her, have made her decidedly the reigning favourite of the last thirty years ; and she is probably, take her all round, the most popular actress of the Victorian age. We cannot honestly say she is the best, but she and Sir Henry Irving will always be remembered, with Phelps and Mrs Warner, and with Charles Kean and Mrs Kean, as the leading dramatic revivalists of the last half-century. Their efforts have been attended with varying degrees of success ; but there is no doubt that they have contributed greatly to that restoration of the stage to the favour of the higher classes in which the Kendals, the Bancrofts, the Hares, Wyndhams, and Alexanders, with such actresses as Mary Moore, Marion Terry, Gertrude Kingston, Winifred Emery, Mrs Patrick Campbell, Miss Millard, and Miss Olga Nethersole have also had a large share. Charles Kean's Shakespearean revivals at the Princess's were chiefly remarkable for their scenic effects. Kean himself was a gentlemanly actor in the higher comedy, but his wife was the favourite. Her Viola in ' Twelfth Night ' was a treat not to be forgotten.

Among recent attempts to revive the Shakespearean drama, that of Mr F. R. Benson deserves notice, not so much for any unusual merit in the acting, as for a certain originality in methods and aims. Many actors have brought out isolated plays of Shakespeare with more or less success : Mr Benson has made it his business to produce him continually. Most managers who have sought to popularise the great dramatist have relied chiefly on splendid scenic effects, and an almost pedantic accuracy in costume and decorative details : Mr Benson's object is to show, in the words of one of his critics, ' that Shakespeare can be played for Shakespeare's sake.' When a piece is placed on the stage in such a way as to distract attention from the picture to the frame, no honour is done either to author or actor. Mr Benson's presentations are a pro-

test against this system. His staging is simple but adequate; and careful study, combined with vigour, intelligence, and a refreshing freedom from affectation, claim for his efforts the encouragement of all those playgoers who worship the greatest of playwrights, and who care more for the play than the spectacle.

Among the comic actresses of the present day, though comparisons are odious, we have no hesitation in assigning the first place to Mrs Kendal. She is so easy and so natural, and, what is a great point in her favour, seems so thoroughly at home in her best parts, that we might feel inclined to say of her what Goldsmith said of Garrick :—

'On the stage he was natural, simple, affecting,

'Twas only that when he was off he was acting'—

if we did not know that the second line was wholly untrue of Mrs Kendal. Still we may say she is never more natural than when she is on the stage.

Lady Bancroft essayed the part of Lady Teazle at the Prince of Wales's in 1874; but, as was to be expected, she appeared rather as the country hoyden than as the finished woman of fashion which Mrs Kendal and Miss Winifred Emery have taken to be the true interpretation of the character. According to Mr Dutton Cook, however, Marie Wilton was playing the part as it was played by Mrs Jordan, who must have known as well as anybody what Lady Teazle was intended to be. Lady Bancroft is said to have made a most satisfactory Georgina in 'Money.' But farce after all is her forte rather than comedy.

For broad farce the nearest approach to the popular style of fifty years ago has been made, we think, by Mr Toole, Mr Penley, and Mrs John Wood, whose powers in this line are simply irresistible. In her fearless freedom from all squeamishness or prudery she reminds us occasionally of Miss Woolgar, though very unlike her in person. Lady Bancroft is the more finished actress of the two; but we doubt if Mrs John Wood has not produced more laughter.

Of our leading actors at the present day we cannot, we must confess, place Sir Henry Irving at the head. In some kinds of tragedy, and in some serious plays which are neither tragedies nor comedies, he is excellent; but not more excellent than Wyndham, Hare, Alexander,

Cyril Maude, Arthur Cecil, Beerbohm Tree, Forbes Robertson, Clayton, and Kendal, in their respective walks. Many of our tragic actors have been equally good, if not better, in comedy. Sir Theodore Martin quotes the dictum of Socrates, that 'the genius of comedy is the same as that of tragedy, and that the writer of tragedy ought to be the writer of comedy also.' We cannot enlarge on this text, suggestive as it is. But Sir Theodore continues: 'This is equally true of the actor. He will never reach the highest point in his profession unless he possesses the double gift of tragic passion and humorous expression. This combination, possessed by Garrick in a remarkable degree, is by no means common.' Macready and Phelps, however, possessed it. Macready was thought to make an excellent Sir Peter Teazle: with the help of Count D'Orsay he succeeded greatly in Evelyn; while Phelps was adjudged to be at his best as Lord Ogleby in 'The Clandestine Marriage.'

Sir Henry Irving might perhaps succeed in Joseph Surface if he could bring himself down to Mephistopheles in a laced waistcoat and peruke. It is a character that is seldom well acted. In the last performance of it at the Haymarket Mr Valentine was not a success—Mr Cyril Maude, as Sir Peter, and Mr Kemble, as Sir Oliver, carrying off the honours among the gentlemen. But the actor of whom we feel we should never tire, who is always natural, humorous, and genial, is Mr C. Wyndham. To see him in 'The Squire of Dames,' with Miss Fay Davis, is to witness a scene which haunts one. 'You are the only eligible man I have met since I came to England,' says the American young lady, 'who hasn't proposed to me.' 'You see I have been so busy; I'll do it to-morrow,' says Wyndham, with a smiling glance at the fair challenger. At this point Wyndham is simply perfection. The tone of his voice, the expression of his face, the turn of his head, all assist each other, and all share alike in a result which is comedy of the highest order. We have spoken of the ease, the adroitness, the air of good society which marks our modern actors and actresses. Where so many possess these, it is as difficult as it would be invidious to award the palm to any one in particular. But probably among our younger actors no better example of this combination could be found than Charles Wyndham.

Mr John Hare excels in the exhibition of suppressed feeling, whether serious or otherwise. An example of this may be seen in the 'Scrap of Paper,' and a still better one in the 'Fool's Paradise,' already mentioned, a play founded on the case of Mrs Maybrick, in which he plays the physician. But he has made a particular class of characters his own—'the shrewd, sarcastic, and yet kindly elderly gentlemen'—so says Mr Dutton Cook, in his 'Nights at the Play'; and it is the statement of a very competent critic. Mr Hare was one of the pioneers of the new style of comedy to which we have so often referred. Writing of Tom Taylor's comedy of 'Victims,' originally brought out at the Haymarket in 1857, and revived by Mr Hare when manager of the Court Theatre in 1878, Mr Cook observes :—

'The comedy pleased, however, at the Haymarket, supported by the strong company then directed by Mr Buckstone; nor does it fail to amuse at the Court Theatre. But by the more subdued and refined system of interpretation now assigned to it, the coarseness of the play's artifices and the rude unreality of its characters stand fully betrayed. Twenty years ago an element of boisterous farce was indispensable to comedy at the Haymarket, while of acting generally it may be said that it was then required to be rather theatrically effective than punctiliously lifelike. Mr Hare's strict regard for truth and nature, and his affection for a *mise en scène* of fantastically picturesque quality, seem out of harmony with dramas of rough humour and broad caricature. The dignity of comedy perhaps paired off long since with the dignity of history; still in plays affecting to portray modern life, manners, and character, a certain reserve seems desirable in regard to the means employed to stir our mirth.'

We should hope that Mr Cook is wrong both about the dignity of comedy and the dignity of history; but he is right about Mr Hare. The dignity of comedy has been to a great extent restored, though the inevitable drop of farce with which it still seems necessary to season it is like adding sugar to champagne. Still the work which has been accomplished by the actors and actresses who in the last year of the nineteenth century were in possession of the English stage—performers who have made their reputations for the most part within the last thirty years

—is immense. The change is well described in the passage we have just quoted by one who saw the beginning of it. 'In plays affecting to portray modern life, manners, and character, a certain reserve seems desirable in regard to the means employed to stir our mirth.' This 'certain reserve' has been introduced. The 'rough humour and broad caricature' of the mid-century have given way to the refinement and quietude which have once more brought comedy into touch with the best society. This indeed is a great work to have accomplished, though traces of the old style, '*veteris vestigia culpæ*,' still survive; and things are still said and done in comedies supposed to represent the fashionable manners of the day, which would never be heard or seen in a lady's drawing-room.

Whether the dramatic revival which has been witnessed by the present generation signifies the permanent restoration of the stage to all its former popularity remains to be seen. Speaking of the Shakespearean revival at Sadlers Wells in 1845, Mr Clement Scott quotes an interesting passage from the '*Athenæum*' of that date, in which the writer says: 'Society may have outgrown the drama, and by many it is suspected that such is actually the case in England.' The suspicion was premature, as we have seen, and yet it may be doubted whether the evidence on which it rested was not the result of causes something more than ephemeral, and not unlikely to survive the reaction which set in forty years ago.

When books are the luxury of a few, the stage is the resort of the many. As a taste for reading is diffused, and the means of gratifying it extended, the hold which the drama once possessed on the popular mind is naturally weakened. It is only to be expected that with the decline of its importance there should be some diminution of its excellence; so that both the highly educated and cultured classes, as well as those below them, no longer find what they want in it so fully as they did of old. In a thoughtful and reflective age, when the public mind is occupied with problems both social and religious which go to the very root of established creeds and traditions, it is inevitable that a spirit of greater gravity should pervade society than is altogether consistent with the full enjoyment of theatrical representations. If Mr Ruskin is right in his estimate of the 'melancholy' of the present age—a melancholy born

of the feeling that we are drifting away from all our old landmarks and anchorages towards 'we know not what mysterious doom'—we have here a reason for distrusting the permanence of that unquestionable popularity which the theatre commands at present. It is clear, moreover, that the demand for mere amusement has enormously increased, and the music-hall usurps the place of the theatre. The political and social issues now before the world are so large and so engrossing, the changes so perturbing and so rapid, the daily stress and strain so exhausting, that we have neither time nor energy to spend on the serious discussion of dramatic themes, or the full enjoyment of the higher stage. The result is a deterioration of taste, and the presentation of much very poor stuff upon the boards. What we want is to be amused, we care not how: the frivolity of the drama seems an indispensable relief from the seriousness of life.

For the drama to attain its highest popularity and success we require a light-hearted age, and an age not much given to reading, or to brooding over the riddles of humanity. Such an age was the eighteenth century. Such was that embodiment of it so admirably described by George Eliot in her picture of 'Old Leisure.' Shall we ever see a revival of that spirit? This, one would say, is impossible. Yet, in default of it or something like it, we fear that the English drama, or English comedy at all events, has seen its best days. We have pointed out certain social and moral differences between our age and that of our grandfathers, which seem at first sight to justify the suspicion entertained by some dramatic critics fifty-five years ago. Events may prove that the decay which they then observed was a transient phase of our dramatic art, and its subsequent revival the lasting one. For many reasons we trust that it may be so, but we dare not play the prophet further.

Art. V.—VIRGIL AND TENNYSON: A LITERARY PARALLEL.

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‘I salute thee, Mantovano,
I that loved thee since my day began.’

FEW books have had a longer or more living influence than the ‘Parallel Lives’ of Plutarch. Its shining examples of character and genius have affected and inspired the emotion and emulation of all ages and portions of the Western world. If the trophies of Miltiades have caused sleepless nights to many besides Themistocles, it is Plutarch whom envy or ambition must blame or thank. Yet of the thousands who have sauntered through or lingered in Plutarch’s gallery, how many have really noted its arrangement? Many have read the ‘Lives’: few have read the ‘Comparisons.’ Most common is it to speak only of Plutarch’s ‘Lives,’ and, ignoring the epithet he gave them, to forget that they are parallels.

Plutarch’s method, indeed, has gone out of fashion, as history has become more scientific and less picturesque—more pedantic, perhaps some would say, and less historic. History, it is seen, if it repeats itself, does so with a difference, and the historic or geographic parallel only provokes a smile of superiority. Yet the method of Plutarch

has its advantages. Truth to tell, it is, as Bacon remarked, quite as much a part of science to note resemblances as to note differences. Often the differences are natural or necessary, and it is the resemblances which are surprising. Similarities, in style and genius, between the late Lord Tennyson and the Roman Virgil have often been noticed. The comparison was, perhaps, first made in print by Lord Tennyson's old friend, the Rev. R. D. B. Rawnsley, a quarter of a century ago. It was perhaps rather of Mr Andrew Lang's pretty allusion that the poet himself was thinking when he remarked to a friend: 'Someone once called me the English Virgil'; but in any case he was aware of the suggestion and was pleased by it. The parallel of their lives, however, has never been as fully worked out as it deserves to be. For, striking as is the analogy when once suggested, in general terms and on the surface, it will be found still more striking when the two biographies are, after the manner of Plutarch, placed side by side.

The life of Tennyson has been given us in a singularly full and happy form. Virgil's life we no longer possess in a form comparable to this. But such a picture of him did once exist, and of that picture considerable relics and traces remain. Beside the three great works of Virgil, the 'Eclogues,' 'Georgics,' and 'Æneid,' there have come down, as scholars know, various minor works—in particular two hexameter pieces, the 'Culex,' or 'Gnat,' and the 'Ciris,' a mythological poem; a pretty idyll, entitled the 'Moretum' or 'Salad'; the 'Copa,' or 'Mine Hostess,' a short elegiac piece; and, further, a small collection, chiefly of lyrical pieces, called the 'Catalepta,' or 'Catalepton.' Several 'Lives' of the poet, longer or shorter, have also survived. These it is not unusual to treat with neglect or discredit, as a tissue of forgery or a mass of accretions. But this is surely a mistake. Virgil, though like Tennyson he loved seclusion, did not live or die in a corner, but rather in the fullest blaze of light. He was a great figure in the great world of Rome when Rome was at her highest intellectual level. Of that Rome he may, like Horace, properly be called a laureate poet. He was the friend of the Emperor, and of the greatest statesmen and the leading literary men of the day. By two of these, Tucca and Varius, specially intimate friends of long standing, his papers were sifted, and his great epic edited, under the Emperor's own direc-

tion. Varius, himself an excellent and admired poet, also wrote his friend's 'Life.' He wrote with full knowledge of the persons and the facts while most of the persons were still living and the facts were still fresh. His memoir contained, we have reason to believe, a full and sufficient account of the poet, of his life and work, his education and friendships, his habits of composition, personal traits, anecdotes, table-talk, good stories, perhaps scandals, *obiter dicta*, and the like, together with illustrative extracts from the poet's poems, whether published or unpublished, and from his correspondence, both his own letters and those of friends. When it was written, many of the documents on which it was based, such as the letters of the Emperor, like those of the Queen to Tennyson, were in evidence, and remained so long after. It would have been impossible to make any serious misstatement which many living friends could correct, or which could be contradicted by reference to documents undoubtedly authentic, or to interpolate any poem or portion of a poem as Virgil's without authority.

On this 'Life' by Varius, and on the authorised edition or editions of his poems, it is pretty clear that the later authorities rested, as long as any serious and strong critical spirit remained. The best that we now have is a fairly long sketch, probably by Suetonius, much in the nature of a 'Dictionary of Biography' article. This no doubt is a reduction from the 'Life' by Varius, but has been again added to and embroidered from other less excellent sources. In Virgil's case, as in most others, there were current, immediately after his death, and perhaps even during his lifetime, conflicting texts and semi-authenticated stories, and some of these doubtless established themselves in lieu of, or side by side with, the genuine; but without entering into the minutiae of discrimination, it may be said that we possess a considerable body of information about Virgil, and that when due allowance has been made for such accretions, a great deal remains, well attested or carrying its own claim to credence. We know more, probably, about the life of Virgil than we do about the life of Shakespeare. To state this may not indeed be to state very much. The late Master of Balliol, whose historical scepticism knew hardly any limit, was fond of saying that all that we really know about Shakespeare's life could be

written on a half-sheet of note-paper. The Master, it is true, did not live to see the brilliant essay of his distinguished pupil Mr Sidney Lee, but even had he done so he would probably have stuck to his epigram.

Taking then the life of Virgil as we have it, let us put it side by side with that of Tennyson. The regular method of Plutarch would no doubt be to recite first the one career and then the other, and finally to institute the comparison. For our purpose, however, it would seem better to take the two lives together. The life of Tennyson may be assumed to be generally known, that of Virgil will be best understood when thus brought into comparison point by point.

The large differences are obvious. Virgil was born and spent his days in Italy, the Italy of the last century before the coming of Christ; Tennyson in England, the England of the nineteenth century of the Christian era. Tennyson lived to eighty-six, Virgil died at fifty-one. Tennyson married and saw children and grandchildren of his blood; Virgil had neither wife nor child. Tennyson lived all his days under a constitutional monarchy; Virgil first under a Republic, then under a despotism. Virgil wrote three principal works in three styles—the pastoral, the didactic, the epic—but all in one metre, though with great variety within that metre. It is only in his minor poems that we find him using either elegiac or lyric measures. There is little here to match the infinite variety of Tennyson.

But all these contrasts, with the exception of the personal differences of length of life and domestic surroundings, are not in reality nearly so great as would at first sight appear. Looking at history in the large way, what is seen is that Virgil flourished when the Roman Republic was changing into the imperial monarchy of the Cæsars; what will be seen hereafter is that Tennyson flourished when the English realm and monarchy were expanding into the British Empire.

Between the old senatorial oligarchy of Rome and the government of England as it existed under the hereditary monarchy, the privileged House of Lords, and the unreformed House of Commons, there is no small similarity. It is one of the great services of Mommsen and his scholars to have shown that the movement towards the Empire—the Roman revolution, as it is sometimes styled—was still a democratic movement, fought for, and issuing

in, the admission of many to civic privileges previously confined to a few, and the extension to wide regions of as much of self-government as was possible without a representative system. Both poets, then, were born and grew up in times of 'storm and stress.' Both witnessed in their own day an immense expansion—the one a city, the other a kingdom outgrowing its ancient bounds; each saw the establishment, amid battle and throes, of a world-wide empire. Events moved more slowly in the later case; and thus, if Tennyson lived longer, he saw less, rather than more, political change, for the thirty or thirty-five additional years of his life were needed to complete the revolution begun in his boyhood.

Virgil was born in 70 B.C. His birth-year, the year of the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, may be taken as the beginning of the Roman revolution, for it was this consulship that began, by the restoration of the Tribune, to undo the work of Sulla, while the memorable impeachment of Verres by Cicero was, if not the first, at least a signal recognition of the provincial empire of Rome. Virgil's boyhood and youth, then, were full of disturbance at home and abroad. The great campaigns of Pompey and of Cæsar shook alike the eastern and the western world, from his fifth to his twentieth year. He was a child of seven in the year of Catiline's famous conspiracy; then followed the long ignoble brawls and street-fights, of which those of Clodius and Milo were only the most notorious. He came of age in the Roman sense in the year of the first invasion of Britain. He was twenty-one when Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, twenty-six when Cæsar fell by the dagger of Brutus, thirty-nine when the battle of Actium once more brought a settlement into view.

Tennyson in like manner was born in the last years of a narrow oligarchy, when gigantic wars abroad were reacting upon a state of unstable equilibrium at home. His birthday fell amid the opening conflicts of the Peninsular campaign, and in the year in which Sir Francis Burdett introduced his first motion for a reform of the House of Commons. The effect of the struggle with Napoleon was for a time to retard the disintegration of the English oligarchy. But, Waterloo over, and peace restored, the movement soon began once more, and indeed was fomented by the distress consequent on the long and wasting war.

Tennyson's childhood saw Peterloo and the Cato Street conspiracy; his youthful days were the 'rick-fire days' of riot and rebellion in town and country. As an undergraduate he helped to quench a blazing farm near Cambridge. He would have been, but for his father, at the battle of Navarino, in 1827. He actually went, with Arthur Hallam, in 1831, to the Pyrenees, to help the insurgents under Torrijos. Then came the great reform battle at home, and the memorable upheavals in Europe. Tennyson through all this turmoil was, like Virgil, for liberty, but also for order and religion. Of finding both together he rather despaired.

'The empty thrones call out for kings,
But kings are cheap as summer dust;
The good old time hath taken wings,
And with it taken faith and trust,
And solid hope of better things.'

To the Roman reformers it seemed that the combination could, by divine providence, be found in Cæsar:—

'O Melibœe, deus nobis hæc otia fecit.' ('Ecl.' i, 6.)

In the welter of the civil war, Virgil's life was probably in danger, and for a time he lost his property; but the rule of Cæsar meant peace and enfranchisement. Julius had been the friend of the provinces, the friend in particular of Lombardy; he became patron of Gallia Transpadana in 68 B.C., when Virgil was a child of two. In the year 49 B.C., when Virgil was twenty-one, Cæsar conferred the Roman citizenship on its inhabitants, thereby attaching the whole region to his cause. Tennyson at twenty-three was ringing the Somersby church bells with his brothers for the passing of the Reform Bill. Virgil had no bells to ring, but it is not unlikely that the feeling of himself and his family was, *mutatis mutandis*, much the same as that of the Tennysons. On all grounds, personal, political, and, as we shall see later, philosophic, Virgil was in thorough sympathy with the Empire and the Augustan régime. The bent, the bias, of both lives is the same. It is the political accord of Virgil, just as it is the political accord of Tennyson, the personal attachment of Virgil, like the personal attachment of Tennyson, the spiritual sympathy of Virgil, like the spiritual sympathy

of Tennyson, which made them both such happily loyal, because such sincerely and spontaneously loyal, laureates, the one of Augustus, the other of Victoria.

Both were children of the country, and of the real unsophisticated country. Tennyson was born in the sequestered hamlet of Somersby, in Lincolnshire; Virgil's birth-place was also a hamlet, that of Andes—for such is its strange name—perhaps the modern Pietola, a little way out of Mantua. Mantua itself was no large town, and Andes, whether three or seventeen miles away—for this is disputed—must have been thoroughly rural. In birth Tennyson had the advantage. His father, though disinherited in favour of a younger brother, was the eldest son in a good family, and was a beneficed clergyman and a Doctor of Laws of Cambridge. His mother, too, came of a good county stock. Virgil's father, on the other hand, would appear to have been a hired servant to one Magius, a carrier or courier, perhaps himself in addition a working potter, who by industry amassed a little property for himself, which he increased by keeping bees and buying up tracts of woodland, and then, like the industrious apprentice, marrying his master's daughter, whose name, Magia, or Magia Polla, may perhaps have given rise to the later idea that Virgil was a wizard.

Both, then, were brought up face to face with nature, with the country, and with country folks and ways. A very good critic of Tennyson once made the pertinent remark that he was a poet of the country in a sense even beyond that of ordinary lovers and students of nature; that he was the only great poet who, if he saw a turnip-field, could tell with a farmer's eye how the turnips were doing. The 'Georgics' were written no doubt from a similar or even greater personal knowledge. So probably was the famous picture of the 'Corycius senex,' the old gardener amid his roses and his cucumbers, with whom perhaps may be compared the two 'Northern Farmers.'

Both, however, while brought up in the depths of the country, had as good an education as the time could give. Tennyson was sent first to Louth Grammar School, then to Trinity College in Cambridge. Virgil went to school, first at Cremona, then at fifteen to Milan—some say also to Naples to learn Greek with Parthenius—and finally at seventeen was entrusted to the best teachers at Rome.

Each of them received through his education a good introduction to the great world of letters and affairs. All of us know the list of Tennyson's early friends, the 'Cambridge Group,' the 'Apostles' of the day—Milnes, Trench; Blakesley, Alford, Thompson, Spedding, Brookfield, Spring-Rice, Charles Buller, above all Arthur Hallam. It is not possible to say exactly when Virgil made the acquaintance of his chief friends, but among those who were school-fellows, fellow-students, or early comrades are Alfenus Varus, Quintilius Varus,* Varius and Tucca, Gallus and Macer, and Horace himself; somewhat older were Pollio, the statesman and poet, and Cinna, the poet-friend of Catullus. It is worth noting that Antony and Augustus himself were also earlier and later pupils of the same teacher Epidius, from whom Virgil learnt rhetoric; and one of the ancient 'Lives' actually makes Virgil a fellow-student with Augustus, though this can hardly be correct, for Augustus was seven years his junior.

Tennyson began to write verse as a boy, or even as a child, and naturally felt the influence of the leading writers just before his time, notably Byron, Moore, and Coleridge. Keats he came to love and Wordsworth to admire somewhat later, after he had achieved his own style. Virgil, apparently, began not less early. His first poem, written in boyhood, is said to have been an epigram on a certain Ballista, a fencing-master or trainer of gladiators, who also, it would seem, took the road as a highwayman, and was stoned to death for his crimes. The incident was not improbably an experience or a good story of Virgil's father, the carrier's man. The epigram has been preserved:—

'Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Ballista sepultus;
Nocte, die, tutum carpe viator iter!'

which perhaps may be rendered:

'Old Sling is dead,
And o'er his head
This hill of stones we rear:
Now take your way,
By night or day,
Traveller, the road is clear!'

* 'Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Vergili.' (Hor. 'Od.' i, 24.)

Virgil's Byron and Coleridge were Catullus and Lucretius. Among his minor youthful pieces are several in the Catullian vein. One, which is an obvious parody of Catullus, seems again to contain a reminiscence of Virgil's home and early days. It is a poem on an old muleteer, turned schoolmaster and town-councillor, who, in lines which are a travesty of Catullus' well known stanzas on his old yacht, boasts his own former prowess and dedicates himself to Castor and Pollux, the traveller's gods. Catullus belonged to the literary generation just before Virgil; his brief and brilliant literary career was at its height in Virgil's early years. It was natural that he should exercise a strong influence over the poets of the next era; and indeed it is clear that he did set or lead a fashion, to which Virgil and perhaps Horace also—though, if so, he afterwards resented it—yielded in their youth. Catullus died when Virgil was twenty-three; whether they ever met we do not know; it may be remembered, however, that both came from Lombardy. Artistically, they had much in common—for Virgil, like Catullus, belonged to the Alexandrine school—and they enjoyed many common friends. Just as Tennyson was linked to Byron, whom he never saw, by Rogers and Leigh Hunt, so Virgil was linked to Catullus by men like Pollio and Cinna.

Some other minor pieces attributed to Virgil are extant, less creditable followings of the Catullian fashion; but it is not certain that Virgil wrote them, and they are hardly consonant with the character with which, as will be seen later, his youth was credited. Tennyson had also his period of youthful heat and trial, but he passed through it well. He uttered nothing base, and hardly anything bitter. In one or two pieces he just showed what he could have done in the mordant and satiric vein had he wished. Such a piece is the spirited and gay repartee—a 'silly squib' he called it himself—to 'Crusty Christopher,' the dogmatic and heavy-handed Professor Wilson; while the lines on Sir E. Lytton Bulwer, entitled the 'New Timon and the Poets,' which were sent to 'Punch,' though not sent by Tennyson himself, are an even better example.

But Virgil soon came under another influence, for him far more potent than that of Catullus. One of the most striking and interesting of his minor poems is what may perhaps be called a sixth-form or undergraduate piec

written when he was passing from grammar and rhetoric to philosophy, when, as an Oxford undergraduate would say, he was turning from 'Honour Mods' to 'Honour Greats.' Not a few young Oxford scholars from Eton, let us say, or Winchester or Charterhouse, a little wearied, for the nonce at any rate, with what seem the trite topics and stale rules of scholarship and composition, and looking forward to a new subject and what promise to be more real and vital studies, will understand Virgil's feelings in these lines. They are headed: 'Virgil abandons other studies and embraces the Epicurean philosophy.' The text is uncertain in places; the whole may be somewhat freely rendered as follows:—

'Avaunt, ye vain bombastic crew,
Blown up, but not with Grecian dew:
Good-bye, grammarians, crass and narrow,
Selius, Tarquitius, and Varro,
A pedant tribe of fat-brained fools,
The tinkling cymbals of the schools;
You, too, my plague of plagues, good-bye,
Sextus, with all that's crabbed and dry:
I'm sailing for the blissful shore,
Great Siron's high recondite lore,
That haven where my soul shall be
From every tyrant care set free.
Ye, too, sweet Muses mine, farewell,
Sweet Muses mine, for truth to tell
Sweet were ye once, but now begone!
And yet, and yet, return anon,
And when I write at times be seen
In visits chaste and far between!'

In another shorter piece in the same collection, which, moreover, is vouched for by Quintilian, Virgil attacks a rhetorician of the day, accusing him of murdering first the alphabet, and then—which he seems actually to have done—his own brother. It is curious to see these poems of schoolboy or undergraduate revolt. Such an attitude is of course common with young men of genius, and not least common among those who afterwards become champions of order and convention. Virgil in later days became, if ever there was one, a scholarly poet, so much so that he was even accused of subtle verbal affectation and of pedantry. Remembering these youthful explosions, we

may say that probably here too his position was really not unlike that of the Tennyson of whom Jowett writes: 'Tennyson was very much of a scholar, but was not at all a pedant. Once he said to me, "I hate learning," by which I understood him to mean that he hated the minutiae of criticism compiled by the Dryasdusts.' Both certainly loved simplicity, but the simplicity of knowledge, not of ignorance.

It need hardly be said that Virgil's 'sweet Muses' did return, and that he found himself loving philosophy, but writing poetry. But this love of philosophy was in him no passing undergraduate phase. It sank deep into the very tissue of his being: it persisted to his latest day. In his last year, when setting out on the final fatal journey to Greece and Asia, his purpose was, we are told, to finish the 'Æneid,' and then to give up the rest of his life to philosophy. The Epicurean philosophy was fashionable in the Rome of Virgil's youth, and his tutor Siron was its most fashionable professor. It had two main branches of interest and two aspects. It was largely a materialistic philosophy, attempting to give an account of the physical universe, dealing therefore with questions rather of natural science than of philosophy proper. In the realm of religion it preached a kind of mechanical fatalism, a 'polytheistic deism,' if such a phrase can be coined. This, like other agnostic systems, produced in shallower natures an easy hedonism—'let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die'; in deeper, a sort of strenuous positivism or religion of irreligion—'let us toil and strive, for the long night cometh, and in the grave there is neither wisdom nor knowledge.' The first may be seen in Memmius Gemellus or in Horace, who calls himself a 'hog of Epicurus' sty'; the second in Lucretius and in Virgil. The debt, the deep debt, of Virgil to Lucretius is obvious and avowed, but its character and limits are not always understood.

Here once more the parallel with Tennyson becomes singularly illuminating. Tennyson and his friends at Cambridge, like Virgil in the class-rooms of Rome, complained of the narrow range, the cut-and-dried nature, of much academic study. His fine, but too denunciatory sonnet on the Cambridge of his day, ending—

'You that do profess to teach,
And teach us nothing, feeding not the heart'—

the poet, and through the poet the world, the secrets of nature and science. If he cannot learn these, the poet would prefer the life of seclusion and ease, unknown to fortune and to fame.* This is worth toiling for, not the giddy and gaudy glories of the senate and the market-place, of the throne and the sword; yes,

‘Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,’

but also—

‘Fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestes,
Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.’

That this love of science was one of Virgil's first loves is shown by the fact that it had appeared already in the Sixth of the ‘Eclogues,’ in the famous song of Silenus, the language of which is strikingly Lucretian; and indeed still earlier, in the ‘Culex.’ Its persistence is proved by its reappearance in the First ‘Æneid,’ in the song of the minstrel Iopas, who, like Silenus, sings of ‘the wandering moon and the sun's eclipse,’ and

‘Whence mankind and cattle came,
The source of water and of flame,’

and again in the Sixth Æneid, in that transcendent central passage, beginning—

‘Principio cælum ac terram camposque liquentes,’

which Mr. F. W. H. Myers has rendered so finely—the most Virgilian passage in Virgil, as he calls it.

Tennyson's early poems in exactly the same way show this combination of interests, which was to reappear later in more splendid and mature expression. The chief mark of his poems in the little Lincolnshire volume, put out by him and his brother when still at school, is the display made, with all the innocent exaggeration of boyhood, at once of literary learning and of scientific study. This is shown by the very titles of the poems, ‘Apollonius' Complaint,’ ‘The High Priest to Alexander,’ ‘Mithridates

* There a story that Virgil said that the only thing which does not cause satiety is knowledge. (‘Tib. Cl. Donati Vita,’ xviii, 73.)

presenting Berenice with the Cup of Poison'; by lines like—

‘The mighty sea-snake of the storm,
The vorticella’s viewless form,’

and again, by the frequent notes and references to ‘Baker on Animalculæ,’ or to Ælius Lampridius; while the Cambridge prize poem ‘Timbuctoo,’ which may perhaps be called Tennyson’s ‘Culex,’ displays, in a manner less crude, it is true, but still immature, precisely the same features.

Both writers, then, to use the phrase of the last century, ‘commenced poet’ early. We do not know when Virgil first published anything, but the ‘Culex’ was evidently regarded as an early and promising publication; and many of his other minor poems were doubtless circulated in manuscript, as indeed were many of Tennyson’s, among his friends. It is fair then to say that both early achieved a certain limited success and recognition. Then came for both that period which so often comes between youth and manhood, bringing with it causes at once internal and external for uncertainty and arrestation. Virgil apparently tried the bar, but without success. He appeared and spoke in court as an advocate, but only once. In speech, he was, says Melissus, very slow, and like one untaught. Tennyson never attempted a profession. An admirable talker, he never made a speech, only once returning thanks, and that, as he said, not on his legs, at a dinner given by a society of authors at Hampstead. Before a crowd he was, he professed, infinitely shy. Speaking of the youthful club whose debates are immortalised in ‘In Memoriam,’ he said, ‘They made speeches, I never did.’ Yet both Tennyson and Virgil have shown great mastery of rhetoric in writing speeches for their characters.

Both, again, appear to have dabbled in medicine; both certainly studied the stars. Amongst other studies, says Virgil’s biographer, he devoted himself to medicine, and especially to astrology. Tennyson as a youth read medical books till he fancied, like a medical student, that he had all the diseases in the world. As for astronomy, he was at all times devoted to it. It is one of the most constant and conspicuous features of his earliest poems, as of his very last. The striking fragment, ‘The Moon,’ and the beautiful astronomical stanzas, afterwards removed, which

appear in the early versions of the 'Palace of Art,' show the same taste, to which he returned in 'God and the Universe.' 'His mind,' said Norman Lockyer, 'was saturated with astronomy.' But both made their studies subserve to poetry instead of to a profession.

The 'Culex,' we are told, was written when Virgil was sixteen. Before he published the 'Eclogues' he had learned something of the trials of life as well as of the dreams of the poet and the aspirations of the student. In the year 41 B.C., when he was twenty-nine years of age, his father lost his estate by the confiscations of the civil war; and Virgil and his family were turned out of house and home, and had to take refuge in a cottage belonging to Siron, his whilom master in philosophy. The story of his restoration is well known. The good offices of Pollio, the poet and statesman, and of Cornelius Gallus, the poet, made interest with Mæcenas and ultimately with the future Emperor, Octavianus himself; and Virgil's patrimony was restored. Tennyson's story is of course not so heroic, nor so well known, but it affected him very deeply. He lost the little property inherited from his father by an unlucky philanthropic speculation. His mother and sister suffered too in the same way. Then followed a season of real hardship. 'I have drunk,' he said, 'one of those most bitter draughts out of the cup of life which go near to make men hate the world they move in.' He found, however, a Gallus and a Pollio in Carlyle and 'Dicky' Milnes, and a Mæcenas in Sir Robert Peel, who recommended him for a pension of 200*l.* a year. Both, then, chose the poet's life, and remained faithful to it, through good report and evil report, in sickness and in health, for richer, for poorer, until death; both when once fairly established gave themselves up to it, and forswore everything else. Virgil's genius forsook him when he attempted prose, says an ancient authority. The same ought hardly to be said of Tennyson; but neither left any works in prose. A few scraps are all that remain of Virgil's correspondence, nor are Tennyson's letters numerous.

In person Virgil was tall, dark, of rustic mien, and of variable health, often suffering from weakness in the throat and stomach and from headache, and not seldom spitting blood. He was exceedingly temperate in eating and drinking. Gossip has not spared his character, but

what is certain is that he was modest and refined in thought and word, so much so that, just as Milton was called at Cambridge the 'Lady of Christ's,' Virgil, by a Greek pun on his name, was known at Naples as Parthenias, the 'Lady,' or, to use the last-century expression, the 'Miss' of Naples. There is, perhaps, an allusion also to the Greek name of Naples, Parthenope. Other plays upon his name have been made at other times. Leland, in his popular stories about Virgil, tells us how a Florentine claimed him for Florence, on the ground that he was a true lily of the city of lilies—*Ver' giglio*. He very seldom came to Rome, though he had a house there in a good situation, near Mæcenas' villa; when he did, he disliked very much being seen in public, and if anyone pointed him out he fled into the nearest house. For the most part he affected the seclusion of Campania and Naples or Sicily. Yet this retirement, says Tacitus, did not diminish either the favour of Augustus or his popularity with the people of Rome. When he did come to town he was a celebrity, and on one occasion when he was at the theatre and his own poems were recited, the whole house rose up and honoured him as if he had been the Emperor.

Substitute Hampshire for Campania, the Isle of Wight for Naples and Sicily, and London for Rome, and this account might, in most points, have been written for the late Laureate, who might also be described as tall and dark, and, if not exactly rustic, not town-bred in appearance, though on the other hand certainly not at all girlish or ladylike, and who also fled from the interviewer and the admirer.

Throughout his life Virgil seems to have been shy and sensitive, but amiable and attractive. Horace, in the delightful glimpse given on the road to Brundisium, tells us two things of him—that having a poor digestion he retired to sleep after dinner instead of playing tennis with Mæcenas, and that he was emphatically a 'white soul,' the most sincere and lovable of spirits. Apocryphal or doubtful stories eke out the record of his modesty and affection, gentleness and generosity. 'His library was open to all scholars; he went on the principle that friends have all in common; he praised the good, he censured none; if he saw anything well said by anyone else he was as pleased as if it was his own, so that everyone who was not abso-

lutely cross-grained not only liked but loved him, and the contemporary poets, though burning with jealousy among themselves, Varius, Tucca, Horace, Gallus, Propertius, were one and all devoted to Virgil.* So it might be written of Tennyson, in whom nothing is more admirable than his charity, whether as a man or a poet. Nothing in his life is more entirely delightful than the account of his relations with the other poets of his long reign, from the days of Rogers and Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt and Freiligrath, to those of Victor Hugo, Henry Taylor, Browning, Matthew Arnold, Rossetti, Longfellow, Lowell, Whitman, Swinburne, Watson, and Kipling.

Both Tennyson and Virgil, while young, conceived the idea of writing an epic, but, daunted by its difficulty, postponed it. 'The earliest fragment of an epic,' says Lord Tennyson, 'that I can find among my father's MSS. in my possession, was probably written about 1833, when he was twenty-four, and is a sketch in prose.' The vision of Arthur, as Tennyson said of himself, had come upon him when, little more than a boy, he first lighted upon Malory. The magnificent fragment of the 'Morte d'Arthur' was read by him in manuscript to his friends in 1835. Twelve was the number of books he had originally contemplated, as we learn from the preface afterwards added to this fragment; and this was the number of 'Idylls' ultimately completed, but they were not written in the order in which they are now arranged.

Not otherwise Virgil, after he had written a few youthful pieces, began a poem on the History of Rome, but, repelled by the amount of matter, also, as some say, by the roughness of the proper names involved, turned to the 'Bucolics.' Not otherwise, when he came to write the 'Æneid,' he sketched it out in prose, arranging it for twelve books, and then composed it piecemeal and in no order, taking up a section here and a section there, as the humour seized him.

Neither life, after its earlier years, can be said to have been eventful. A poet's life naturally has but few events. Its landmarks are his poems. A few visits, a few travels, the trip to Brundisium, the voyage in the 'Pembroke Castle,' journeys to Italy or to Greece—these may diver-

* 'Tib. Cl. Donati Vita,' xvii, 67.

sify life, but are hardly events. Through the liberal gifts of friends Virgil became very wealthy, enjoying a fortune of some 100,000*l*. When Augustus offered him the property of a citizen who had been exiled, he declined to accept it. Is it a coincidence, or something more, that Tennyson is the one poet of modern times who became really rich by poetry?*

Virgil, being unmarried, could not found a family. His father died before him and his mother married again. Of his two brothers he lost one in childhood, and the other as a young man. He left half his property to his half-brother, Valerius Proculus. The rest of his life is soon told. He spent on the '*Æneid*' some eleven years, groaning, it would seem, over the magnitude of the task, saying that he had been mad ever to undertake it, longing to be free and turn to other pursuits more to his taste. At last, in his fifty-second year, he determined to make a great effort to finish. He decided to travel to Greece and Asia, and there devote himself in seclusion to the sole task of revising his poem, so that he might have the rest of his life free to follow philosophy. He started on his journey and proceeded as far as Athens, when he met Augustus returning from the East. The Emperor, using perhaps a little gentle violence, persuaded the poet to return in his own company. But fate had other destinies for him. He went in a very hot sun to make an antiquary's visit to the neighbouring town of Megara. He contracted a low fever, made it worse by travelling by sea, without any break, to Brundisium, and, reaching that port in a critical state, died there on the 21st of September, B.C. 19. His ashes were conveyed to his home at Naples, and there entombed a little way out of the town, on the road to Puteoli. Upon the tomb was inscribed the distich which, it is said, he himself dictated on his death-bed:—

'Fields, flocks, and chiefs I sang; Mantua gave
Me birth, Calabria death, Naples a grave.'

By the multitude his resting-place was little heeded, but it became a sort of shrine of the faithful, who, like Silius Italicus, kept the poet's birthday there and honoured his shade. The fame of him lived long on the country-side.

* Shakespeare and Pope prospered in their day in this respect.

Whether he was more of a saint or a wizard was uncertain, but his name lingered on, and is apparently still known and associated with strange tales of magic and marvel.*

Meanwhile his poems became more and more widely read. Like Tennyson, Virgil became at once an author for the young, a classic for colleges and schools. He suffered, but also gained, as the topic and theme of critics of every order. The first to lecture on Virgil was a private tutor and lecturer to young ladies and gentlemen, one Quintus Cæcilius Epirota, a freedman of Cicero's friend Atticus, and a friend of Virgil's friend Gallus, apparently a Greek by origin, for the rest a dilettante of somewhat doubtful morals, styled by the epigrammatist Domitius Marsus 'the nurse of baby bards.' Another, a critic of heavier metal, was the compiler of the first Latin Dictionary, Verrius Flaccus. Still later, it is interesting to find Cornutus, the tutor to whom his pupil Persius makes so touching an acknowledgment, commenting on Virgil. But what is still more noticeable is that the best of all the commentators on Virgil is not a Roman of Rome, but a colonial, a Latin scholar of the colony of Berytus in Syria, Marcus Valerius Probus, who flourished in the middle and latter part of the first century of our era. A man of real learning, Probus restored, in more than one place, an almost certain reading, notably when he gave back to Lavinia her 'bloomy' or to keep the archaism more strictly, 'blosmy' locks.† A man too of independent mind, he ventured, we are told, to criticise Virgil at times, and that sharply. So Tennyson found some of his best commentators in the United States and Canada, while the earliest annotated editions of his poems were written by professors of English in India for their native students.

Virgil was everywhere. Lines of his were inscribed on spoons and tiles, and introduced like texts on grave-stones. Fashionable blue-stockings began the conversation at dinner by comparing Virgil and Homer, or discussing

* See Comparetti, 'Virgilio nel Medio Aevo,' translated by Mr F. M. Benerke, London, 1895; and Mr C. G. Leland's more recent book, 'The Unpublished Legends of Virgil,' Eliot Stock, London, 1899.

† 'Flavos crines.' ('Æneid,' xii, 605.) But the Oxford 'Virgil' (ed. Pagnollon and Haigh) reads 'flavos crines.'

the 'Dido problem.' Grammarians and lexicographers made him their norm and example. The schoolboy thumbed his 'Æneid' by lamplight till the page grew black with the smuts; he learned it for repetition, and scribbled scraps of it on the nearest wall. At Pompeii, where all is silent, and has been so for eighteen hundred years, it is touching to read the first word and a half of the famous second book, 'CONTICUERE OM . . .,' while still more notable, scrawled in gigantic letters, as though by the hand of the genius of Rome itself, on the wall of the Baths of Titus, is the most appropriate of lines:—

'Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.'

Like Tennyson, like all truly popular poets, Virgil was parodied. Like Tennyson, he was taken to task during his lifetime, and for much the same faults as Tennyson. What are these? First and foremost, unoriginality, plagiarism. 'Virgil,' says his biographer, 'never wanted disparagers (*obtrectatores*), and no wonder, for Homer has been disparaged too.' Herennius collected only Virgil's faults, Perellius Faustus his thefts as well; Quintus Octavius Avitus had eight books of parallels or translations, saying what verses he borrowed, and from what sources. Other critics defended him from these charges of plagiarism, but Virgil's own answer is the best: 'Why don't these gentry attempt the same thefts themselves? They will then find that it is easier to rob Hercules of his club than Homer of a single line.' Still he was not insensible to criticism. He intended, we are told, to go into retirement and polish his works till even the most hostile critic could say no more. Here again how like Tennyson! 'No poet,' says Mr Lecky, 'ever altered more in deference to his critics'; while Mr Churton Collins and Mr Stephen Gwynn have shown how many corrections he made in his early volume after the strictures of the Quarterly Review.

Of Virgil's imitation much is obvious enough. It is obvious that he copies Theocritus, obvious that he translates, and it must be confessed, even mistranslates, him. He avowedly follows Hesiod and sings the song of Ascia through the towns of Italy. It is obvious that he copies Homer and borrows from Ennius. Tennyson's case is different. He, too, was a scholar deeply versed in letters,

Greek, Roman, and modern, and he often makes scholarly allusions and appropriations, and occasionally, though not often, obviously imitates or translates. But the amount of his imitation has been, as he himself long ago pointed out, much over-estimated by the class of critics who are inclined—to use his own phrase—to ‘swamp the sacred poets with themselves.’

In addition to the charge of plagiarism thus brought against both of them, they were taken to task for yet other faults, faults of manner, faults of matter. Virgil was accused of a ‘new Euphuism’ of a special and subtle kind, by which he gave an unusual and recondite meaning to simple words. The critics could not call him either bombastic or poverty-stricken, they therefore quarrelled with what he and Horace considered his great achievement, and what surely is a secret of his grand style, his new and inspired combination of old and simple materials. The truth would seem to be that Virgil, like Tennyson, held the theory that poetry and poetic diction must often suggest rather than express, that you cannot tie down the poet to one meaning and one only. ‘Poetry is like shot silk,’ Tennyson once said, ‘with many glancing colours, it combines many meanings’ :—

‘Words, like Nature, half reveal
And half conceal the soul within’ ;

and this is exactly the theory applied by Conington to the elucidation of Virgil.*

A more serious charge is that levelled against the characters, and especially the heroes, of their epics. Tennyson’s mediævalism is unreal : he has sophisticated the masculine directness of Malory. The hero of the ‘Idylls’ is a prig, and a blameless prig : he is too good, he is even goody. This has often been said of Tennyson and King Arthur. It is exactly what is said of Virgil and *prius Æneas*. Virgil’s hero is a prig or a ‘stick’—‘always,’ as Charles James Fox remarked, ‘either insipid or odious’ : his blood does not flow, his battles are battles of the stage. Virgil’s epic is a drawing-room epic. These are criticisms often made, and there is a certain truth in them. *Æneas*

* For instance in his note on ‘Assurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion,’ ‘*Æneid*,’ i, 535.

is certainly not a simple Homeric hero. 'He is conceived by Virgil,' says Professor Nettleship, 'as embodying in his character the qualities of a warrior, a ruler, and a civiliser of men, the legendary impersonation of all that was great in the achievements of Rome. His mission is to carry on a contest in Italy, to crush the resistance of its warlike tribes, to give them customs and build them cities.'

'Bellum ingens geret Italia, populosque feroces
Contundet, moresque viris et mœnia ponet.*'

Mr. Gladstone curiously misses this character. To him Turnus is more attractive than Æneas: he is the leader of a people rightly struggling to be free. But, in truth, to Virgil Turnus is a barbarian. So Arthur is the champion of the faith, who—

'In twelve great battles ruining overthrew
The heathen hordes.'

He is not only the warrior king of legend, but is an ideal—

'New-old and shadowing Sense at war with Soul,
Ideal manhood closed in real man.'

It is this element of allegory that here and there, as Mr Stopford Brooke has eloquently shown, makes Arthur seem 'superhuman,' 'out of the world,' 'too good for human nature's daily food.'†

It has been a question with critics to what extent Æneas is the type of Augustus. There can be little doubt that Virgil sincerely saw in the Augustan régime the realisation of much of his wish for the Roman people. Tennyson also, doubtless with sincerity, found in Prince Albert the antitype of Arthur.

'These to his memory—since he held them dear,
Perchance as finding there unconsciously
Some image of himself.'

'Æneas,' says Professor Sellar, in almost the same language as Professor Nettleship, 'is intended to be an embodiment of the courage of an ancient hero, the justice of a paternal ruler, the mild humanity of a cultivated man living in an age of advanced civilisation, the saintliness of the founder of a new religion of

* 'Æneid,' i, 263.

† Vol. ii, chapter x. 'Idylls of the King.'

peace and pure observance, the affection for parent and child which was one of the strongest instincts in the Italian race.' 'Mr. Tennyson,' wrote Mr. Gladstone, 'has encouraged us to conceive of Arthur as a warrior no less irresistible than Lancelot, but as also perfect in purity, and as in all other respects more comprehensive, solid, and profound.'

Yet, after all this apology, both heroes leave us a little cold—'Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.' Tennyson has perhaps come nearer to success with his hero than Virgil. Arthur finds more voices to praise him than Æneas. The greatness, the superior greatness, of Virgil, does not depend upon Æneas, but upon the 'Æneid' as a whole. Of its characters the greatest is Dido: indeed it may be doubted if any other is really great. Yet many are excellently delineated; and figures like Anchises, Evander, Mezentius, Camilla, and Drances have a picturesqueness and dramatic value, as the creations of one who is a master in grouping and figure-painting, if not exactly in character-drawing. Certainly as much or more might be said of the minor characters of the 'Idylls,' Gawain, Sir Bors, Enid, Elaine, and others; but Tennyson's powers as a delineator of character are not to be judged only, perhaps not mainly, by the 'Idylls.' The characters of his dramas are, it is true, in the first place, not so much ideals as historical studies; but the study of the personality of Queen Mary is very fine,* and so, though less striking, are the conceptions of Harold and of Becket, as became increasingly clear when the last was seen on the stage; while, leaving these out of the question, the 'Northern Farmer,' and in a different way 'Ulysses,' and, yet again, 'Maud,' show a power of indicating individuality by a few strokes, which is of a very high order.

But if the epics of both fail in directness, fail in point of heroic strength and life, and in those qualities in which Homer is so forcible, both have on the other hand qualities which go far to compensate for these defects. Both make appeal to sentiments and interests strong at once in their own day and for all time. Both are national poets addressing themselves to the patriotism of their country-

* 'Vienne un grand acteur qui comprenne et incarne Harold, une grande actrice qui se passionne pour le caractère de Marie, et sans effort Tennyson prendra sa place parmi les dramaturges.' (Filon, 'Théâtre Anglais,' p. 168.)

men; both are at once religious and scientific; both are scholars and artists. What in this regard was Virgil's attitude is best seen by placing him once more side by side with Lucretius. Lucretius, as was said above, is a natural philosopher. Science for him retained its old double meaning: it was at once natural science, that is to say, physical investigation and induction, and philosophy, that is, metaphysical speculation. Lucretius is not indeed aggressively negative: rather he is an agnostic. He embraces a philosophy which retains the gods provisionally. He does not accept the ordinary views about them, but he does go so far, in his magnificent proem, as to give a kind of scientific justification to a national belief and a family cult. He does not however believe, he disbelieves, in the immortality of the soul. He certainly cannot, by any stretch, be called orthodox. Virgil on the other hand is constructive, is in a sense orthodox. The orthodoxy of his time consisted in maintaining the accepted historic religion of Rome, and in giving a new sanction to its traditions and legends. This line Virgil pre-eminently follows. Further, he has a strong yearning for a personal immortality. He starts, it is true, with the same Epicurean creed as Lucretius: his desire is to know the causes of things. Horace began in precisely the same way. But Horace rested in, or lapsed into, an agnostic conformity: for him all after this life is dust and shadow. Virgil is not content with such a view. If still somewhat of a doubter, 'majestic in his sadness at the doubtful doom of human kind,' more and more he trusts to a larger hope. He believes in a Providence, a Providence to whom the Roman people is specially near and dear; he believes in the persistence of the individual soul, though it may clothe itself in different forms, and therefore in a heaven and a hell, even in a purgatory. The Sixth 'Æneid' is a magnificent effort to reconcile traditional belief and philosophic science. The famous doctrine of metempsychosis is used, no doubt, partly as a splendid artistic device, parallel to the 'Making of the Shield,' but it is also an attempt to justify the belief in immortality, to give to humanity 'the wages of going on, and still to be.'

Here again Tennyson's effect is less intense, or perhaps rather only less concentrated. Like Virgil, he too had from youth to age a passion for philosophy. Jowett said

to him: 'Your poetry has an element of philosophy more to be considered than any regular philosophy in England. It is almost too much impregnated with philosophy. Yet this to some minds will be its greatest charm.' It is hardly necessary to recall his part in the early discussions of the Cambridge 'Conversazione' Society, better known as the 'Apostles,' or how with Mr Knowles and Professor Pritchard in later days he founded the Metaphysical Society, to which a brief but notable chapter in the 'Life' is very properly devoted by his son. Like Virgil, and with better opportunities than Virgil, he had a passion for natural science—a passion that appears on almost every page of his poems. He was accepted by the scientific men of his age as their most intelligent and sympathetic critic and mouthpiece in the world of letters; while his accuracy as an observer of nature is a household word. Virgil's poetry is more artificial, and certainly cannot always be called scientific, but it is probable that less than justice is done to him on this score. Mr Warde Fowler, for instance, tells us that, excepting that of the half-mythical 'aleyon,' all Virgil's descriptions of birds are true to nature. Tennyson was specially careful about his birds and beasts, and had much correspondence about them with friends, in particular with the late Duke of Argyll; and, as other experts have shown, he was not less exact in his botany.

But Tennyson, if a naturalist, was no materialist; and with this scientific attitude there went in him, as in Virgil, an intense personal conviction of the immortality of the soul. His effort was to bring all these factors—natural observation, personal intuition, reason, and passion—into relation with religion in general, and in particular with Christianity, still more especially, here and there, with that Anglican Christianity in whose warm and kindly bosom he had been brought up. For like Virgil, if, to use the old classical phrase, his head struck the stars and the sky, he had his feet firmly planted on the soil of his own country.

Both, then, wrote *sub specie eternitatis*, but both were passionately patriotic, even to the extent of appearing at times almost narrowly national. Of this it is hardly necessary to multiply examples from either poet. Virgil's many splendid allusions to the beauties and glories of

Italy, her lakes and mountains, her 'hill-towns piled on their sheer crags,' her 'rivers gliding under ancient walls,' his great apostrophe to her as 'Mother of increase, mighty mother of men,' are known to all. His magnificent lines in the Sixth 'Æneid' sum up Rome's character and mission as perhaps no other artist has ever summed up the mission and character of a race.

'To rule the world, O Roman, be thy bent,
 Empire thy fine art and accomplishment,
 To spare the crushed, but battle down the proud,
 Till all beneath the code of thy firm peace be bowed!'
 ('Æneid,' vi, 851.)

The mission of England, the mandate of the British Empire, is not so fierce or selfish or all-embracing, and Tennyson's strain is naturally different. It is all the more interesting at once to compare and contrast Tennyson's patriotic songs and passages, such songs and passages as—

'Love thou thy land,
 or—
 'There is no land like England,'
 or—

'Pray God our greatness may not fail
 Thro' craven fears of being great.'

The utterances of both poets, moreover, have in this matter a certain character of prophecy. What is specially noticeable perhaps is how Tennyson outran his own time in his language about the colonies and the Empire as a whole, his words about which are even more true and vital now than they were when he wrote them. As a key to this, we may remark that so far back as May 1881 we find him writing in a private letter to Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales: 'I always feel with the Empire, and I read with great interest of these first steps in Federation.'

Both poets, again, were scholars, though, as we have seen, neither was a pedant. Both read widely and deeply. Both were 'lords of language,' coiners of many a golden phrase. Tennyson invented and employed many metres. Virgil, so far as we know, used but few; indeed in his great acknowledged poems he used the hexameter alone.

But within the large limits of the hexameter he made numberless experiments and inventions. There is reason, as was said above, to believe that the criticisms of Horace were worked out in conjunction with Virgil; Horace's maxims about the choice of words and the combination of words, and about the arrangement of a theme, coincide exactly with Virgil's practice; and indeed in more than one place he avows that he has Virgil in his mind. That Virgil was a conscious and critical artist, laborious and careful, there can be no doubt. He used to compose, we are told, a large number of lines every morning, dictating them to his secretary and then going over them all day, to reduce them finally to very few,* saying that he brought forth his poems as a she-bear does her young and gradually licked them into shape. Not to stop his flow, he would pass over certain parts without finishing them; other places again, he, so to speak, propped up with very slight lines, which he would say in jest were shoring-poles put in to support the work until the solid pillars should arrive. But sometimes lines would come to him in a flash, and his amanuensis Eros in his old age used to tell a story, which apparently became a little confused in the telling, how he had completed two lines of the 'Æneid' on the spur of the moment as his work was being read over for entry in the finished book.

Tennyson's process was perhaps less methodical, but he too polished and rejected. He certainly composed hundreds, nay thousands, of lines which he never wrote down; as a rule he 'rolled them about in his head.' But to him, too, not seldom the lines 'came.' 'Many of his shorter poems,' says his son, 'were made in a flash!' and again, 'When alone with me he would often chaunt his poems and add fresh lines.' 'Crossing the Bar' was made in a few minutes. Often his poems started from a single line. The line, 'At Flores in the Azores Sir Richard Grenville lay' was in his desk for years, but he finished the ballad at last, all at once, in a day or two. 'What people don't understand,' he said, 'is the slow germination, the long preliminary process which must precede the sudden rapid bursting into flower.' The crowning in-

* Tennyson has himself referred to this tradition in 'Poets and their Bibliographies'

stance is 'Maud,' the whole of which as we now have it was written *backward*, as the development and justification of the lovely little lyric beginning, 'O that 'twere possible, After long grief and pain,' which had been composed and even published in a magazine many years earlier.

Both were very fastidious. Tennyson would throw away a beautiful poem like that on 'Reticence' because he could not please himself about one collocation. He would reject, says Aubrey de Vere, passages or stanzas, however beautiful in themselves, if they spoiled the general form of the poem. We know less about Virgil, but all we know points in the same direction, and the story about his wishing the 'Æneid' to be burnt is probably no fable, though it is also probably true that he agreed to his impulse being over-ruled.

Tennyson restored or revived the use of many old and beautiful English words and forms: forms like *knolled*, words like *flittermouse* or *marish*, 'Not a cricket chirred,' 'The wood that *grides* and clangs,' 'The *poached* filth that floods the middle street.' It is characteristic that he regretted that he had never employed the word 'yarely.' Exactly analogous is Virgil's use of archaism, his genitives in *ai*, his infinitives in *ier*; his *olle* for *ille* and *hoc* for *huc*, or his *quianam* and *porgite* and *flictus*; or the beautiful old word *florus* as an epithet for a maiden's hair, alluded to already.

There is nothing unusual in the fact that both read their poems aloud: this has been done by many poets, ancient and modern. But in their manner of reading there is an interesting resemblance. Virgil used to read or recite from his poems, we are told, not, as became the fashion at Rome, publicly or semi-publicly at *séances* to large audiences, but only occasionally to a few chosen friends, and then for the most part passages about which he was in doubt, in order to get his friends' judgment. Of the charm of his reading abundant testimony has been preserved. He read with wonderful sweetness and fascination, and with enviable dramatic power, and often brought out the meaning of lines of his own which without him were empty and dumb. The story of Octavia fainting at the recital of the passage on the young Marcellus is well known.

Tennyson followed the same practice. He read to get his friends' judgment. 'The constant reading of new poems aloud was the surest way of helping him to find out any defects there might be.' He also read for the enjoyment of his friends. Reporters differ, as is to be expected, about the artistic value of his reading. One witness said he read with a voice like a rough sea; but most pronounce it to have been very fine, and to have brought out, like Virgil's reading, new and unsuspected meanings and beauties in the poems themselves. Fanny Kemble speaks of the striking and impressive reading of 'Boadicea.' Gladstone understood and was converted to 'Maud' when he heard it read: so was Dr Van Dyke, the American critic, who has written on the whole the fullest and truest account of Tennyson's reading. The reading of freshly finished poems to special friends was with both poets a great occasion. Thus Virgil read the 'Georgics' to Augustus, a 'Georgic' a day, for four days. Propertius, again, was admitted to a hearing of the 'Æneid' while it was still in process, and wrote:

'Room, bards of Greece, and Roman bards, make room!
More than the "Iliad" quickens in the womb.'

So Tennyson read to the Prince Consort or to the Rossettis and the Brownings.

It would be easy to carry the parallel into yet further detail, but perhaps it has been almost over-elaborated already. Much of the same kind of similarity might be found between other poets, ancient and modern. Tennyson has much of affinity with Milton and Gray. As regards Virgil, Tennyson had Virgil himself as well as Virgil's model before him, and was a conscious and constant student of Virgil. His poem on Virgil is well known. What is less well known, though recorded in the last lines, is the life-long love out of which these glorious stanzas themselves flowed. 'I had no idea that Virgil could sound so fine as it did by his reading,' said Savile Morton in 1844. 'Tears which during a pretty long and intimate intercourse I had never seen glisten in his eye but once, when reading Virgil—dear old Virgil, as he called him—together.' So wrote Edward Fitzgerald, who shared this as many of his loves.

It seems a pity that he did not give any specimen

of translation from a poet with whom he had so much affinity. How he thought it ought to have been done he has told us. Like Wordsworth, he thought Virgil should be translated into blank verse. Perhaps the best suggestion of what Tennyson's rendering would have been like, had he attempted it, is to be found in the closing lines of 'Demeter,' lines which have a distinctly Virgilian ring :—

'The Stone, the Wheel, the dimly-glimmering lawns
Of that Elysium, all the hateful fires
Of torment, and the shadowy warrior glide
Along the silent field of Asphodel'—

or in what his son justly calls the 'Virgilian' simile about the torrent and the cataract in 'Enid.'

Imitation however is one thing, the parallelism of independent writers another; and in drawing out the parallel some deduction must perhaps be made on these and similar grounds. In their actual output too there is perhaps more difference than in their genius. Tennyson is more various. Virgil is more concentrated. Had Virgil followed up his early bent, or had he lived longer, he might have given us both lyrics and elegiacs of a memorable kind. The 'Catalepta,' as already hinted, seems to suggest analogues to several of Tennyson's occasional verses. It must be remembered also that our record of Virgil's personality is very imperfect. Thus his passion for philosophy, hinted at, as has been shown, more than once in his remains, can hardly be properly estimated now, though it is unconsciously felt in his poetry. Again we have very few of his sayings. There is one, which sounds genuine and is certainly fine, 'That no virtue is more useful to a man than patience, and that there is no lot so hard that a brave man cannot conquer it by bearing it wisely.' He has expressed this maxim in the 'Æneid':—

'Quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est;'

and Horace, in his beautiful dirge on Virgil's friend Quintilius Varus, is perhaps alluding to it, and for Virgil's sake:

'Durum: sed levius fit patientia,
Quidquid corrigere est nefas.'

With both may be not inaptly compared Tennyson's fine and famous lines—

'O well for him whose will is strong!
He suffers, but he will not suffer long.'

Had Tennyson been more bold and determined with his epic, reared a more sustained architecture, and finished all in a style and on a scale more fully corresponding to the promise of the first 'Morte d'Arthur,' the resemblance might have been more complete, if less interesting.

Yet when all deductions have been made, the parallel seems well worth working out. How close it is perhaps we can hardly yet tell. Hereafter, when these things shall have become history, when the Victorian age like the Augustan shall lie 'foreshortened in the tract of time,' its separate stars gathered to one glittering constellation, it will be more easy to pronounce. Yet assuredly it is strikingly close. Were there ever two poets at once so profound and so popular, satisfying at the same time the highest and the widest tastes; poets the delight of the artist and the student; the favourites, and more, the friends, of kings; the heroes, so far as men of letters can be heroes, of an empire? Did we hold Virgil's creed, we might be tempted at times to think—though the dates do not exactly, but only nearly, correspond—of that ancient doctrine so wonderfully handled by Plato and by Virgil himself, and to fancy that the tender and pensive, yet withal manly, soul—'Leal bard, lips worthy of the laurelled god'—which went to join Musæus on the Elysian lawn nineteen years before the birth of Christ, had, after twice rolling the fateful cycle, found a third avatar, and lived again, well nigh two thousand years later, in the English Laureate of the nineteenth century. But Tennyson's faith, though the doctrine had much attraction for him, was not this. Rather it was one which looked ever forward and upward—'On and always on.'

Art. VI.—MICHELET AS AN HISTORIAN.

1. *Ma Jeunesse*. Par Jules Michelet. Deuxième Edition. Paris: C. Lévy, 1884.
2. *Jules Michelet: Œuvres Complètes*. Edition définitive, revue et corrigée. Paris: Flammarion, 1893, &c.
3. *Les Maîtres d'Histoire: Renan, Taine, Michelet*. Par G. Monod. Paris: C. Lévy, 1894.
4. *Cinquante Ans d'Amitié; Michelet-Quinet*. Par Mme Edgar Quinet. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1899.

IT is a singular coincidence that in this century, so rich in strict historical investigation, two historians should have arisen, one in England and the other in France, who, while contributing largely to our scientific knowledge of the past, have yet been chiefly pre-eminent for poetic vision, for prophetic ardour, and for certain strongly-marked peculiarities of style and method, which, while perhaps adding incisiveness to their immediate influence, have prevented either the one or the other from founding a school in history or in literature. They are Thomas Carlyle and Jules Michelet. Both were sons of the people; both were poets, prophets, historians. Both exercised a deep moral influence over their contemporaries, and in their lifetimes occupied a kind of pontifical position, one as the high priest of Cæsarism, the other as the orator of the masses. Each lacked measure and self-control, and spurned the literary traditions of his race. And so, being full of priceless but incommunicable merits, and of obvious and undesirable eccentricities, they have left no succession.

In the dreadful year 1798, when the worst of governments was disgracing France, and fortune had turned against her arms, Jules Michelet was born in a desecrated church in the Rue St Denis, 'like an unsunned plant between two Paris paving-stones.' His father was a Picard ('that inflammable race') from Laon, reared in the quiet old-world atmosphere of a cathedral town, the son of a cathedral choir-master. Large empty monasteries opened their cool courts and sumptuous gardens and opulent sinecures to the young man, for it was a hard task to recruit religious establishments in the declining years of the eighteenth century, thanks to the 'Encyclopédie' and other philosophical antidotes to religion. Michelet's father

was, however, not cast in the clerical mould. Credulous, curious, sanguine, and versatile, a kind of Mr Micawber, whose favourite phrase, in the midst of persistent pecuniary troubles, was 'Tout s'arrangera,' he was inevitably drawn into the din and dust of Paris. In the critical month of August 1792 he came to the capital, and entered the printing-house of assignats in the Place Vendôme. His career was the reverse of successful. He was bankrupt more than once, and tasted the solitude of La Pélagie, not the most commodious of prisons. He wrote an unsuccessful novel, printed an ecclesiastical gazette, was practically ruined by the suppression of his printing-office in 1812, but sprouted up again ever youthful and ebullient as male housekeeper to a private lunatic asylum.

It will be agreed that life did not open very radiantly for Jules. The lad lost his mother—a poor, sad, depressed creature from the Ardennes country, whose physical strength was plainly inadequate to cope with usurious duns and the pangs of hunger—when he was just beginning to need her most. Laborious days spent in a dark cellar putting up type; 'up to fifteen years no meat, no wine, no fire; bread and vegetables most often cooked with water and salt'; no brothers and sisters, and no playmates. Then there was the shadow of the Napoleonic wars, the sense of squandered lives, of hopeless political and military ruin, of stifled thought and strangled commerce. The boy never forgot the horror of d'Enghien's execution, and he confessed afterwards that nothing had more enabled him to understand the sombre monotony of the Middle Ages than to have languished as a child in the last days of the Empire. 'I felt in my sombre cave what the Jew dreamt of when he built the pyramids . . . what the man in the Middle Ages dreamt when he drew his furrow under the shade of the feudal tower.' The results of the Corsican ambition, indeed, were brought home to the slender Michelet *ménage* in the most practical of all ways—dear food, and a derisory indemnity for the suppression of their printing press. Perhaps it was as well for the future historian that he should thus early have experienced the repercussion of high politics on everyday life.

This child of ardent imagination and tender feminine sympathies, morbidly shy and diffident, quick to tears, but full of enthusiasm and poetry, passed a youth 'devoured

by intellectual passions.' In the cool twilight, as his fingers worked upon the types, the boy's thoughts went ranging freely through the empyrean of fancy. His acquaintance with the world of books seems to have been just sufficient to stimulate, and not great enough to choke inventiveness. His mother read the old chronicles to him; and the Druids, the Boar of Ardenne, and St Hubert's miraculous stag took an early lodgment in his mind. Later came the 'Imitation,' Virgil, and lastly, at the age of eighteen, that 'virile enchanter,' Rousseau.

Meanwhile, the elder Michelet, despite his respectable ecclesiastical origin, had taken sides against the Church. He had refused to take orders, he had printed assignats, and he omitted to baptise his boy. The consequence was that Jules never received the regular Catholic training, or indeed any distinctively Christian education; and this added to the influence which the first contact with the 'Imitation' would necessarily exert upon the thoughtful mind. The boy, with his love for 'veiled skies' and solitude, was now first called into the realms of religious meditation; and religion, received thus without a human intermediary, became for him a living and constant force, recruited by all the incidents of life, by all the holy and tender things of art and poetry. Virgil, too—'that feminine Sibyl half way between two worlds'—touched him with his magical wand, filling him with the melody of his great Roman rhythm, and drawing him downwards into the moonlit gloom of Christian times. These books fed his reverie, and ministered consolation during the dark days of the later Empire, but they did nothing to shake him from his solitary mood. 'It was Rousseau,' he said, 'who awoke in me the need of action. His uncouthness went with mine. . . From him I learnt what I had felt daily on certain days of stoical mood, "That poverty might be a spur."' The boy had learnt much of the French Revolution from his father, who had met many of the chief actors in the drama, had mounted guard at the Temple, and witnessed the execution of the king. But here was one of the grand motor forces behind all that huge movement of things, those rhapsodical Federations of '91 to which the elder man looked back so fondly, and which the son was to describe with all the resources of his eloquence, the shameful years of the Directorate, the sterilising epoch of

Napoleonic despotism. And the wizard had lost none of his power, in spite of the ruins on the way. If ever historian was a child of Rousseau, it was Jules Michelet.

The author of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' is considered by competent judges, himself among them, to have enjoyed all the external and internal advantages which are requisite to the production of a great historian. He was tolerably well connected; his tutors had neglected him at college; he had been first a Protestant, then a Catholic, and then nothing at all. He had fallen in love just enough to see what it was like, and just not enough to be involved in the troubles of matrimony. He had been a captain in the militia, and had thus learnt something of the handling of men. His social experience was wide, his leisure wider still, his means ample. He had the sense to live at Lausanne, far away from the chance of impertinent interruption and from solicitous relatives. His temper was cool, even, and complacent. He was not a man to be upset by grief or love, to be hurried by common ambitions into hasty work; and he wrote for his own pleasure, like a gentleman, upon an aristocratic theme, from which the vulgarity of passion had long since evaporated.

Yet there is something to be said for the contention that the half-starved Paris compositor was better equipped by fortune than the plump little Englishman at Lausanne. It was something for the historian of the French Revolution to have lived in Paris, to have been the son of a man who had seen Robespierre and Danton and suffered under the Law of Suspects, to have been brought up as an artisan among the people, to have suffered the pangs of starvation, to have known how the poor live. It was something to be able, like Henry IV, to talk at one's ease with the country folk and the cobblers, to learn how far a *sou* can be made to go, and how much virtue and heroism are sometimes involved in the process of extending its journey. Nothing is so valuable as the capacity of making friends in all classes of life; and nobody is so well fitted for this task as the man whom fortune has endowed with a warm heart, a lowly origin, of which he is not ashamed, and a sufficient education.

Again, so far as the literary part of the training went, much is to be said on Michelet's side. A childhood passed

in the company of a few great authors, undistracted by the ordinary pleasures and friendships of youth, the sound, though perhaps too rhetorical drill of the Lycée Charlemagne, and then a life of almost incessant lecturing and teaching in classical, philosophical, and historical subjects. 'Great thoughts,' said Vauvenargues, 'come from the heart.' Is this not also true of great histories as well? At any rate, the historical work of Michelet flowed from this source, and was inspired by a most constant and fervid social ideal. Though the man had an astounding plenitude of rhetorical resource, and could pour out unending melodies of scorn and rapture, sentiment and eloquence, all controlled by that delicate sense of rhythm which is the finest gift of the artist in words, yet he cared little for the exercise of these precious talents, save as a means to an end. 'I did not wish to live by my pen,' he writes, speaking of his first scholastic appointment at a small private school. 'I thought then, as Rousseau, that literature ought to be a thing reserved, the fine luxury of life, the inmost flower of the soul.' The main part of life must be practical, and what more practical career than that of the teacher? 'L'enseignement c'est le sacerdoce.'

The life of a teacher may be difficult to reconcile with the severe labour of original historical research, but it is generally held to bring compensating advantages—greater perspicuity, greater sense of proportion, greater width of sympathy. To this category of benefits it should be added that teaching always meant for Michelet friendship, and that friendship had meant love. Other historians had been more brilliant, judicious, and profound. The special value of his own work was that, if less bookish, it was closer to life than many elegant and reputable performances, for it was written by a man of the people who had loved and suffered more than most professors; and the thoughts had been struck out in ardent and sympathetic communion with the young.

The great source of Michelet's strength lies in the clearness with which he conceives his end. He does not care a fig for mere erudition, he eschews footnotes, he rarely affords the readers a glimpse of his scaffoldings. He may be tediously emphatic in his rhetoric, but he is a man with a gospel, and the power to hold his audience.

The gospel according to Michelet can be packed into two words, *Nature* and *Patrie*.^{*} He tells us himself how, when he began to think and study, he found his country utterly demoralised by the cruel legend of military idolatry, the monarchic superstition, and the cult of force; how the memory of the historical continuity of France, of her mission among the nations, had been effaced by a series of political convulsions; how the solidarity of the family was broken up by the confessional, by loose morals; how humiliating was the image of French life reflected in the mirror of her current literature. The thing needed was to teach France to Frenchmen, to arouse them to a deep patriotic interest in the past of their fatherland, to give them a faith in its destinies that should supply the place of Christianity, which, being essentially monarchical and feminine, was unsuited to the manly gravity of republican manners. Men talk of cosmopolitanism and the family of nations. For Michelet the European concert was a harmony composed of distinctive national notes; and the notes became more distinctive as time went on. It was true that geography was most influential in the springtide of nations, but then other discriminating agents took its place; and 'the more a man advances the more he enters into the genius of his country.'

We will not here stop to enquire how far patriotism is an all-sufficient *credo*, or what kind of European concert would be the result of an artificial intensification of national traits all round. It is, however, only fair to Michelet to point out that, like his friend Quinet, he has no sympathy with the view that all has been for the best in the best possible of worlds. He believed, indeed, that the history of France had special properties of a religious nature. In somewhat vague language he sums up thus: 'This nation has two very strong things, which I see nowhere else. She has the principle and the legend, the most large and human idea, and at the same time the most continuous tradition. The idea Fraternity, the tradition the Moral Idea of the world.' By the latter phrase

^{*} 'Il faut que le jeune âme ait un substantiel aliment. Il y faut une chose vivante. Quelle chose? La Patrie, son âme, son histoire, sa tradition nationale. La Nature, l'universelle Patrie. Voilà une nourriture qui réjouira, remplira le cœur de l'enfant.' ('Nos Fils,' Intr., xii.)

he seems to mean that France has participated more fully and continuously in the Romano-Christian and democratic tradition than the other nations of Europe, and that in her the development of civilisation is, as Guizot too thought, most clearly exhibited. But, at the same time, the pathway is strewn with gigantic blocks of error. The scholasticism which obscured the dawning light of the twelfth century, the Inquisition which crushed the Albigenses, the reception of the Jesuit Order, the wild and unpatriotic follies of the politicians of the sixteenth century, the Spanish influence at the Court of Lewis XIII, the expulsion of the Huguenots, diverted France from her true course of democratic and colonial development, and gave the primacy of industry and the rule of the seas to Holland and Great Britain. The Terrorists again diverted the Revolution from the paths of democracy, and Robespierre paved the way for Bonaparte.

It is well to recognise these things, and it is also well to be patriotic, but we confess that Michelet's national vanity seems, notwithstanding his admissions, to be somewhat fantastic and overdone. France supplies 'the sympathetic tie of the world.' It is the source of all illumination. The French language penetrates everywhere, and chases mystery from the dark sanctuaries of the earth. 'Une telle langue est la guerre aux dieux.' Conversely, England, which is Anti-France, comes in for even more than her proper share of castigation. Ireland, of course, has been shamefully maltreated by the brutal Saxons. We will not quarrel with Michelet over his estimate of the Celts, although perhaps it is excessive to say that 'it is the glory of the Celts to have founded in the West the law of equality,' upon the double ground that an early Welsh philosopher believed in the freedom of the will, and that Celtic tribal property was subdivided by 'a law of precocious equity.' It is, however, surprising to learn that Cornwall has been the Peru of England, only valued for her mines; that in Norman England serfdom approached in horror to ancient slavery; that the comedies of Shakespeare are mournful and betray signs of national degeneration; that the sea is English by inclination, and does not love France, but breaks her vessels and fills her ports with sand. We feel here that however much Michelet may have gained by the lowliness of his origin, he has

tainly lost something by sharing the vulgar prejudices of the man in the street.

In palliation it may be said that the Frenchmen of his time were nurtured upon the Pitt-Coburg legend; that the boy was sixteen years of age when the battle of Waterloo was fought; that he saw the allied armies occupy Paris, and that Thierry had set him a bad example in his history of the Norman conquest of England. Michelet also would probably have replied to his critics that it was not the function of the historian to correct national traditions, but to justify them.

'This is what France demands of us historians, not to make history—it is made for the essential facts morally, the great results are inscribed in the conscience of the people—but to reestablish the chain of facts and ideas from which these results have issued. "I do not ask of you," she says, "that you should make my creeds, and dictate my judgments; it is for you to receive them and conform yourself to them. The problem which I propose to you is to tell me how I came to act as I have acted, and to judge as I have judged."'

This was sound enough doctrine as against Hamel, who wrote three volumes to deify Robespierre, and the numerous apologists of the Emigration. The massive popular tradition, which reported the *émigrés* to have been unpatriotic and selfish, the King to have been incompetent, and the Terror to have been a gigantic crime as well as a blunder, was very much more trustworthy than the elaborate sophistries of the partisan historians. But it is one thing to trust the national memory upon facts within the range of recent national experience, and another thing to trust its report upon facts about which, from the necessity of the case, it was imperfectly informed. The Parisian who, in 1794, was in hourly terror of the guillotine, had every right to express and record an opinion of the ways of the Mountain; but of European diplomacy he knew nothing, and of England he was, despite Montesquieu and Voltaire, almost as ignorant as of Tartary or Timbuctoo.

There is another somewhat serious deduction from the value of Michelet's historical work, which may equally be traced to the character of the intellectual influences in France at the time of his youth. For all his emotional poetic nature, he had inherited the one-sided Revolu-

tionary view of Christianity.* In an eloquent little book, the 'Bible de l'Humanité,' published in 1864, that is to say, after Strauss and Renan had respectively abolished and evaporated Christ, he reviewed the leading creeds of the world, indicating his own marked preference for the ancient religion of the Persians. The creeds fall into two classes, those of the Peoples of the Light, and those of the Peoples of the Twilight, the Night, and the *Clair-Obscur*. In the first division we have India, Persia, and Greece: in the second division Egypt, the religion of death; Syria and Phrygia, the religion of enervation; the worship of Bacchus-Sabbas, typifying tyranny and military orgies; Judaism, the religion of the slave; Christianity, the religion of the woman. Of the last religion he writes:—

'Three women begin the whole thing. Anne, mother of the Virgin; Elizabeth, her cousin, mother of St John, and another Anne, prophetess, and wife of the high priest. . . . The Messianic condition (to be elderly and so far childless) was found precisely in the cousins Anne and Elizabeth.'

The 'Protoevangelium Jacobi,' 'innocent and amusing,' is the book which throws the clearest light upon this feminine aspect of Christianity. It is unnecessary to say more of Michelet's treatment of Christian origins, for it is confessedly slight, and indeed little more than a repetition of Renan's sentimental and unsatisfactory idyll. The curious fact is that Michelet seems never to have recognised that Christianity has anything to say to grown men. The whole history of Christian development is explained upon the hypothesis of a secular conspiracy between the priest and the woman, culminating in the domination of the Jesuits, the organisation of the confessional, the break-up of family life, the Vendée, and the counter-Revolution. The antidote to this emasculating influence was to be found in the study of national history, in a closer and more refined union between man and wife, and in a sense of the solidarity of man with nature.

It is well that an historian should offer prescriptions, and Michelet's prescriptions are admirable. No one, except

* 'L'Eglise était pour moi un monde étranger, de curiosité pure, comme eût été la lune. Ce que je savais le mieux de cet astre pâli c'est que ses jours étaient comptés, qu'il avait peu à vivre.' ('Hist. de Fr.,' *Préf.*, 1860, p. xi.)

perhaps Georges Sand in 'Mdlle la Quintinie,' has described the evils of the confessional so eloquently, or has studied with such delicate insight and sympathy the influence of priest upon woman through history. But while there are clearly many elements of truth in Michelet's view, it is nothing short of astounding that an historian, a poet, and a moralist, steeped in the literature of the Middle Ages, should have been dead to the rational and practical side of Church teaching, should have ignored the extent to which it fortified mind and character in barbarous ages, and should have attributed the ultimate victory of a great institution and scheme of thought to the insidious influence of priest upon woman and woman upon man. Fortunately this unsympathetic attitude had not been adopted until after the completion of the first six volumes of the 'History of France,' which carry the reader down to the end of the Middle Ages.

For diplomatic correspondence he had little taste, and in this was the opposite of Ranke, 'notre aimable savant ingénieux, Ranke, qui nous a tant appris,' who seems to find nothing but state papers entirely interesting. It was necessary, of course, to read Granvelle and similar authorities for the period of Charles V; and Michelet is careful to explain that if his treatment of the reign of Louis XIII seems to be a tissue of Court intrigue, it is because (as Cardinal Mazarin explained to the Queen) the capture of the King for two days meant a revolution in policy. But having chosen the people for his hero, he despises cabinet intrigues, deeming that they have been accorded an excessive importance in historical works. Thus Cato introduces him to the 'rudeness of the old Latin genius,' revealing 'a people patient and tenacious, disciplined and regular, avaricious and avid.' Germany is made manifest in Grimm's 'Weisthümer,' that splendid collection of old legal custom and ritual, and in the writings and table-talk of Luther, from which Michelet published two volumes of extracts. So, too, Haxthausen's agrarian studies first discover for him the true Russia.

Michelet always looks behind the courtly records for clues to the real popular life, and thus shows the way to Mr. J. R. Green and the later group of social historians. He claims to have discovered 'the great, the sombre, the terrible fourteenth century,' by discarding Froissart, who, spinning like a gaudy dragon-fly over a dank and turbid

pool, has attracted all eyes by his iridescence. The life of the Flemish Communes and of Jacques Bonhomme is for him more fundamental and more attractive than the feudal society depicted by Olivier de la Marche and Chastellain. He fell in with fifteen folio volumes of street ballads and fashion plates when working at French life under Louis XIV; and it was a great windfall, for he loved the work of the microscope, and claimed it as one of his greatest merits that he was able to extract significance from 'le menu détail.' Not that he was destitute of general ideas. He may be said to have rediscovered Vico, the father of philosophical history, and he learnt from the Italian writer the doctrine that 'humanity creates itself,' changing its character by continuous mutual interaction as time goes on. Thus Thierry's conception of Race as a constant struck him as unscientific; and it was one of his objects to show how 'France had made France,' how in the course of the multitudinous inter-course of men the national character had undergone numerous changes. But to exhibit the national psychology in all its delicate manners and varieties, it was not sufficient merely to narrate a string of battles and negotiations and treaties. The physical basis of life, climate, geography, food, must be studied, so that the story should not be 'like a Japanese picture,' the figures resting on air. A whole society should be, so to speak, surprised in its intimate moods, when it is off guard, and its pose is natural.

The task requires delicate sensibility and a wide conspectus of life, for the indications are often trivial, and very heterogeneous. A picture, a medallion, a coin, the sentiment of a Burgundian hill-side, a fragment of old building, a scrap of song or of painted glass, a rustic proverb or the joke of a chronicler—what marvels may they not be made to perform by the magician of history? Sometimes he divines a truth; often his fancy floats him away into some painted cloud. And so, with the best intentions to be real, his works are full of symbolism and of the 'pathetic fallacy'—the malady which afflicts those who search too zealously for sentiment and significance among common things. The 'fresh rosy mask' of Francis II of Austria, 'in its terrible fixity,' as it hangs in the gallery of Versailles, appals him. 'Such a being visibly will never feel remorse; it commits crime conscientiously. Pitiless bigotry is necessarily written in this bigoted face.' A drawing of Danton

gives rise to the following reflections: 'The most terrifying thing is that there are no eyes. At least, one scarcely sees them. What? This terrible blind man shall be the guide of nations? Obscurity, vertigo, fatality, absolute ignorance of the future—this is what one reads here.' It is characteristic of him to seize upon some little scrap of personal evidence and hold it up to the spectators as typical and decisive of a man or even of a period. In the hands of a great imaginative writer such a method is always effective, often convincing, sometimes very misleading.

It is generally agreed that the finest portions of Michelet's historical work are the first six volumes of the 'History of France.' They were written between 1833 and 1843, when he was Professor at the École Normale and the Collège de France, and also chief of the historical division of the Archives Nationales. The 'History of the French Revolution' was written between 1845 and 1853, the 'Renaissance and the New Monarchy' from 1855 to 1867, the 'History of the Nineteenth Century' in 1869. It will thus be seen that the histories of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were composed after the author had steeped himself in the passions of the Revolution. They are less complete, less sure, less massive than the earlier work. They are defaced by the introduction of pathological explanations which are often repellent and seldom convincing, and by an uncontrolled hatred of monarchy and religion.* Besides this, the literature of these later centuries was too vast to be mastered in its entirety; and Michelet selected and used his fragments with caprice. Melody, eloquence, divination are there: the voice is no longer that of the poet-savant but that of the poet-politician.

It has been truly said by a distinguished scholar that we are apt to overrate the morals and to underrate the brains of the Middle Ages. Michelet certainly underrated the value and originality of mediæval thought; and, despite

* This would be sufficiently clear from Michelet's own avowal even if there were nothing else to support it. 'Quand je rentraï, que je me retournai, revis mon Moyen Âge, cette mer superbe de sottises, une hilarité violente me prit, et au seizième au dix-septième siècle je fis une terrible fête. Rabelais et Voltaire ont ri dans leur tombeau. Les dieux crevés, les rois pourris ont apparu sans voile. La fade histoire du convenu, cette prude honteuse dont on se contentait, a disparu. De Médicis à Louis XIV une autopsie sévère a caractérisé ce gouvernement de cadavres.' ('Hist. de France,' Préf., 1869.)

the work of Hauréau and other writers, his estimate of scholasticism is no fairer than that of Voltaire. He was not unacquainted with philosophy, and had even taught it at the Collège Charlemagne and at Ste-Barbe; but the strength of his anti-ecclesiastical bias prevented him from doing justice to any thinker save Abélard and Arnold of Brescia. The 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard are a 'manuel de sottise,' and the recovery of the Church in the thirteenth century is explained in the following absurd manner:—

'On imagina un pauvre expédient. . . . On permit des demi-mystiques qui pouvaient délirer un peu, s'emporter jusqu'à un certain point, être fous, mais avec méthode.'

The *demi-mystiques* are in the first place the Franciscans, whose proceedings, inspired by their founder St Francis—'ce tout-puissant génie dramatique'—remind one of 'the pantomimes of the priests of Cybele'; and in the second place the scholastic philosophers, 'the immense army of the sons of Æolus.' Even the architecture of the Middle Ages, 'l'art boiteux du moyen âge,' comes in for severe condemnation, on the ground that the Gothic church is dependent upon the external support of buttresses.* On the other hand, the sanctity of mediæval morals was certainly overrated in the first six volumes, although Michelet's opinion of them changed decidedly for the worse after working at the second volume of the 'Procès des Templiers,' and reading the striking evidence contained in the 'Cartulaire de St Bertin' and the 'Journal des visites épiscopales d'Eudes Rigaud.'

The first six volumes were eloquent and poetical and learned; and they were an attempt to tell the history of the French people rather than that of the monarchy. But the 'French Revolution' is more than eloquent, learned, and poetical: it marks a new departure.

'Every history of the Revolution up till now has been essentially monarchical. This has been the first republican history, the first which has broken the idols and the gods. From the first page to the last it has only had one hero, the people. . . . All the glory of the Mountain has been monopolised

* There is, however, an eloquent and appreciative passage in 'Hist. de France,' vol. ii, 'Éclaircissement.'

by the Committee, that of the Committee by Robespierre; that is to say, republican history has constantly been written in a monarchical sense.*

The supreme merit of Michelet's history lies just in the fact that it is the attempt of a powerful genius to evoke the spirit of a whole people from the tomb. Of all the histories of the French Revolution this is the greatest, and yet it is written by a man without a scrap of true political judgment. It is as poetical as Carlyle's, but fuller, closer to the complex and passionate reality. It does not deal out frigid judgments like Taine, but tells the story with the clear fervour of a disciple recounting the origins of his creed. It rings with sounding epigrams and noble eloquence and absurd rhapsody. It is prefaced and inspired by the ridiculous belief that the Revolution was in essence and origin antagonistic to Christianity, that 'to the genius of Christianity one thing only could be opposed—the genius of St Bartholomew.' It is disgracefully lenient in its estimate of the men of the Convention, who acquiesced in the most monstrous cruelties which a civilised city has ever witnessed.

'They were all, we swear it, excellent citizens, ardent lovers of their country. It was in general the jealous and terrible love which they had for the republic which threw them into these ways of unjust accusation and extermination.'

The truth is, they suffered from abject cowardice and hysterical suspicion; and Michelet quotes only to forget the fine phrase of Fabre d'Eglantine, 'Rien de grand sans la pitié.' Nevertheless, making all allowances for exuberant perversion, it is a wonderful book, for it reveals the raptures and the passions of a whole nation, enabling the reader to understand the truth of the statement with which it is prefaced, that 'never since the Crusades has there been such a convulsion of the masses, so general and so profound.'

The industrious investigations of M. Aulard and his school are now mainly concerned with the government of France by the Committee of Public Safety. We are introduced to the instructions of the Représentatives en Mission, and are invited to wax enthusiastic over the administrative labours of those very zealous but commonplace clerks Car-

* 'Hist. de la Révolution Française,' vol. i, Introduction.

not and Jean Bon Saint-André.* Administrative history is almost always dull, and therefore it is almost always taken to be respectable; and the jury which sits upon the Revolution is asked to acquit upon the ground that, even if the soil of France was reddened by the blood of innocent victims, much official paper was industriously blackened in the effort to secure pigs and fodder and shoes for the army.

Michelet does not work in this vein. His task is to describe the enthusiasm of '89, the Federations of '90, the spontaneous organisation of France in '91, the growth of republican feeling and the popular movements in '92. With the ascendancy of Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety the wine for him has lost its flavour. The *elan* has gone; the spirit of Fraternity has evaporated; and the Revolution is checked by the gloomy repression of the Terror. Though he consulted the manuscript register of the Committee of Public Safety, the material in which he delights to revel is not administrative but popular—the letters of the provincial federations to the National Assembly which he found 'entire, burning as of yesterday after sixty years,' and full of the naïve and unreserved confidences of the child to its mother; the *procès-verbaux* of the Commune under Chaumette, which illustrate the miscellaneous philanthropy that went on together with the guillotine; the manuscript reports of the debates in the Assembly; the Archives de Police. He travels to Toulon to get a sight of the registers which record the names of the galley-slaves; he ransacks the judicial registers of Nantes for light upon the Vendée and the Noyades; he picks up lessons and valuable crumbs of oral information from his father, from one of the combatants of August 10th, from a Nantes merchant, from the family of the artist who painted Charlotte Corday; and he is actually acquainted with a lady who took the part of Goddess of Reason in a provincial festival, 'une femme sérieuse et d'une vie irréprochable.' No other history written so long after the events gives such an impression of being contemporary.

The drawback of trying to be contemporary is that you lose the advantages of being subsequent. Michelet's book is vitiated by a certain superficiality of judgment. He

* Perhaps the best apology for these men is contained in the striking conversation of Jean Bon and Count Beugnot in 1813. 'Beugnot Mémoires' (ed. 1868), vol. ii, p. 17.

loves the Revolution, which was 'gloriously spiritualiste, daughter of philosophy, not of the deficit'; but, on the other hand, he hates the Terror, and has arrived at a very just estimate of Robespierre. He is therefore forced to explain how it was that so glorious a movement, 'which demanded that a whole people should elevate itself above its material habits,' should decline upon so miserable an issue. His answer is that certain assignable mistakes were committed. In the first place, the Constituent lacked *le sens éducatif*. It was prolific in laws, but it did not supply the means of education by which those laws could be made intelligible. Its work was merely political and superficial, fruitful in laws, sterile in dogmas; whereas it ought to have been social, profound, positive. Then the Constituent, tempted by the virtues of Rabaut, Grégoire, and Camus, made the mistake of compromising with the Church; while, lastly, war should have been declared a year earlier, before the air had become thick with suspicion, and when France could have taken the offensive against unready foes, for it was the defensive war which produced the September massacres.

These explanations neglect the facts that the Reign of Terror and spontaneous anarchy had really begun in 1789; that the process of political education cannot be accomplished by a stroke of the pen; and that France was wholly unready for a breach with Catholicism. The one remedy which to Mirabeau and Malouet seemed possible—the establishment of a constitutional monarchy after the English pattern—is by Michelet rejected with scorn.

'The Middle Ages,' he writes, 'only possessed one hypocrisy; we possess two: the hypocrisy of authority, the hypocrisy of liberty; in a word the priest, the Englishman—the two forms of Tartuffe. The priest acts principally on women or the peasant; the Englishman on the *classes bourgeoises*.'

Perhaps after all Michelet was right, and the experiment of parliamentary government is alien to the genius of French republicanism. Yet the hypocritical side of English liberty was not so apparent in 1789 as it was thirty years later; and Montesquieu's ideal picture of us had not yet been torn to shreds by the iconoclasts of constitutional history.

Anacharsis Clootz once said on a famous occasion,
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'France, guéris-toi des individus.' Michelet, who individualises everything, who paints character so boldly and brilliantly, gives this to his country by way of crowning precept after issuing from the fiery furnace of '94. The great things of the Revolution were, in his view, done, not by a few men, but by the masses; he disbelieved in the artificial mechanism of the revolutionary day. The growth of France was not, as so many had written, the result of the fostering care of the monarchy; and it was Michelet's aim to prove the fact in his concluding volumes. Germany and Italy had lived by the light of a few bright stars; France 'by the common soul': 'sans la France le Français n'est plus.' All the more difficult was the task of the historian, called upon to evoke this varied and multitudinous life. 'Doucement, messieurs les morts,' whispered the Archivist to his fallow cohorts, 'procédons par ordre, s'il vous plait.' And what a long, noble, and crowded procession it is, glowing with light and air and animation! Who can forget the portraits of Joan of Arc, and Luther, 'with his heroic joy and laughter,' and Louis XI, and Savonarola? Who has ever written a finer page upon Turenne?

'In this time of Spanish emphasis and heroes *à la* Corneille, prose appeared in Turenne. It was seen that war was an affair of logic, mathematics, and reason, that it did not demand great heat, but, on the contrary, a cold good sense, firmness and patience; much of that special instinct of the sportsman and his dog which can perfectly be reconciled with mediocrity of character. Romances have invested Turenne with an air of philanthropy, making him a kind of philanthropist, a warlike Fénelon. There is nothing of all that. The reality is that the Thirty Years' War, having lost its furies and its heats, and having used up five or six generations of indifferent generals, without passions or ideas, finished by producing the technical man, or incarnate art, light, ice, and calculus. No emotion remains. It is a quasi-pacific war, but none the less murderous.'

Could anything more truly illustrate the workings of an epoch in a man, or the light which a man casts upon an epoch?

'The Renaissance did not regard antiquity as a varied world of mingled ages and infinitely different colours, but as Eternal Venus.' Michelet, who sweeps the field of history with a microscope, was not in danger of falling into the

error which he attributes to the Italians of the sixteenth century, and which certainly vitiates the æsthetic criticism of Winckelmann and Goethe. His antiquity is living and concrete, and coloured with all the hues of the spectrum. He paints the movement and the passion of crowds with the power of Tintoret, overhears the chatter of the peasant's cottage and the wineshops, listens to the *curé* and his housekeeper, to the priest and his *pénitente*, watches the fingers of the machinist tending his tyrant of steel, follows the plough as it shears through the loam, catches the malevolent gossip from the backstairs of the palace, and throws his ardent nature into every aspect of human toil and every manifestation of human character. The great spectacle of historic France, with its varying climes and tempers and manners of living, emerges for the first time into clear light with the advent of the Capetian dynasty. There is a character which persists, discerned equally by Polybius and Strabo and by the intelligent English traveller of the eighteenth century, a buoyancy, an *insouciance*, a brilliant courage, a nimble wit, a sensual appetite. Multiply coarseness and power and it gives you Rabelais or Danton; add the nervousness which comes from crowds, and you get the furies of 1358 and 1792. Some large spirits, a Fénelon or a Renan, seem to contain all the intellectual nuances in their Protean variety; but, large as that variety is, there is no trait of national thought or feeling which has escaped Michelet's piercing vision. He has written, says Taine, 'the lyrical epic' of French history, lyrical in the intensity of its personal feeling, and yet an epic in that it recreates poetically the story of a nation.

Von Ranke thought that the historian's mission was merely to relate what had actually happened, 'was eigentlich geschehen ist.' Michelet, however, was constitutionally incapable of seeing anything through plain glass. In his best period he felt passionately with every movement and every phase, breathing life and love whithersoever he passed. 'Let it be,' he writes, 'my part in the future not to have attained but to have marked the goal of history, to have given it a name which no one as yet has uttered. Thierry called it narrative and M. Guizot analysis. I have named it resurrection, and this name will remain to it.' In view of the historical methods at present practised in

France, the prophecy will seem a little sanguine, but it contains the explanation and the aim of Michelet's work. The term 'resurrection' applies to the work of the best period, to the first six volumes, and to the 'History of the Revolution.' The later books are prophetic, critical, one-sided, the work of the Professor who used his chair for political propaganda, 'transforming his lectures,' according to the words of a pupil, 'into pieces of oratory addressed, not to a select body of students, but to the crowd.'

The 'History of the Nineteenth Century' must indeed be judged leniently, for it was written with the hand of extreme old age; and it could not be expected that a teacher who had been deprived of his chair under the Second Empire should appreciate the merits of the First. He could measure the evils, but not the necessity or the services of Cæsarism, nor yet was his mind rid of the brilliant phantasmagoria of the revolutionary dreamers. He thinks that during the Directorate Europe was longing to be free; he says that Napoleon did not know Italy, or he would have confiscated the Church lands and freed the peninsula from sea to sea. Napoleon knew Italy better than Michelet, and saw that the Italian was superstitious through and through, and that the revolutionary movement was superficial, confined to a handful of merchants, doctors, and lawyers in the big towns. Michelet scolds the Corsican for making peace with Austria, that is to say, with the counter-revolution, at Campo-Formio, whereas most historians would say that it was one of Napoleon's wisest acts. The Concordat is condemned, as it is by Lanfrey, and the civil work of the Emperor passed by with a mere statement that it was a revival of the *régime* of Louis Quatorze. The military genius of the man is belittled, and wherever possible the credit of a victory is transferred to some one else. Too much is made of the fear of socialism as an element in determining Napoleon's rise to power. Too little is said of the incompetence, the profligacy, the crimes of the Directorate. We are invited to admire La Reveillière Lepaux as a model of all the civic virtues. We are expected to believe that it would have been statesmanlike for France to maintain the Girondin propaganda against crowned heads. We are told that the financial ruin of the Directorate was due to the millions of false assignats forged by Pitt. We are asked to lament

'the deplorable philanthropy' of Fructidor, which preferred to send its victims to rot away in Cayenne rather than to expiate their royalism on the block. M. Houssaye, working from the police reports in the Paris archives, shows how much popularity still remained to Napoleon even in the Hundred Days. Michelet, who remembered how the Dames des Halles stood under their umbrellas in the Marché des Innocents and cursed the man who had robbed them of their coffee, will have none of this. The misfortune is that in order to blacken Napoleon he must needs gild the last moments of the Directorate.

But when all is said, Michelet remains a force in historical literature which no subsequent generation can afford to neglect. His reflection is often childish, his analysis deficient, his passion strained; there are pages of inaccuracy, pages of hallucination, pages of prurience. Whole nations are sometimes travestied, and the wilfulness of an overstrung genius often flings its fantastic colours upon the page. But we are brought face to face with men and women who think, feel, and act. All things, indeed, which pass through the furnace of that glowing mind come out human. Nations and rivers, birds and storms, mountains and insects are endowed with living personality. Every province has its special character and *ἦθος*. The Ardennes is 'dry, critical, serious'; Flanders is 'a prosaic Lombardy, lacking the vine and the sun'; we read of 'the spiritual lightness' of Guyenne, the pompous and 'solemn eloquence' of Burgundy, the 'contradictory genius' of Poitou, the 'violent petulance' of Provence. Upon such passages the foe of subjective history might write a sufficiently crushing dissertation.

Many histories may be more methodical and judicious, but is there another historian endowed with Michelet's poetic vision, with his broad grasp of human motives, his immortal velocity of style? Texts do not say everything; often they do not say the important things. Like the moon at night, they reveal the dim silhouette of the forest, leaving it for the inner eye to figure the various wealth of foliage, the fresh dewy lawns, the glancing colours of the birds and butterflies, the green bracken rustling with living things. Yet it must not be supposed that Michelet neglected his texts. He had read enormously, especially in manuscript material; and the 'History of the French

Revolution' derives a special importance from the fact that the author had access to documents which were burnt in 1871. It must be confessed that few men have learnt so little wisdom from so vast a study of human transactions; and we question whether such amazing knowledge has ever before been united with such a vivacious stock of empty childishness. But then, on the other hand, what historian of equal knowledge has felt so deeply the pathos of common life? There was no rumour of heroism or tenderness or love so faint or so distant but that it sent a melodious quiver through that sensitive spirit as it travelled through the halls of time.

Frenchmen will always continue to read Michelet for his style. He is the one writer of French prose who, albeit widely departing from the classic tradition, holds an audience by sheer force of native melody. Like Carlyle he has no predecessors, and will have no successors. There is something in him of Saint-Simon, something of Chateaubriand, something of Rousseau. He is lavish of interjections and queries and short stinging sentences, and then he will suddenly sing to you in prose so softly and so sweetly that it is like passing from the hiss and crackle of a furnace into the melodious cool of the organ room. We cannot better conclude than by quoting a passage* which reveals the exquisite musical resources which Michelet has at his command.

“Saint Virgile, priez pour moi!” Moi-même j'avais ce mot à cœur bien avant de savoir qu'un autre a parlé ainsi, au *xvi^e* siècle. Et qui plus que moi a droit de le dire, moi élevé sur vos genoux, qui n'eus si longtemps nul autre aliment que l'antiquité adoucie par vous; moi qui vécus de votre lait avant de boire dans Homère le vin, le sang, et la vie? Mes heures de mélancolie, jeune, je les passai près de vous; vieux, quand les pensées tristes viennent, d'eux-mêmes ses rythmes aimés chantent encore à mon oreille; la voix de la douce sibylle suffit pour éloigner de moi le noir essaim des mauvais songes.’

* ‘Hist. de France,’ vii, 199.

Art. VII.—THE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN.

1. *The Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan.* Edited by Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan. Two vols. London: John Murray, 1900.
2. *Khurasan and Sistan.* By Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Yate. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1900.
3. *A Vizier's Daughter.* By Lillias Hamilton, M.D., Court Physician to the Amir of Afghanistan. London: John Murray, 1900.
4. *The Forward Policy and its Results.* By Richard Isaac Bruce. London: Longmans, 1900.

THE new diplomacy, of which Prince Bismarck was the founder and most distinguished exponent in Europe, has gained an illustrious adherent in the Amir of Afghanistan, who, in the autobiography lately issued, has published, *urbi et orbi*, to his sons and his subjects, to England, Russia, and the world, the story of his life and the causes of his success and power. He has described the rapid transformation of a wild and savage people, inhabiting a war-worn and neglected country, into a well-ordered and prosperous community, directed by a master-hand along the paths of civilisation, union, and national self-respect. He has moreover disclosed, with a frankness so great as to be audacious, the secret springs and motives of his policy, and his hopes and fears for the future, and has laid down for his successors rules of conduct which they should observe if they desire to remain independent chiefs of a free country. Never before has a ruling monarch revealed with such singular clearness the deepest thoughts of his heart, inspired, not only by the self-confidence which Abdur Rahman's past achievements fully justify, but by a penetrating and constant sense of divine protection, and a fatalistic resignation to an appointed destiny.

It is difficult to review, in the ordinary sense of the word, a book such as this, every page of which is full of interest, and which all Englishmen, who understand how dominating an influence the politics of Asia will exercise over the fortunes of the British Empire during the coming century, will take care to read and consider with the attention which is its due. All that is needed in this article is to point to a few of the lessons which it conveys and

which should not need enforcement from without if English statesmen, or the people in whose name they hold office, possessed—as the Amir possesses—a definite, acknowledged, and carefully considered policy in Asia, wisely conceived and boldly executed.

The announcement of the Amir's autobiography was received with some incredulity. The East is the land of mystery, and those who have most to say and who could speak with the highest authority are often the most silent. It is true that the Emperor Bâbar left some delightful memoirs, and that Akbar, greatest of the Mogul Emperors, caused to be written the achievements of his reign; but both these works were addressed to a comparatively small body of educated men, as uncritical as the subjects of autocratic monarchs, even to-day, are compelled to be. They were not, like this autobiography, the outspoken declaration of policy and ambition. There was thus, in prescription and tradition, no precedent for such a work; and those who were disposed to doubt its authenticity had some reason on their side. But further enquiry should remove all suspicion. The manuscript has come from authentic sources, brought by the accomplished lady who has so long and ably acted as medical adviser to the Amir at Kabul, and who on her return to Europe was entrusted with the earlier portion of the work, that written by the hand of Abdur Rahman himself and forming the first volume. The second, which is of greater importance and political interest, was dictated by the Amir to his foreign secretary, who has translated the whole with a vigour and correctness of style which are truly admirable. No one who has any personal or intimate knowledge of Afghanistan and the Amir can doubt that both portions of the work are the true and accurate message of the prince; and those who are accustomed themselves to dictate to shorthand writers will at once recognise the change of style from the crisp concise record written by the Amir's own hand to the dictated speech, more diffuse, ornate, and illustrated with proverb and story, with repetitions of ideas and even phrases which the editor and translator did not venture to compress or modify.

The work may be accepted, then, as not only genuine but as giving, so far as any translation may, the very words of the Amir; and it may further be asserted that

there is no other man living who could have written the book, who could be animated by the sentiments expressed in it, or who would have dared to make so frank a confession of his political aims and intentions. The reason for dwelling with so much emphasis on the authority of the autobiography is that, if it sincerely expresses the views of the ruler of Afghanistan, a more important document has seldom if ever been presented to the consideration of the statesmen and people of this country. It is a bold appeal to the conscience and common sense of the British nation; an attempt to prove by illustration, by argument and by the too often neglected lessons of experience, that there is no ally whom Great Britain can discover in Europe or Asia more likely to be useful to her than Afghanistan, or whose interests are so absolutely and inevitably bound up with her own. With Afghanistan strong and in friendly alliance, the defence of India against attack would be an easy matter, and the difficulties of our frontier administration would disappear; while, should we allow Afghanistan to be hostile, or drive her, by ungenerous treatment, into the arms of Russia, the security of our military position would be endangered, and the finances of India would be grievously burdened by a vast increase in our military expenditure.

The policy which the Amir thus advocates is that which has inspired his action ever since he ascended the throne. The writer of this article has been thrown into intimate relations with the Amir, and has discussed with him, at some length, the great questions at issue; and he can testify, not only to the Amir's sincerity and strength of character, but to the fact that he commenced his rule with the firm determination to be a friend of England, perceiving, from the very fact of the offer to him of the throne, that she had no design against the independence of Afghanistan. On the other hand, the Amir knew, from his long residence in Russia and a careful study of its policy in Asia, that alliance with Russia signified first the control and then the absorption of Afghanistan. The events of the last twenty years have strengthened the confidence of the Amir in the wisdom of the policy which he adopted. He has seen Russia advance from one vantage ground to another, until her progress has been stayed only by the delimitation of the frontier—a measure which was un-

fortunately too long delayed. From time to time he has been accused of frontier intrigue against the British Government; but it must be remembered that, until the Indian frontier was definitely laid down, the Amir and the Indian Government were in constant dispute as to their respective territories; and it is a matter of congratulation that this cause of quarrel is now removed. Even so recently as the last Afridi war, the Amir was accused of allowing his soldiers, and even officers, to assist the enemy; but in times of excitement such accusations are lightly made, and his stern refusal to aid or countenance the Afridi deputations who visited his capital showed a spirit thoroughly friendly to Great Britain. When his position, as the ruler of a democratic and fanatical people in strong sympathy with their Afridi kinsmen, is considered, it will be understood that the maintenance of so friendly a neutrality was extremely difficult.

Sir Alfred Lyall, an authority second to none, whose graceful and sympathetic verses are more than once quoted by the Amir, is reported to have said in a lecture delivered on the 31st November last, that he saw no solution but by a friendly understanding with Russia for the complex problems which lie in front of that Power and England in Asia. If he had then read the Amir's autobiography he would have admitted that, at any rate, a reasonable solution for the most urgent of these problems has been offered by a ruler whose expression of opinion deserves the fullest consideration. No statesman can deny that a friendly understanding with Russia is eminently desirable; and this the Amir fully admits. Neither he nor England have any quarrel with Russia, and their sincere desire is to remain on the best of terms with their Northern neighbour. This, since the delimitation of the Afghan boundary, is possible, if England is determined to observe the promises which she has formally given to the Amir. But it would be to ignore the obvious lessons of experience to suggest that a friendly understanding with Russia can rest on any other basis than that of a boundary authoritatively fixed, the infringement of which would be at once resented, while the deliberate occupation of any important territory situated beyond it would be treated as an act of war. If Russia thoroughly realises that the occupation of Herat would be treated by both parties in England in the

same spirit as an invasion of the Isle of Wight, there is no reason to fear that the peace of this portion of Asia will be lightly disturbed. The Amir would be left to develop his country in the full assurance that his enlightened efforts are viewed by all instructed Englishmen with sympathy and admiration; and that the foolish dream of a divided Afghanistan, which threatened at one time to prove a serious danger to India and the Empire, has been relegated to the limbo where abortive political measures are forgotten. There cannot be said to be anything novel in the policy which the Amir presses so earnestly upon the attention of British statesmen. It is no more than the crown and complement of the policy adopted in 1880, when he was placed on the throne, and pursued with more or less zeal or success by successive Viceroy and Secretaries of State. This is no occasion for discussing the question of frontier management, which was discussed at length in this Review only nine months ago. Suffice it to say that Lord Salisbury, in his Parliamentary declarations, and the present Viceroy, in his speeches and actions, have definitely abandoned any extreme course of frontier policy. The settlement of the Indian boundary has removed occasion for dispute, and cordial relations with Afghanistan should now be held to be a fundamental axiom of the oriental policy of Great Britain.

It is necessary to read the autobiography of Amir Abdur Rahman to understand his versatile and masterful character, and the conditions under which he has been able to acquire so wide an acquaintance with European and Asiatic affairs, so confident a judgment on questions of international policy, and so varied a knowledge of the scientific requirements of modern civilisation. The governor of a province at an age when English boys are at school; commanding an army, winning battles, and putting down rebellion with ruthless severity before he was twenty; placing on the throne his incapable and indolent father, and, on his death, his drunken and tyrannical uncle, who brought to swift destruction his own fortunes and those of his nephew; an exile at Bokhara and in Russia—he had in his early years drunk deep both of good and evil fortune. After the final triumph of Sher Ali Khan in January 1869 over the army of Amir Azim Khan, a long course of adventurous wandering, amidst a thousand

dangers and privations, at length brought Abdur Rahman to Samarkand, where, under Russian protection, he remained for nearly eleven years. He was treated by the Russians with consideration, and a sufficient allowance was granted him ; but he was still a state prisoner rather than a guest—a hunting leopard held in a leash till such time as his master should see fit to slip him on the predestined prey. This time arrived when Sher Ali, incited by the Russians to quarrel with England and then abandoned by them, had been driven from his kingdom to die, a broken-hearted fugitive, in Balkh ; and when his son and successor Yakub, equally treacherous and far less competent, had been deposed and deported to India after the murder of the British envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, with his staff and escort, in the Kabul palace.

The Russian authorities then decided that their opportunity had come, and that Abdur Rahman, with his ability and great military reputation, would be able to establish himself in Turkestan, if not at Kabul, as a Russian nominee, trained, through long years of exile, to hear through Russian ears and see through Russian eyes, and to carry out a policy in Afghanistan which would make it a Russian province like Khiva or Bokhara. The Russians took good care to remain in the background during Abdur Rahman's expedition. They had no desire to quarrel with England by openly backing a pretender to the throne of a country in which they had solemnly renounced the right to interfere. So they gave him little money and no officers or men. He was despatched, with full instructions as to his conduct, to try his fortune, Russia, as usual, reserving to herself the right to claim the stakes without risking anything on the game. But Russian policy, which is much over-rated in England, and which is often as shortsighted as it is unscrupulous, had entirely miscalculated the character of Abdur Rahman. The Russians had treated him at Samarkand with a frankness which had dispelled many illusions. Their policy in Asia was familiar to him ; and he had personally witnessed their treachery towards those chiefs who had trusted them. In the long seclusion of his quiet garden-house at Samarkand he had come to the decision that whenever his chance should come, he would never, voluntarily and with his eyes open, become the servant and the victim of Russia. Between England and

Russia he knew that his poor country was, as he says himself, like a goat between the lion and the bear; but, although England had been in frequent conflict with Afghanistan, he realised that if the friendship of England were granted it would be constant and sincere. Whatever the Continental press may assert of English policy, in Asia at any rate, England is known as the Power which adheres to her engagements.

Abdur Rahman crossed the Oxus determined to act a part which he carried through with brilliancy and success, to the admiration and embarrassment of his English supporters, down to the very day when he was proclaimed Amir. It was imperative that Russia should not suspect that he was not her dupe; and the fanatical population of Afghanistan would not have tolerated him if he had proclaimed himself on the side of the infidels who were in possession of the country. So he moved into Turkestan, the God-appointed leader of a holy war against the English, with whom he had resolved, if possible, to come to a friendly arrangement. His progress was slow and hazardous, but, gaining success after success, he attracted a great body of adherents, disloyal, turbulent, and ready, in Afghan fashion, to desert him on the first reverse. After winning a commanding position in Turkestan, he was met at Khânabad by two members of the personal staff of the chief political officer in Kabul; and the negotiations commenced which ended in his being accepted as Amir. But during all this period his public attitude never varied; the comedy was strictly played to the final act. It was only after the interviews with Sir Lepel Griffin at Zimma, when he had received both verbal and written assurances of the support of the British Government in money and material, and in protection against foreign aggression, that his attitude changed to that of the cordial friend and well-wisher. He at once undertook the task of facilitating the march of the British armies to Kabul and Kandahar, by arrangements with all the tribal chiefs on the line of march; and it was largely due to him, as he justly claims in his book, that these important military operations were conducted without a single hostile shot being fired.

The selection of Abdur Rahman as candidate for the throne was a master-stroke, for which Lord Lytton is en-

titled to every credit, although the rest of his Afghan policy was a mere playing into the hands of Russia. The disintegration of Afghanistan was the thing which it was our paramount interest to prevent; the suggestion to make over Herat to Persia was suicidal; and the erection of Kandahar into a separate protected State, under a puppet ruler, was impracticable. But the selection of Abdur Rahman, hated as he was by nine tenths of the dominant chiefs in Kabul and Kandahar, a Russian pensioner for many years and obviously launched by Russia on Afghanistan, at the critical moment, for purposes hostile to English interests, required both courage and foresight. The character and reputation of Abdur Rahman, as a bold and skilful general, were well known in India; and it was calculated correctly, as the Amir's book shows, that his intimate knowledge of the Russians and their policy towards the Mohammedan States of Asia would be likely to determine him to have as little to do with them as possible. Their betrayal of Sher Ali was but one of many similar examples. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* was a device written fair and plain for all to read who were minded to enter the Asiatic Bureau of the Czar. England, on the other hand, was to be trusted so far as this, that, having twice conquered Afghanistan, she showed no desire to occupy or annex it; and her first interest was to find and place on the throne a ruler who would be content to maintain cordial relations with her Government. Such relations the Amir has observed for twenty years, in spite of occasional differences and friction, the blame for which may perhaps be equally divided.

Established at Kabul, with a desolated capital, a bankrupt treasury, a doubtful army, and surrounded by powerful and hereditary enemies, the Amir set himself the task of creating a powerful and a civilised kingdom, and of leading, or rather dragging, his savage and treacherous subjects out of the slough of barbarism in which for so long they had sunk. Time alone will show whether the work of Abdur Rahman will last, even supposing his eldest son, who appears to be a man of great promise, should follow dutifully the line of conduct laid down for his future guidance. Is it possible that in one generation the democratic and turbulent Afghan chiefs and people will outgrow the hereditary characteristics of their race?

We can only hope for the best, and trust that the son and successor may inherit—which is rare in the history of ruling houses—the strength and ability of the father.

Before commencing to scatter broadcast in his country the seed of civilisation, the Amir prepared the ground by the destruction, imprisonment, or banishment of all his irreconcilable enemies. These comprised many of the members of the ruling family, some of them claimants to the throne, with their most active adherents, officials, and tribal chiefs. Many of these had perceived that no favour would be shown them, and left for India with the British army, where some are still living on not illiberal pensions. Others, like Mustaufi Habibullah Khan, Chancellor of the Exchequer, perhaps the ablest Afghan, had already been deported for persistent intrigues against the English, which became more determined when it was known that the hated Abdur Rahman was the British nominee. Then followed the subjection of robber tribes, like the Shinwaris, whose profession was murder and plunder, and the Ghilzais, who had thought themselves too strong for any Amir to subdue. The turn of the Hazaras soon came. These were a practically independent people of the Shia persuasion, and of Mongol descent, hereditary foes of the Afghans, inhabiting the difficult, roadless wilderness of mountains that lie between Kabul and Herat. It was imperative that this important country should be subdued and brought under settled government, if the Amir's scheme of a strong and united Afghanistan was to be carried out. This was accomplished after more than one arduous campaign, and at the cost of much bloodshed and human misery. The methods of Abdur Rahman, in dealing both with individuals and with tribes, were not such as would find favour at Exeter Hall; but he had to deal with a fierce and stubborn people, and his great work could be effected by no other means. The methods of Peter the Great were similar, and the precedents he set have often been followed by Russian Generals like Skobelev in their dealings with Central Asian peoples, with far less excuse and for a less exalted purpose than that which moved both the Russian and Afghan monarchs.

When war had ended, and enemies had been killed or banished, the Amir was able to relax the severity of his rule: those members of the ruling family and leading

chiefs who had not been hopelessly compromised were conciliated and allowed to return to Kabul, and they were further bound to the Amir's interests by matrimonial alliances with his family. The reorganisation of the civil and military administration was undertaken; English engineers and artisans were engaged, and workshops and factories were started for the supply and manufacture in Afghanistan of everything which could be required, not only for the simple needs of the people, but for the scientific and industrial development of the country.

First in importance was the manufacture of guns, rifles, and war-material; and the success in this direction has been such that Afghanistan is now able to produce arms of precision and every kind of military stores of a high standard of excellence. A well-appointed mint has been established; electric lighting and telephones have been introduced, and machinery has been imported for printing and many other industries. Considerable progress has been made in the more important branches of civil administration. The law courts have been systematised and made more numerous and accessible; schools are being opened, and examinations are prescribed before appointment to any public office. Even female education is receiving the Amir's attention and support; hospitals have been opened, and the native doctors, or *hakims*, are instructed in the practice of vaccination, which has been explained and recommended to the people in a paper widely distributed. A regular post-office system has been introduced, connecting all the principal towns and districts; and steps have been taken for the purpose of ascertaining and utilising the great and varied mineral wealth of the country. There can be no question that a large part of what has been attempted in the way of industrial development is, at present, in a rudimentary and empirical stage; and it will require continued effort through many years to overcome the native apathy and disinclination for sustained labour of a people whose life has been passed in the open air, whose profession has been that of arms, and whose only means of support are primitive agriculture and the rearing of cattle and sheep. But when allowance is made for exaggeration in the record of achievement, there still remains a residuum of *progress* in the methods and arts of civilisation, which is

perhaps unprecedented in history, when we remember that it has been accomplished in twenty years by the iron will and restless energy of one man, who succeeded to a country in a state of anarchy and chaos, and that it has been effected in opposition to the traditions, the sentiments, and often the religious prejudices of the people.

While the autobiography of the Amir is generally trustworthy, so far as events within his personal knowledge are concerned, and abounds with shrewd observation and wise reflections on local administration and general policy, there are some inaccuracies, and judgments both hasty and superficial. Two or three of these may be noted by way of illustration. General Sir Peter Lumsden, who was British Commissioner for the demarcation of the North-Western boundary of Afghanistan in the cold season of 1884-85, wrote a letter which appeared in the 'Times' of the 8th December, 1900, justly complaining of the inaccurate account of the conduct of the officers and men under his orders, on the occasion of the Russian attack on Afghan troops at Panjdeh on the 30th March, 1885. But it must in fairness be remembered that on the date of this insolent and unprovoked outrage, the Amir was in Lord Dufferin's camp at Ambala; and the Russian attack was obviously intended to remind both host and guest, at that auspicious moment, that Russia was not to be left out of account. The only details of the circumstances which the Amir received were from his own officers, who, not unnaturally, to save themselves, laid the blame of the disaster on the British, whose presence they imagined was sufficient to save them from attack; while the feeling of exasperation excited in the mind of the Amir was extreme, and even the pacific Mr Gladstone denounced the outrage in Parliament as intolerable. There is no doubt that the hasty retirement of the British from Panjdeh, necessary or not, was most unfortunate, and seriously damaged our prestige in Afghanistan. If the Amir had not thoroughly understood the motives of the jealous outrage and of English forbearance, the result might have been disastrous. It is satisfactory to understand from independent authority that Russia gained nothing except Afghan hatred from her procedure; and that the frontier nomads and the Afghan cultivators are alike well satisfied with the results of the British Boundary

Commission, and consider the loss of Panjdeh far more than compensated for by the acquisition of large tracts of pasture, including the famous slopes of Badghis, which had been closed to them for many years.

While the Amir has a wonderfully clear view of the fundamental sources of British power in her world-wide Empire, and the high spirit of her people, he does not seem to understand how great a force she possesses in the loyalty and martial qualities of the princes and peoples of India. He regarded the rajahs whom he saw in Lord Dufferin's *darbar* as effeminate creatures, dressed like women in diamonds and finery, and sunk in laziness, ignorance, and indulgence. His criticism (vol. ii, pp. 132, 133) is superficial and incorrect. Dress has little to do with bravery; and an Amir of Afghanistan should not require to be reminded that the Sikh rajahs whom he met in *darbar* are the representatives of the men who, dressed as gaily, beat the Afghans, under their best leaders, in many a stubborn fight, and annexed the Afghan provinces of Kashmir and Peshawar to the Punjab. Neither the Sikh chiefs nor their people have deteriorated since those stormy days; and, led by British officers, are inferior to no fighting race in Europe or Asia.

Another mistake, which the Amir's knowledge of Russia should have prevented, is to be found at p. 294, vol. ii, where he commends the Russian policy of allowing natives of Turkestan to rise to high military positions as generals and colonels; while intermarriage and social intercourse between Russians and the natives are much more frequent in Turkestan than with the English and natives of India. The social question we cannot now discuss, and need only observe that the Hindu system of caste, which has even affected Indian Mohammedan custom, absolutely prohibits intimate social relations between the races. The policy of the Government or the inclination of individual Englishmen can influence it in no appreciable degree. But the statement that natives of Turkestan rise to high military rank is incorrect, and the number of those who have even obtained commissions might be counted on the fingers of one hand. The mistake has arisen from the fact that numerous Circassian officers from the Caucasus, who in manners and complexion are more European than the Russians themselves, have risen to responsible positions

in the army. Although Mohammedans by creed, they are of Western origin, and gallant and dashing leaders; and no Russian objects to serve under their command. The natives of Transcaspia are not employed in the regular army either as officers or men; while the whole civil administrative machine, from the Governor-General to the office clerk, is purely Russian. In British India, on the other hand, the administration is mainly carried on by native employees; and the highest offices, up to those of Judges of the Supreme Courts, are open to any Indian whose competence is fairly proved. If India were under Russian Government, every branch of the civil administration would be closed to the natives of the country.

The Amir is a man of strong religious convictions, as is evident from numerous passages of his book, in which he asserts his reliance on divine protection and guidance, and relates instances of supernatural portents and interposition on his behalf. There is no occasion to attach the stigma of superstition to his belief. Every religion based on revelation admits the possibility of divine interference in mundane affairs; and although the agnostic tendency of Western thought relegates such action to the region of the mythical, the faith of Islam is still a robust and living force. It is an undoubted advantage for a despotic ruler to be sustained by a conviction of the divine sanction of his authority, and it is still more profitable if he can persuade his subjects to the same effect. It is not easy to ascertain how far the Amir has succeeded in obtaining the support of the *mullahs*, the priestly class and the most influential. The most fanatical and irreconcilable have been removed in the ordinary Afghan fashion, but the remainder exercise great authority over the ignorant population; and the claim of the Amir to be the real and active head of the Church cannot be other than distasteful to them. His religious activity is quite as extraordinary as his administrative, and he has issued several learned tracts on doctrinal subjects. That on *Jihâd*, or religious war against the infidels, written in a very difficult style, is somewhat disconcerting to English students, who do not understand the character or the motives of the author. The secret meaning of this somewhat inflammatory treatise is that the Amir realises the impossibility of retaining his hold on the fanatical Afghans without persuading them

that he is a *Ghâzi* or champion of Islam, more devoted to the faith than the religious leaders themselves, and a greater master of dogmatic theology. There are none of the ignorant *mullahs* of Afghanistan who could have compiled this abstruse and argumentative work, and very few who can understand it. The British Government may be assured that it is not directed against them. Fortified by this public profession of militant orthodoxy, the Amir has been able to reorganise the whole ecclesiastical system of the country as a Department of the State, very much after the manner of Henry VIII of England also a Defender of the Faith, and for very similar reasons. He has confiscated all the lands, property, and religious endowments of the *mullahs*, and has made them all—*Kâzis*, *Imâms*, and *Muftis*—servants of the State, drawing fixed salaries and appointed only after passing a prescribed examination. To those who know Afghanistan and the character of the *mullahs*, this reform is perhaps the most remarkable of all that the Amir has effected.

The religious fervour of the Amir is by no means satisfied by the organisation of Islam in his own country. He looks forward with hope to a time when the Mohammedan Powers—Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan—may unite in defensive alliance against the unceasing encroachments of Russia; and his observations on the policy of Russia and Great Britain towards Islamic Powers in Asia are well worthy of consideration by English statesmen. It is probable that the time has past for any such Mohammedan revival, but if it is to be accomplished it must be with the active sympathy of England. The Queen-Empress of India rules over a far larger Mohammedan population than the Sultan of Turkey, the Shah of Persia, or the Amir of Afghanistan. Under her beneficent sway, they possess the fullest and most complete religious and political freedom; and this is so sincerely acknowledged by all their leaders that any argument as to the legality of *Jihâd* directed against the British Government has been unanimously rejected. But nothing would more strengthen the position of England in the East than the exhibition of a more practical sympathy with Mohammedan States beyond the borders of India.

The maintenance of Turkey against foreign aggression was the traditional, fixed, and settled policy of England,

for which much English blood was shed and many millions spent. In obedience to a political weariness of vain expostulation and an unworthy deference to a popular sentiment which had its birth in the Crusades, and still has periods of mischievous revival, that wholesome policy, essential to the security of England in Asia, was abandoned; and the fruits of our exertions are being reaped, in Turkey as in China, by Germany, which, in diplomacy as in commerce, is pushing aside our sleepy and complacent representatives. And yet it is difficult to understand why the English people, whose Mohammedan fellow-subjects number fifty millions, should seem, outside India, to entertain such unfriendly sentiments towards the creed of Islam. The recent outbreaks of fanatical fury against the Armenians have justly exposed the Government of the Sultan to the severest censure; but it is puerile to assert that they should have influenced a policy with which the most vital interests of England are concerned. Such mistaken religious fanaticism is not confined to Islam. The cold savagery of the Russian persecution of the Jews is a far greater outrage on civilisation than the massacre of Armenians by the barbarous levies of Kurdistan; and the recent conduct of the allied troops in China makes it difficult for Europe to accuse any Oriental power of barbarism. It is not too much to hope that England may yet take her appointed place at the head of the Mohammedan world, and direct its new-born activity and fervour into the path of reform, prosperity, and peace.

The question of the appointment of a representative of the Amir at the Court of St James's is one to which he attaches great importance, not only as affecting his personal dignity, but as giving him an assurance that the relations between Great Britain and Afghanistan will be considered from the standpoint of imperial and international policy, and not from the local Indian point of view, which cannot fail to be sometimes distorted by local prejudice. The application was refused when it was put forward by Prince Nasrullah Khan; but this young man was not a very competent advocate; and it is possible that, if Abdur Rahman had been able to visit England, as he desired and intended, a different reply would have been given. There are many strong arguments in favour of such an appointment. The first and most obvious,

though not the most weighty one, is the procedure adopted in Persia, the diplomatic arrangements with which country were under the Government of India until the time arrived when Persian politics became less of Asiatic than of European interest, and the Teheran Legation was taken under the direct control of the British Foreign Office. It may be contended that Afghanistan is of more direct importance to England than is Persia, and its sovereign is both more powerful and more independent; while the Afghan people are soldiers to a man, accustomed to arms and most formidable enemies in a mountainous country. There are, it is true, in Persia, several bold and warlike tribes who would make splendid soldiers under favourable conditions; but they are unfriendly to the Government of the Shah, and are not, like the fighting tribes of Afghanistan, incorporated with the military system of the State.

The questions regarding Afghanistan demanding the decision of the Government of India have become far less numerous and important since the treaty negotiated by Sir Mortimer Durand has, once for all, determined the boundary between Afghanistan and India. There naturally remain many minor questions of frontier administration which will require local treatment and decision, either by the Supreme or the Punjab Government; but the situation has been so materially altered and improved by the delimitation of the frontier that the objection to the residence of a representative of the Amir in London has, from the standpoint of the India Office, almost disappeared. His envoy would remain as before at Calcutta and Simla, and the official at the Court of St James's would only represent directly to the Indian or Foreign Secretary, as might be determined, those matters of international concern which a prince of the ability and importance of the Amir might desire to lay before Her Majesty's Government. Reciprocity would of course be insisted on, and the residence of an English officer as British representative at Kabul would follow, whenever both Governments should consider it desirable and safe. Other objections have been stated and refuted by the Amir. No demand could possibly be made by Russia for an Afghan representative at St Petersburg, seeing that England might as reasonably claim a representative of the Amir of Bokhara in London.

Abdur Rahman fully and freely admits his obligation to have no relations with any foreign Power but Great Britain, and expresses himself anxious to maintain this seclusion, while we have pledged ourselves to defend his territories against foreign aggression.

The installation of the Afghan Legation in London would notify to Europe the conclusion of a lasting alliance between the two countries, founded on mutual confidence. It is not likely that an Afghan Legation would add materially to the work of the Foreign Office; but no one who has much experience of the working of this great department can doubt that some of the reforming zeal which we hope to see directed to the improvement of the War Office might profitably be expended on the problem of reorganising the Foreign Office, so as to enable it adequately to face and solve the problems which the twentieth century will assuredly offer. As has been before remarked, the dominating factor of the coming age is Asia. In a few years Africa, which has filled so much space in recent history, will probably retire to the second place. But in Asia the destiny of the British Empire will be at stake; and it is there that we shall have to prove whether our foresight, energy, and manhood are equal to those of our forefathers who built up our Eastern Empire. The growing power of Japan; the resurrection or the final decomposition of China; the independence or the subjection of Persia; the entry of Afghanistan into the community of civilised and powerful States—these are the questions of the future; and the Sphinx who propounds them will devour those who are unable to answer. Does any instructed Englishman, whatever his political faith may be, consider that the Foreign Office is competent, as at present constituted, for the task? Let the diplomatic history of China or Persia give the reply.

The truth is that the Foreign Office remains unchanged, while the world has been moving onwards and the political centre of gravity has shifted. Under the wise control of Lord Salisbury, who justly holds the first place among the statesmen of Europe, the Foreign Office has conducted the relations of Great Britain with European Powers with discretion and success; but its machinery is not adjusted to perform the new and strange duties which belong to Oriental diplomacy. The ministers and secretaries who

are competent officials in Vienna or Rome are lost among the tortuous political pathways of Bangkok, Teheran, and Peking. Never shall we hold our own in Asia until an Asiatic Department is formed, under the charge of an experienced minister of Cabinet rank, with an independent diplomatic staff, trained in the methods, and speaking fluently the languages, of the East. Then an Afghan Legation would be not only welcomed in London but considered as an imperial necessity; the apathy, ignorance, and vacillation born of ignorance, which now overshadow our whole Eastern policy, would disappear; Japan and Afghanistan would be acknowledged as allies to be bound to us with links of steel; and the independence of Persia might still be secured.

Before closing this article a few words may be said on some other works specially connected with the Amir, his character, and his administration. Neither the public nor the critics are willing to accept, without some independent corroboration, the naturally favourable account of his own achievements given by any person, however distinguished. Of the industrial and administrative improvement at Kabul we have sufficient testimony; but very few Englishmen have had the opportunity of visiting the more distant parts of the country. The book of Colonel Charles Yate on Khurasan and Sistan is consequently welcome, for although it is principally concerned with Persia, where for some time Colonel Yate was Consul-General at Meshed, yet he travelled to his post from India by Kandahar and Herat, and was astonished at the improvement effected in the eight years which had elapsed since he had passed over the same route with the Boundary Commission in 1884. Kandahar had been improved in many ways; roads had been laid out and avenues planted; while the change in Herat was more noticeable still.

‘In 1885,’ he writes, ‘the greater part of the houses in the city were uninhabited and mostly in ruins; while, as to citizens, scarcely a soul was to be seen, and had it not been for the garrison the place would have been like a city of the dead. In 1893 I found it much more flourishing and vastly improved in every way. The houses formerly in ruins had been rebuilt, and there was said to be a civil population of some three thousand families, in addition to the troops resi-

dent in the town, while the cultivation and population in the valley outside appeared to have also considerably increased.'

This account is proof of good government; and, in the eight years which have since passed, the improvement is likely to have been considerable. Colonel Yate, who had ample opportunities of talking with Afghan officers and men, is of opinion that the Afghan army is imbued with a feeling friendly to the British, and that this feeling is gaining ground more and more every year, not only in the army, but amongst the people of the country generally. The soldiers were anxious to avenge their defeat at Panjdeh on the Russians. They expressed their reliance on British aid in what they considered to be the coming struggle, and said they were confident of victory. The Amir in his autobiography expresses the same confidence; and it is not likely that in his lifetime, at all events, there will be either a Russian railway station or a Russian garrison in the city of Herat.

Mr Bruce's book on 'The Forward Policy' is mainly autobiographical. It is a detailed and interesting account of his 'thirty-five years' work amongst the tribes on our North-Western frontier of India,' from 1862 to 1898; but it must be confessed that it adds little of importance to what has already been told in the memoir of Sir R. Sandeman and elsewhere. Mr Bruce has little to say about the Amir, except in relation to certain disturbances among the Waziris and other tribes in 1892, supposed to have been caused by agents from Kabul. But Mr Bruce does not attempt to prove that these envoys acted under a commission from the Amir; and, after all, if their action is in any way to be laid at his door, it is not surprising that he should have tried to score a point in view of the approaching delimitation of his frontier, a delimitation in which he naturally wished to lose as little power as possible over tribes which had once owned allegiance to his ancestors.

The only other book requiring mention is a tale of the Hazâra War by Miss Lillias Hamilton, who was for some years court physician to the Amir, and who had unusual opportunities of studying the life and characteristics of the people. Her novel, 'A Vizier's Daughter,' is written with both force and charm, and gives an excellent account

of domestic life both in the wild Hazâra hills and in Kabul, where, in spite of material progress, life seems anything but happy, in an atmosphere of anxiety and suspicion. The machinery of civilisation cannot be started without a good deal of dust and heat and noise.

In conclusion, we would recommend the fascinating autobiography of the Amir to the attention of the Shah of Persia and his astute and accomplished Prime Minister, the Sadr Azam, Ali Asghar Khan. It is well that both sovereign and minister should know what the Amir of Afghanistan thinks of Russian ambition, policy, and methods, and compare his experience with their own. They would perhaps remark that it gives them no pleasure to figure as the example for all Moslem princes of the danger of not resisting Russian advances; and that if England had only assisted them, as she could have done without risk, by setting their finances in order and granting them a loan on undoubted security, the Russians would not now be increasing the number of their officers at Teheran and taking the revenues under foreign control. And they would speak the truth. The only compensation for the apathy and timidity of the Foreign Office in Persia is found in the fact that every fresh Russian encroachment on Persia strengthens the resolve of the Amir of Afghanistan to resist to the death their entry, under any pretext, into his dominions, relying, in the first place, on the courage and trained strength of his people, and secondly, on the solemnly recorded promise of the British Government to protect him against foreign aggression, a promise which cannot be cancelled or evaded by England without disaster and dishonour.

Art. VIII.—ARMY REFORM.

1. *The 'Times' History of the War in South Africa.* Edited by L. S. Amery. Vol. I. London: Sampson Low, 1900.
2. *The South African War.* By Major S. L. Norris. London: John Murray, 1900.
3. *The War Office, the Army, and the Empire.* By H. O. Arnold-Forster, M.P. London: Cassell, 1900.
4. *An Absent-Minded War.* By a British Officer. London: John Milne, 1900.
5. *Fifteen Years of 'Army Reform.'* By an Officer. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1884 (new ed. 1898).
6. *Army Reorganisation.* Reprinted from 'Blackwood's Magazine.' Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1900.

(1.) *Military Defects.*

THE South African War has given cause for grave reflections. On the one hand, the amazing lack of political and military foresight displayed is calculated to arouse gloomy forebodings as to the future of an Empire whose statesmen proved thus deficient at a critical time; on the other hand, a military system, built up in thirty years of constant change and unceasing controversy, has plainly shown itself to be organically unsuited to the requirements of war.

The campaign in South Africa succeeded a period during which contests with semi-civilised or savage peoples were frequent. The Algerian and Mexican experiences of the French army prior to 1870 found a parallel in our many small wars, and the results were similar. Military reputations were too easily won; the higher study of war was neglected; generalship was not severely tested; nor was organisation, in the modern sense, demanded. War of this description came to be regarded by the British officer as a specially exciting form of sport, which entailed no intellectual preparation, and which was eagerly sought after because it held out the sure promise of decorations and rapid promotion. Minor failures were not closely regarded, or were quickly obscured by ultimate success; and the nation, accustomed to offensive warfare, came to believe that our army was organised on this basis. Meanwhile estimates grew, and the numerical statements of armed strength with which they were accompanied appeared unreasonably large in the eyes of some economists.

Many circumstances thus combined to promote illusions which the South African War has rudely dispelled. In one respect the situation in 1899 strikingly resembled that of 1854. The nature and extent of the military requirements were in both cases lamentably underestimated.

'The fact must not be concealed,' wrote Lord Raglan to the Duke of Newcastle (August 3rd, 1854), 'that neither the English nor the French Admirals have been able to obtain any intelligence on which they can rely with respect to the army which the Russians may destine for operations in the field, or to the number of men allotted for the defence of Sebastopol; and Marshal St Arnaud and myself are equally deficient in information upon these all-important questions.'

Since that time, Intelligence Departments have been invented; and accurate estimates of the fighting strength and the armaments of the Boers were obtained. The War Office, however, unlike the institutions which administer all effective armies, maintains no branch charged with the duty of studying the requirements of probable wars; and officials immersed in details cannot be expected to advise the Cabinet in matters of vital importance. If the growing armaments of the Boers conveyed no warning, it was at least necessary to contemplate war from the moment when the petition of the Uitlanders was received. Months later the War Office had not even discovered that mounted troops would be a most essential requirement. At a critical period, therefore, the Cabinet was without competent military advice; and for this grave defect, entailing the most serious consequences, the faulty constitution of the War Office is directly responsible. Matters having drifted into a dangerous position, and Natal being evidently menaced with invasion, it was tardily decided to send about 10,000 troops to South Africa. This reinforcement was clearly insufficient; but out of a nominal total of about 109,000 troops in the United Kingdom, only a weak infantry battalion, and three field batteries, made up to strength by a wholesale drafting of men and horses, could be provided. The military system thus proved incapable of fulfilling the requirement most certain to arise in such a crisis; and it became evident that our organisation was not designed for offensive war.

Two days before the issue of the Boer ultimatum, the

mobilisation of an army corps, a cavalry division, and some additional infantry battalions for the lines of communication—in all about 48,000 men—was authorised. On July 15th, 1870, four days before the delivery of the declaration of war at Berlin, the French mobilisation began; that of Germany was decreed on the night of July 16th; and on August 4th, the third German army and the first French corps were in conflict at Weissenburg. To such a case the modern system of military organisation, which we have parodied, was eminently adapted. Neither combatant could steal any material advantage in time from the other; assuming equal efficiency in the prearrangements, they would meet on equal terms. The small British force which began to prepare for war on October 7th, 1899, had to traverse 6000 miles of sea and long stretches of railway before it could be in presence of the enemy. That enemy was already concentrated on the frontier of Natal; but the first ship carrying troops of the British army corps did not reach Table Bay till November 9th. For a month and a half after the outbreak of war, therefore, a most dangerous situation existed. Natal was barely saved by the Indian contingent from being overrun; but there was nothing to prevent 10,000 Boers from sweeping down into Cape Colony, raising a great part of the Dutch population, and breaking the important lines of railway. A more enterprising and better-prepared enemy would have taken this course, by which our position would have been compromised, perhaps irretrievably. No more striking proof of the unsuitability of our military system to the needs of this nation can well be conceived. It had been assumed that an organisation which corresponded to the requirements of Continental Powers would satisfy the widely different conditions of the British Empire. The result was that South Africa was nearly lost.

The foreign term 'mobilisation,' naturalised in this country since 1870, implies the filling-up of the peace cadres of a modern army by recalling to the colours the men on furlough, the completion of the war equipment and of the transport of the various units from the depots, and the grouping of units into large bodies. Where, as in Germany, a real territorial system exists, the machinery in each military district supplies an army corps complete

in every detail and provided with a trained staff. The grouping of army-corps into armies depends upon the nature of the contemplated campaign. The one operation is practically automatic; the other varies with the circumstances.

'The means of mobilising the North-German army,' writes von Moltke, 'had been reviewed year by year, in view of any changes in the military or political situation, by the Staff, in conjunction with the Ministry of War. Every branch of the administration throughout the country had been kept informed of all it ought to know of these matters.'

Every detail connected with the movement of the German army to the frontier had also been carefully worked out by the great general staff; and, in fifteen days, 370,000 men, ready for offensive war, were concentrated in the Palatinate. This triumph of organising power, which astonished Europe, was no work of transcendent genius, but simply the result of infinite care and forethought spread over many years and never relaxed. Business methods, earnestly applied to the initial requirements of war by an eminently business-like people, achieved a great success, which would undoubtedly be surpassed and overshadowed if the German army were mobilised to-day. In this country, where the territorial arrangements apply to little more than recruiting, mobilisation is less simple; but, on the other hand, the scale is very small, and the work of drawing up the necessary tables detailing the units and apportioning their equipments is within the powers of officers of moderate capacity.

Some special preparations for the mobilisation of the expeditionary force had been made before the actual order was issued; and this small force was duly equipped according to regulation; but except at Aldershot there was no considerable grouping. The various items were delivered at the assigned places of embarkation, whence they passed into the charge of the transport department of the Admiralty, by which all the shipping arrangements were made. It is impossible to regard this as a great feat on the part of the War Office; and the self-congratulation of which there have been many symptoms is inexplicable. The task was accomplished in favourable conditions, and failure would have been most discreditable. Mobilisation

proper was afterwards extended to an additional cavalry brigade and four infantry divisions, of which the last was ordered to prepare to take the field on January 22nd. Thus the entire process was spread over more than three and a half months—a performance so leisurely as to eliminate all difficulties.

The composition of the units thus constituted left much to be desired. Mr. Arnold-Forster has pointed out* that ten battalions despatched from Aldershot could produce only 4915 men fit for active service, and required 5850 men from the so-called Reserve to make up their war strength. In the case of one battalion, only 375 men, including the whole of the non-commissioned officers, pioneers, and drums, proved to be available, and 705 men were brought up from furlough to supply the deficiency. The cavalry and artillery were in the same condition, and one battery required 101 reservists to supply its needs. Of the nominal effectives with the colours, not one half were fit to take the field, although the situation in October 1899 was exceptionally favourable, since 5000 reservists had been called up the previous year under special arrangement. Many of the men who were sent to the front were only on the verge of physical fitness, and some of the reservists had received no training for several years. Thus, as critics had foretold, the composition of the military units was far from satisfactory; and the so-called reserve was largely diverted from its proper rôle and expended in replacing ineffective boys maintained at great expense and figuring as soldiers in army estimates.

Even so, another force was required to make good deficiencies. By the simple device of paying a retaining fee to about 30,000 militiamen in return for liability to service in the regular army, a body falsely entitled the 'militia reserve' had been created. By calling up these men the difficulties of the War Office were mitigated, with the result of disorganising the Militia. As the Militia had been neglected by the authorities for years, heavily handicapped by the growing attractions of the more and more subsidised Volunteers, and depleted by the efforts made to draw its recruits into the army, this old constitutional force was in a state of partial decay. It never approxi-

* 'National Review,' March 1900.

mated to establishment strength in men or in officers*; its training was indifferent; and now, when an exacting war had broken out, it was called upon to give a large number of men *en masse* to the army. In spite of its many drawbacks, the Militia alone, of the 360,000 men composing the auxiliary forces, could offer organised units for service in the field.

Nor was this all. Existing forces proving insufficient for the purposes of an 'inevitable' war for which 30,000 men had been considered ample in the spring of 1899, improvisation on a large scale had to be brought into play. Imperial Yeomanry to the numbers of about 10,000 were raised, mainly by the efforts of individuals, formed into companies, hurriedly drilled, and sent to South Africa. The Lord Mayor of London gave his influence to the formation of a body of 'City Imperial Volunteers,' obtained by skimming a number of corps, and other volunteers were hastily collected and formed into companies to reinforce their territorial regiments in the field. In the words of the excellent "'Times' History," the war 'brought out many of the nation's best qualities, its patriotism, its fortitude, its steadfastness.' Men in considerable numbers were willing and eager to undergo the hardships of an arduous campaign; but almost everything that is implied in organisation and preparation for war had to be improvised after hostilities had begun 7000 miles away. Most fortunately the Boers possessed only the rudiments of an organisation, little cohesion, and no power of executing strategic movements on a large scale, while after the first two months they were in great numerical inferiority. Time was on our side; and, as Colonel Mackinnon, commanding the City Imperial Volunteers, has pointed out,† 'The majority of us had no less than two months on the lines of communication to learn those special duties which pertain to service at the front.' This time for quiet work was not permitted to Gambetta's levies by the Germans in 1870-71.

Another great advantage proved to be on the side of the War Office. As soon as it was realised that the

* 'The Militia,' said the Secretary of State for War on February 20th, 'is below its establishment, and nobody regrets it more than I do; but it has been more or less below its establishment for many years past.'

† Mansion House, November 9th, 1900.

requirements of the campaign had been most dangerously underestimated, the deep-rooted patriotism of the Colonies took practical form. Equipped bodies of troops were spontaneously offered, and about 14,000 men from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have been despatched to South Africa under local arrangements. Admirable fighting material was thus placed at the disposal of the commanders in Africa; and for the special conditions of the campaign some of these colonial troops were better suited than regulars more rigidly trained and less accustomed to the life of the field. India and some Crown colonies contributed volunteers. The native princes of our great dependency pressed the employment of Imperial Service troops; but, probably out of regard to the susceptibilities of the European Powers, it was decided not to accept their co-operation. This decision is open to dispute. It is not desirable that the native armies of India should be led to think that they are not an integral part of the Imperial military system, and that their employment in the field is to be limited to special circumstances. When Lord Beaconsfield brought native regiments to the Mediterranean in 1878, a plain intimation was conveyed to the world that Her Majesty's troops were held available for any national emergency irrespective of colour; and this principle must be upheld. The Cossacks, whom Russia has employed in European conflicts and would employ again, are a less disciplined body than our Sikhs and Ghoorkas; and the possession of a dark skin does not imply disregard of the usages of civilised war. A nation is entitled in self-defence to make use of all its military resources, undertaking full responsibility that the laws of war are not violated. The Algerian troops of France had, however, incurred opprobrium in 1870; and European Powers not maintaining regular native forces might be expected to resent their employment. This consideration may have weighed with the British Government, and at an early stage Mr Balfour announced in the House of Commons that the native army of India would not take part in a campaign of which the magnitude had not then been officially recognised. That army, therefore, could only supply horses, and bearers who, during the heavy fighting in Natal, showed their accustomed devotion. In addition, India supplied clothing, boots, saddlery, and large stores of many kinds.

The local military organisation of Cape Colony was behind that of the other great self-governing colonies; but large numbers of able-bodied men were available for the formation of improvised bodies, and the colonial forces raised in South Africa have amounted in all to about 34,000 men. Habits of discipline cannot, however, be instantly implanted; and the time required for the process varies with the characteristics of different communities. While, therefore, the South African irregulars and especially the local forces of Natal have rendered valuable services, there have been among the Cape Colony volunteers occasional symptoms of a want of the most essential quality of military bodies. Improvisation, in military as in other matters, has necessarily its weak side; and one of the great lessons of the Franco-German War has been powerfully reaffirmed by our experience in South Africa.

Having failed to provide an army organised and trained for war, having neglected to make timely preparations, and having entirely mistaken the requirements of an 'inevitable' campaign, the War Office nevertheless reaped the benefit of two inestimable advantages—time, and the inherent fighting instinct of the British people.

The strength of the Boers was at first much underrated. 'We have found,' said Lord Wolseley, 'that the enemy . . . are much more powerful and numerous than we anticipated.' Subsequently there has been a tendency to over-estimate the military capacity of the Boers, who are but loosely organised peasants, well armed, indeed, though not specially proficient in the use of the rifle and signally deficient as artillerymen, extremely mobile in a limited sense, and possessing an intimate knowledge of the marked peculiarities of their country. Their forces, states a personal observer in strong sympathy with them, 'had no discipline, no drills, no standards, and not even a roll-call. It was an enlarged edition of the hunting parties which a quarter of a century ago went into the Zoutpansberg in search of game.'^{*} The Boer, once in the field, 'became his own master. . . . There were hundreds of men in the Natal laagers who never fired a shot in the first months of the war.'[†] The Boers have doubtless learned much in the rough school of war, but

^{*} 'With the Boer Forces,' H. C. Hillegas.

[†] *Ibid.*

even at the period of our greatest reverses their many disabilities were apparent, and of generalship of a high order they have shown no signs. If to their advantages of mobility and knowledge of the country the Boers had united a discipline and training equal to that of the Swiss National Militia, if they had been able to make effective use of their considerable modern artillery, and if they had been efficiently commanded, our difficulties would have been enormously increased. As it was, they gave us time to repair our initial errors; and, in the circumstances, 'our very blunders may have been fortunate.'*

In the second place, to supplement deficiency in trained soldiers, the patriotism and the natural military capacity of the British people came to the aid of the tardily awakened authorities. The so-called Militia Reserve was bound to obey a call to the colours; but the Militia as a whole could be utilised in a campaign over-sea only if it volunteered. To its honour, the Militia proved willing and eager for service; and thirty battalions (about 20,000 men) were despatched to South Africa, while six battalions (about 4000 men) were sent elsewhere to relieve regular troops urgently required. The Colonies provided about 48,000 men in all, partly organised in varying degrees and partly raw material. The Yeomanry, Volunteers, and the civil population at home supplied about 20,000 men, generally speaking of excellent stamp, but requiring to be hastily formed into military units and in some cases destitute of all previous training. Thus no less than 92,000 men were forthcoming who were not included in any scheme for meeting the requirements of an offensive war, in addition to more than 9000 regular troops from India and from colonial garrisons, who would not have been available in less favourable circumstances. Out of the total force thus provided, more than 70,000—Militia and irregular bodies improvised at home and in South Africa—had no regular field equipment or transport.

Down to May 31st, 1900, no less than 204,000 men had been landed in South Africa; and no other Power could have accomplished this great task with its own resources. The transport department of the Admiralty discharged its difficult duties with conspicuous success, and the vast

* 'The "Times" History.'

reserve of maritime strength at the disposal of the Empire was quickly brought to bear upon the needs of war. The floodgates of expenditure being flung wide open, and red-tape routine having for the time been abandoned in favour of direct methods, the War Office, with unlimited purchasing power and immense manufacturing resources at its disposal, was able to supply the large force in the field, to make good deficiencies of equipment, and even to replenish the dangerously inadequate stores of ammunition. This achievement was due to the energy of individuals, not to the system, which was thrown overboard. There was necessarily wholesale waste, and the urgency of the demand caused an inflation of prices. Mules for which the owner received £6 cost the country £21, and the contracts for the hire of shipping were in some cases exorbitant. A more striking contrast than that presented by the German mobilisation in July 1870 and our frantic and costly efforts cannot be imagined. In the one case, every requirement had been foreseen, and a smooth and orderly transition from peace to war conditions resulted; in the other case, extraordinary measures superseded system, and vital preparations remained to be made in hot haste after war had commenced. We may esteem ourselves extremely fortunate that our opponents were Boers.

As soon as the last regular and irregular unit had embarked, and the supply of drafts to make good the heavy casualties in South Africa became the main demand upon our *personnel*, it was discovered that no organised field force remained in the country; and symptoms of panic were manifested. The wave of popular enthusiasm had swept in a large number of young recruits who might—in time—develope into trained and effective soldiers.* Barracks were thus full.

‘It is asked,’ said the Secretary of State for War,† ‘why is it, if you have so many Regulars at home, that you are obliged to fall back on the Militia, and send out Militia battalions to South Africa? I think the answer is obvious. These men—they number 92,000—are, of course, in no sense a field army; they include a large number of young soldiers, men who have not yet reached the age of twenty, and who are therefore not fit to send out of the country on foreign service.’

* In 1899 the Army obtained 42,700, and the Militia 40,600 recruits,

† House of Lords, May 25th, 1900,

This frank statement of fact was not calculated to allay anxiety. The 92,000 men were not organised in any sense; but were for the most part youths undergoing elementary training. From them drafts for South Africa were made up, and it has proved necessary to send out lads under twenty who had never fired a rifle. In addition, there remained at home sixty-eight battalions of Militia under strength, indifferently trained, without transport, and unprovided with field artillery. Finally, there was an unorganised mass of about 230,000 Volunteers and Yeomanry, totally unfitted to undertake field operations. In all, there remained in the United Kingdom 409,000 nominal effectives of various designations;* but there was no field force, and for months none could be created. It had been popularly supposed that the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers were specially maintained for what has been called 'home defence,' in the absence of regular troops. This condition had now presented itself, and it was tardily recognised that an aggregate of battalions provided with rifles and uniforms does not necessarily make an army.

Spurred by public opinion, the Government at length took measures which were severely criticised. Having sixty-eight Militia battalions available as a nucleus, it was evidently desirable to fill them up to full strength of officers and men, to group them in brigades, and to put them through a course of field training. Instead, it was decided to improvise a new force by forming cavalry regiments and infantry battalions of soldiers who had completed their period of army engagement, and were to be induced by a bounty of £21 to serve for one year only in this country. Officers were to be provided from the reserve and retired lists. A more costly and more ineffective measure could not have been devised. The emergency units could barely be made effective, as units only, before they were doomed to disappear; and they could not supply the field force which was required. At the same time, a portion of the Volunteer force was bribed to undergo a short period of training with a view to qualify them-

* In addition there must have been at least 400,000 men in the country who had served in one or other of our numerous military forces, and were physically fit for service.

selves for the duties which for thirty years they have been supposed to be ready to perform.

'The amount of extra money expended this year on the training of the Volunteers,' says the able author of 'Army Reorganisation,' 'may be estimated at from two to three millions, while the increase in numbers on the establishment [due to the increase of doles] which has been permitted is so great that the cost in future to the country will far exceed the value of their services as a purely Volunteer force.'

The emergency measures of the Government added little to the fighting strength of the nation, and it is not even clear that they were seriously intended. On February 12th, Mr Wyndham stated that these measures had been devised 'for placing home defence on a satisfactory basis.' On the very next day, however, he made the following remarkable concession to his critics:—

'I am ready to whittle down with the best whittlers. I will put it as low as this. I do not look upon this as a defence against attack. I regard it as an assurance against the fear which might spring from a threat. That is putting it low enough.'

Lord Wolseley has remarked that 'we are fond of shams in this country'; but the truth of this saying has never found a more cynical exponent than Mr Wyndham. In addition to the emergency 'expedients' announced in the House of Commons on February 12th, a large permanent increase to the regular army, including twelve battalions and forty-three batteries, was promised. The principles on which this increase was based were not made clear, and several years must elapse before a material addition of real fighting strength can be attained. Lastly, it was decided to increase the pay of, and to provide regimental transport for the Militia, both these steps being in the right direction.

A broad review of the war and its lessons leads inevitably to the following conclusions. The Cabinet, being without reasoned advice in matters of military policy, had to fall back upon the hurried surmises of individuals who had never studied the requirements of a war with the South African Republics. For this fatal defect the constitution of the War Office, which does not provide for the

study of such questions, is directly responsible. We had an Intelligence Department which carefully noted the great military preparations of the Boers subsequent to the Raid; but it was no one's business to study the requirements of 'inevitable' wars or to tender reasoned military advice to the Cabinet. The system provided no force ready for embarkation, and the want was inadequately met by a demand upon India and the colonial garrisons, and by a misuse of the Royal Navy. The mobilisation proceeded without difficulty, as was to be expected; but the inherent defects in our military system became at once apparent, and large numbers of nominally effective soldiers proved unfit for a campaign. This entailed the depletion of the so-called reserves, and the disorganisation of the Militia. As soon as the effective portion of the regular army had been embarked, it became apparent that the forces popularly supposed to be maintained for home defence were not equipped or organised for the purpose; and further improvisation, costly and ineffective, was hastily adopted. Lastly, the course of the campaign quickly proved that the Army had not been trained for war; that some of the commands had been unwisely bestowed; and that the huge extemporised staff was in some cases ill-qualified for the discharge of its duties. Here were many of the elements which in less favourable conditions would have caused national disaster. The disabilities of the enemy and the inherent fighting qualities and natural adaptability of the British race enabled the situation to be saved.

(2.) *The Causes.*

The causes which have produced a military system permeated by gross defects, now nakedly exposed to the gaze of the world, admit of easy discrimination. In the first place, as the late Commander-in-Chief and the late Adjutant-General have publicly intimated, no real attempt has ever been made to define the military requirements of the nation, and to build up an organisation fulfilling those requirements. For thirty years the Army has been subjected to a process of tinkering which has destroyed all confidence in its central administration. 'The House of Commons,' writes Mr Arnold-Forster, 'has never refused to grant any sum of money for the services of the Arm

which has been asked for by a responsible Minister and declared to be for the good of the service.' This is strictly true; but as there has never been any basis of principle in our organisation to which successive changes could be referred, those changes have been capricious and sometimes reactionary. Upon advice the source of which could not be avowed in the House of Commons, but which was warmly repudiated by the then Commander-in-Chief, H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, the late Mr Stanhope reduced the artillery. Within a few years it became evident that we were dangerously deficient in this essential arm of modern war; and in February last an addition of forty-three batteries was proposed, and is now being carried out. Similarly, the House of Commons has at various times acquiesced in increases of which the reasons were never explained. If this loose procedure is compared with the luminous and logical statements by which the recent additions to the German navy were supported, the difference between muddling and statesmanship becomes painfully apparent. We have, as a first step in real army reform, to get back to the bed-rock of great principles.

The small band of reformers who advised Mr Cardwell was too completely dazzled by the successes of Prussia in 1866 and 1870 to be capable of discriminating between British and Continental conditions. The German system was thus unintelligently planted in a soil lacking the ingredient—universal service—which was vitally necessary to its healthy growth. Two fundamental differences divided British from German military conditions. In the first place, the needs of our Empire demanded that one half of the regular Army should be always abroad and on a war footing. In the second place, the exigencies of voluntary recruiting brought into the ranks boys of seventeen or less with a low standard of physique, while universal service gave over to the drill-master, at the age of twenty, and at a fixed date every year, the best manhood of the nation. These all-important considerations appear to have escaped the notice of Mr Cardwell's advisers; and, in the violent controversy as to the respective merits of long and short service which raged after 1870, they were not always brought into sufficient prominence. The period of colour-service adopted

was long, measured by Continental standards, and it was not even a novelty. Enlistments for seven years had been tried in 1806, for ten years in 1847, and for two years in 1854; but when three years might have to be deducted from the period of effective service in order to allow the boy to grow into a soldier, it is evident that the essential conditions of an army, of which one half was required to serve abroad, could not be satisfactorily fulfilled. It would be unjust not to admit that some of the minor changes inaugurated by Mr Cardwell were beneficial, or that a portion of the outcry against those changes may be traced to the prejudices which exist in armies as in other corporate bodies. The fact remains, that the so-called Cardwell system was radically defective in principle, and that its framers, blinded by the fascinations of German methods, had neglected to study British requirements.

Mr Kinglake, the most scathing critic of the Departments which mal-administered the Army in 1854, freely admitted that 'they had yet upheld in full vigour our famous time-honoured "regiments," with the glory of the great days yet clinging to their names, their traditions, their colours.' The regiments that fought at Alma and at Inkerman were composed of grown men, and were, as regiments, superb. The new school, which began to acquire power in 1870, was not in touch with the regimental system of the Army, and, as soon as it had gained sufficient strength, it proceeded to undermine that system. Its schemes having at length given rise to wide-spread and well-founded dissatisfaction, a strong committee on Army organisation, presided over by Lord Airey, was appointed in 1879, which recorded evidence of the utmost importance. The dangerous deterioration of the physique of the Army was clearly proved. Some regiments sent to the Zulu War were shown to be quite unfit to undergo the stress of a campaign, even after discarding hundreds of their young recruits. The opinion of the Indian military authorities, supported by statistics, strongly condemned the organisation; and a Minute of Council of May 27th, 1879, recorded the fact that—

'The state of the 2nd battalion 6th Regiment, which has just landed in India almost bare of qualified non-commissioned

officers—a state which arises entirely from the present system of engagements, and is inseparable from it—is in itself sufficient to condemn that system as applied to India.'

The monstrous wastage entailed by the system was shown in a return of January 13th, 1880, by the Adjutant-General, which proved that 26,857 men disappeared before completing their third year of service, after costing the country more than a million and a half. This wastage has since increased. Field-Marshal Sir Lintorn Simmons* has stated that thirty per cent. of recruits never complete their fourth year of service, and he adds: 'There can be little doubt' that within a period of ten years 'nearly 150,000 men have gone back to civil life, exclusive of those who have gone to the reserve.' In other words this great number of men never completed their engagement, and a large portion of them never became efficient soldiers. If 8000 men with an average service of two and a half years quit the army every year, the country will have thrown away nearly one million and a quarter sterling, which would provide an additional sixpence a day for nearly 137,000 men. This will serve to give some idea of the immense waste which the present system entails. A grown man of good physique can be put into the ranks after ten months' drill. We are now maintaining large numbers of boys who leave the service without ever giving a day's real soldier service to the State. 'We have sacrificed the Army to the Reserve,' said H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge. 'Short service,' testified General Sir Thomas Steele, 'combined with the great waste of men, has destroyed the regiments.' The experience of the Afghan war led Sir F. Roberts to comment in forcible terms upon the condition to which the Army had been reduced.

The evidence taken by Lord Airey's Committee fully bore out these strong opinions. That committee reported 'complete unanimity' as to the grave defects in the working of the military machine, and it made wise and practical recommendations which were ignored. The reformers were by this time all-powerful at the War Office, where some of the permanent civil officials had espoused their views and had evidently borne a part

* 'Army Organisation,' 1897.

in framing their schemes.* Thus a clique had come into existence which succeeded in securing continuity of office for its members, in excluding all who did not subscribe to its views, and—for some years—in making effective use of the press. The vicissitudes of the Army from 1870 to 1884 are traced with great ability by the author of 'Fifteen Years of "Army Reform,"' which is a mine of useful information for all who desire to understand the causes of our present military difficulties. This little book is a striking record of ill-considered changes which have convulsed the Army without producing an organisation capable of meeting national requirements. The apparent intentions of the reformers could not be carried out, because they either violated principles or failed to conform to national conditions. Thus the Localisation Scheme of 1873 was, in the words of the War Office Committee which framed it, based upon a 'calculation'

'that 100,000 male population should furnish a Militia battalion of 1000; and as, when the organisation is perfected, each district would comprise two such Militia battalions, the districts have been divided as nearly as possible so as to contain each about 200,000 males.'

Since, in a country where compulsory service does not exist, there cannot be any fixed relation between the population of a district and the Militia it furnishes, the 'organisation' could not be 'perfected,' and has naturally failed to produce the expected results. Again, to provide drafts for units abroad, it was decided first to link battalions together, and secondly to couple them permanently into double battalion regiments, abolishing the time-honoured numbers and introducing a variety of new and cumbrous titles which destroyed the continuity of the military history of the Army. There was much to be said for cementing the county associations of the regiments, and this object could have been attained without outraging the deep-rooted sentiment of the Army; but the whole scheme was based upon a fallacy. Its working depended absolutely upon the maintenance of equality between the units at home and abroad. 'The very moment,' said Lord

* One of the most curious features of the endless enquiries into the state of the Army is the mass of evidence given with evident reluctance by civil officials ignorant of every principle of military administration.

Wolseley, 'that basis broke down, the whole system is thrown out of gear, and it becomes impossible to maintain the system of organisation which was created and based upon that principle.' As the demands of such an empire as ours must necessarily fluctuate in accordance with circumstances, it was futile to attempt to base an organisation upon a condition which could not be fulfilled. The natural result has been chaos, which the War Office has endeavoured to screen by such disingenuous measures as quartering battalions of Guards at Gibraltar and counting them as if on home service; or by asking for increases to the Army, not on grounds of national policy, but simply in order to enable a false system to maintain the semblance of efficiency. Further, the abolition of the depot battalions and the handing over of the training of the recruits to the linked unit at home destroyed the military efficiency of the latter. It could not properly perform the duties of an elementary training establishment; it was reduced, as Lord Wolseley admitted, to the state of a 'squeezed lemon'; it could be made into a fighting body only by being swamped by so-called reservists who might not have received any training for several years and who could not be expected to settle down quickly under the rule of young and often inexperienced non-commissioned officers.

The period of organic changes ended in 1881 with the establishment, in defiance of the views of Lord Airey's Committee, of the pseudo-territorial scheme drawn up by a War Office Committee* in 1876. This scheme 'was accepted by the public with the equanimity which is begotten of utter ignorance and indifference.'† There was, however, one point which the people of Scotland understood; and when the War Office announced its intention of adopting a universal pattern of tartan for all kilted regiments, a loud outcry arose, entailing the prompt withdrawal of a proposal which supplies a measure of the knowledge of national characteristics possessed by the dominant military and civil clique. The territorial scheme did not remedy any of the evils of which Lord Airey's

* This was officially styled the 'Militia Committee,' and it is characteristic of our methods that a body thus entitled should have been allowed to revolutionise the regular Army.

† 'Fifteen Years of "Army Reform."'

Committee established the existence; and the combination of Militia with line battalions to form territorial regiments proved disastrous to the Militia. Meanwhile, the whole system of organisation was so hopelessly defective that its working came to depend upon expedients of a disintegrating character. To enable 18,800 men to be sent to Egypt in 1882 for the purpose of quelling Arabi's rebellion, 11,600 reserve men were recalled to the colours, and more than 10,500 actually joined. This use of the reserve for a purpose for which it was not intended could only tend to render military service unpopular with the classes that supply recruits. At the same time the practice of drafting men from one unit to another became most undesirably frequent. Thus, in order to send three field batteries to South Africa in 1897, no less than 189 men and 272 horses had to be obtained by denuding other units; and in many other cases drafting was freely employed on a large scale. The inevitable result was to destroy *esprit de corps*. Again, units have frequently been sent abroad considerably under strength and containing lads supposed to be twenty, but not nineteen. Lastly, a most objectionable habit of creating special forces by collecting men from many regiments to form improvised bodies came into vogue. Thus the 'desert column,' upon which all the severe fighting fell in 1885, was skimmed from twenty-eight regiments and battalions, and cavalymen found themselves acting in an infantry square. Every principle of military organisation was thus violated, and at Abu Klea disaster was barely averted. This plan of constantly taking officers and men away from their proper duties and temporarily associating them for special objects has done infinite harm to the Army.

By such means as these it was sought to cover the inherent defects in our military system. These defects were, however, well known to the Army outside of the War Office; and each successive enquiry furnished critics with powerful weapons of attack. It has inevitably followed that for years our organisation has been the subject of heated controversy, injurious to the *moral* of the Army and practically futile, till 1897, when Lord Lansdowne made some considerable concessions to the critics. During these years of wordy strife much has been done to improve the position of the soldier, as of the artisan. There has

been military advance in certain directions; but the organisation, based upon confusion and violating principles, has brought about a diminution of *esprit de corps*, and a marked deterioration in the composition of the fighting units. In 1860-61 the strength of the Army was 235,800, including 92,490 on the Indian establishment, and 79,070 actually in India. The gross estimate was 14,800,000*l.* Thirty-eight years later the strength with the colours was no greater, and the gross estimate had increased to 21,000,000*l.* On the other hand, a reserve of about eighty thousand men had been built up which, in the words of the late Commander-in-Chief, is 'something of a sham,' and which has now proved to be required to replace nominally effective soldiers unfit for service in South Africa.

A comparison between our present army and that of forty years ago presents another serious subject of contemplation. The average age of the troops under arms has been deplorably reduced. The following figures * give some idea of the change:—

BATTALIONS AT HOME PER 1000 MEN.

Age.	1846.	1866.	1870.	1897.
Under 20	176·6	132·4	193·9	358·5
20-25	342·6	275·2	227·9	462·6
25-30	277·0	356·2	241·5	114·6
30-35	98·0	150·8	238·8	43·1
35-40	84·3	74·4	85·8	16·2
Over 40	21·5	11·0	11·9	4·0

As no attempt is made to ascertain the real age of the recruit, all such figures must be received with caution; but this table may serve for purposes of comparison. The report of the Royal Commission of 1866, which should be studied in connexion with that of Lord Airey's Committee, states that about one half of the rank and file voluntarily extended their service, and that only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the non-commissioned officers annually left the service. The difference of conditions between 1866 and the present time is thus organic, and the growth of the

* Taken from the 'Times,' January 22nd, 1898.

number of ineffective soldiers in the ranks is explained. It is not necessary or desirable to revert to the pre-Cardwellian system of engagements; it is vital to reduce the number of nominal soldiers with the colours and to increase the efficiency of the fighting units.

(3.) *Requisite Reforms.*

The school which has long swayed military policy at the War Office has shown little capacity for organisation. At times it has assured us that the state of the Army approached perfection; whenever great defects became plainly visible, it has given us to understand that its powers were inadequate or that the Treasury was to blame. As an organising and an administering head the War Office has failed. It has lost the confidence of the Army and of the nation; it needs, as Mr Hanbury has pointedly remarked, 'to be sifted out from top to bottom.' A War Office constructed upon business principles can alone provide an army organised and trained for war.

In common with the military forces, the War Office has been subjected to incessant changes, apparently made to suit the tastes or the ambitions of individuals rather than to comply with the principles of administration. There is neither system nor due definition of responsibility; mediocrity is effectually screened, and genius can have no play; a morbid craze for the assertion of power over the most trivial details dominates all other considerations. Here at least we might with advantage have borrowed from the Germans, who are past-masters in the art of decentralisation. The first necessary reform is to transfer from the War Office to the officers commanding districts and garrisons all the powers which these officers can wield. Efficiency should be ensured by inspection and audit, in place of allowing inefficiency to flourish under cover of volumes of minute regulations and reams of futile correspondence. 'Trust much and expect much' should be the motto of a reformed War Office, as it is that of all well-administered business undertakings, in which, as in the German army, incompetence receives short shrift.

The work of a War Department groups itself naturally under five heads, three military and two civil. The former include: (1) *Personnel*, including training, inspection, discipline, and recruiting; (2) *Matériel*, including military

works, transport, and supply; and (3) *Military Policy*, including intelligence, mobilisation, and the study of questions of Imperial defence and of the general and special requirements of war. Each of these branches contains, in our case, as much as the greatest military genius could pretend to supervise effectively. The civil branches are: (4) a branch under the Financial Secretary, administering the non-effective vote and the finance department, which should be made partially into a military body serving abroad as well as at home; and (5) a second civil branch under the Permanent Under-Secretary, forming the bureau of the Secretary of State. The head of each branch should be personally responsible for his branch, (1) and (2) being provided with financial advisers, to assist in framing their estimates and in administering their votes. The heads would advise the Secretary of State individually as regards their own proper business, and collectively in all matters of joint concern. One result of this division of duties would be to end the standing feud between what are known as the military and civil sides of the War Office. That office cannot afford to dispense altogether with a trained civil element; but it should gradually be made to assume a distinctly more military character than at present, and the inferior clerical work should all be carried out by military clerks, of whom the Army can provide an excellent type. The sub-grouping of work should be carefully arranged under officials with defined responsibilities to the head of the branch.

The interference of the War Office in trivial details has been demoralising to itself and to the Army. Important questions of policy have been either neglected altogether or badly handled, because the central authorities, immersed in executive routine, have had no time for their administrative duties. On the other hand, petty regulations, and the demand that everything should be referred to headquarters, have gone far to destroy the mental vigour and initiative of the Army. Officers taught in peace to sit down and write instead of acting cannot be expected to rise suddenly to the full height of their inevitable responsibilities in war. The effect of this blighting system has been painfully evident in South Africa; and the Boers, with only the rudiments of organisation and of discipline, have profited by the possession of that in-

dividuality which our system has tended to extinguish. The *moral* of an army depends largely upon its central administration, which, dispensing all honours and regulating all promotion, can directly encourage or repress the qualities which confer success in modern war. The havoc among the War Office selections for commands, great and small, which the present campaign has necessitated, will not easily be forgotten.

An army can neither organise nor train itself; and the more power is centralised in a single headquarter office absorbed in paper transactions, the less are the chances of progress. Constructive suggestions from subordinate officers are snubbed by the War Office; consequently a great portion of the intellectual vigour of our Army is expended upon destructive criticism. Yet at the present moment it is constructive proposals that are urgently needed. The first step is to define clearly the military requirements of the country; the second is to ascertain how these requirements can be effectively and economically fulfilled. The one is a question of policy, the other is a matter of organisation on business principles. 'Before the military authorities are called upon to provide an army,' said the late Commander-in-Chief, 'they ought to be informed clearly and distinctly what kind of an army the country wants.' The country has, however, no ideas upon the subject, except that it desires adequate security at a reasonable cost, and that it is conscious of inadequate preparations and large expenditure. Now the primary object of our organisation must be to secure the means of carrying on a vigorously offensive war. The function of the Navy in regard to the Empire is defensive—the guardianship of sea-communications. The fact that this function must be discharged by an energetic offensive does not affect the general proposition. The Army is the national weapon of offence, by the action of which alone decisive results can be attained. The Peninsular war, the Crimean campaign, and the Spanish-American war are instances in point. In none of these cases could an effective blow have been struck without offensive military action; but that action would have been impossible without naval guardianship. This axiom of national policy, frequently stated, has been practically ignored as a basis of military organisa-

tion. It is effectively presented in the following sentence taken from 'Army Reorganisation':—

'Unless we make preparation for such an offensive as will enable us to guard and support every portion of our Empire, and organise the Army with a view to its working in conjunction with the forces maintained by the Colonies, any effort at army reform will fall short of what the nation requires.'

To defend such an Empire as ours it is necessary to be prepared to strike. The recognition of this essential need does not in any sense imply the adoption of a policy of aggression, which is foreign to our instincts as a commercial people. It is simply and purely a principle forced upon us by national conditions and by the whole teaching of history. The defensive ideal upheld during the past forty years has entailed immense waste of money, has directly led to a neglect of the Navy, and has dangerously enfeebled our field Army. The military requirements indispensable for our national security are as follows:—

I. To maintain in full efficiency and in complete readiness for war the normal garrisons of India, of the colonial stations serving as secondary bases for the Navy, and of Egypt.

II. To provide at home a considerable field force fully organised, staffed, and equipped, and ready for immediate embarkation to reinforce India, or any portion of the Empire, or to serve for the purpose of a small war.

III. To provide a large field force at home completely organised and equipped and capable of being mobilised in a week for service abroad in the event of a great war.

IV. To maintain the machinery for supplying the wastage of war in the forces included under (I), (II), and (III).

V. To create a territorial army organised and equipped for home defence, capable of maintaining public confidence if the mass of the regular forces are serving abroad, and able in part to reinforce the army abroad if the circumstances are such that what is called 'home defence' becomes a minor consideration.

The first necessary step towards military reform is that the Cabinet, which is responsible for national defence, should formally adopt the foregoing definition of requirements. The next step is to evaluate those require-

ments. The normal garrisons of India and the colonial stations and Egypt number about 114,000 regular British troops, and, except in India, cannot be organised in higher units than the brigade. This total, which includes sedentary forces (garrison artillery, fortress engineers, and submarine miners) standing apart from the field army, should be regarded as a *minimum*, as some of the garrisons are not adequate, and would need reinforcement for war. To supply their wastage in peace, in present conditions of service, about 16,000 men are annually required.

The Army Corps organisation, borrowed from Germany, and existing only on paper, should be abolished. It was designed solely to facilitate the handling in the field of massed armies of 100,000 to 200,000 men. It is totally unsuited to our requirements, and it has never been and can never be a reality; it is in fact one of those delusive shams which must be eradicated from our military system. The Division is, in point of scale, the equivalent, in the British Army, of the Army Corps in the vast forces resulting from universal service. As such, it requires to be specially constituted, regard being had solely to British requirements. The strength of the Division may be taken at about 10,500 men.

The field force (II) held in readiness for embarkation should not be less than three divisions (31,500), with two cavalry brigades, each having a horse-artillery battery—in all about 5000 men. The field force (III) should consist of not less than nine divisions and three cavalry brigades—in all about 102,000 men. The total organised field force comprised in (II) and (III) would thus number about 133,500 men, and would absorb 15 cavalry regiments, 96 infantry battalions, and 414 horse and field guns.* Before the outbreak of war there were in this country 19 cavalry regiments, 79 infantry battalions, 67 horse and field batteries (402 guns)—in all 98,280 nominally effective field troops of the three arms, with about 78,800 reservists.† There was thus a margin of 4 cavalry regiments above the requirements of the proposed divisional organisation, and a deficiency of 2 batteries and 17 infantry battalions. A

* Assuming thirty-two field guns to the division, and six horse-artillery guns to each cavalry brigade.

† Army Estimates, 1899-1900.

large increase of infantry and field artillery has, however, been sanctioned; and, when it has been carried out, it should be possible to provide the twelve divisions postulated.

The foregoing remarks indicate the kind of organisation on which Parliament should insist. In place of promiscuously voting more and more men of any arm, at the bidding of the War Office, and without any principle, it is necessary to demand a clear answer to the following questions. 'How many organised field troops prepared for war will be obtained? What margin will remain behind when the field army is mobilised? What reserve to supply the wastage of war is provided?' It is further necessary to stipulate that the units included in the divisions and brigades of the field army (III) shall not require more than forty per cent. of their war strength from the reserve on mobilisation. To fulfil all these conditions means must be found for reducing the number of nominal soldiers, and for creating a real and an ample reserve. The present miserable system, whose gross defects have been veiled from the public by demoralising expedients, has tended to impair the character of our historic regiments. Cool observers have not failed to note premonitory symptoms of physical decadence in Afghanistan, in the Tirah campaign, and on other occasions. The war in South Africa has produced shining examples of personal heroism in all ranks; fighting power of the highest quality has been exhibited; but there have been incidents which it is dangerous to ignore.

Compulsory service being impossible as a means of recruiting an army of which a great part must always be abroad, it is necessary to raise the standard of pay and to enhance the attractions of a soldier's life, in order to draw grown men of good stamp to the colours. The period of service should count only from the date at which the soldier is certified fit for the field; present rates should be confined to those under age; the grown man of good physique should be offered, on joining, a wage which, with other advantages, will enable the Army to compete in the unskilled labour market. Re-engagement on increased pay carrying pension, or Government employment prior to pension, should be guaranteed to at least twenty-five per cent. of the rank and file, as proposed by Lord Airey's Committee; and special inducements should be offered to

good non-commissioned officers, who form the backbone of every army. The abolition of irritating small stoppages, the boon of some measure of privacy in barracks, freedom of civil domicile to re-engaged soldiers of good character, and a more enlightened system of training, entailing the cessation of much needless drudgery, would go far to fill the ranks with the class of men that the Army needs. Cost cannot be regarded where the security of the Empire is involved; and a considerable reduction in existing establishments, combined with complete efficiency, would be far safer than an increase with present conditions unchanged. Thus, adhering to the present total period of twelve years, the soldier who did not re-engage would quit the service at about thirty-two; and by offering a retaining fee for a further period of five years, with a liability to recall in the event of national emergency only, and to two periods of two weeks' training, with the rate of pay last received, a real reserve to provide for the wastage of war would be obtained. There must be now in this country not less than 170,000 men who have passed through the ranks, and this great source of reserve strength remains untapped.

The territorial army (V), composed of the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers, should be independently organised. If the old principle of the ballot for the Militia were revived, there would be no difficulty in maintaining a powerful second-line army. The Swiss system, applied to this country, would provide 3,000,000 of trained and organised men; but 200,000 men would be an ample force. 'The Swiss army in 1898,' writes Mr G. G. Coulton,* 'cost barely 1,000,000*l.* . . . Our own Volunteers alone, with this year's emergency vote, will cost the nation a million and a quarter,† together with considerable private expense.' Between our Volunteers and the Swiss national force there is no possible comparison. The former is a loose unorganised aggregate of men, almost untrained, unequipped, and containing a large proportion of boys 'too young to engage any foreign army invading this country.'‡ It has been allowed to increase without any regard to principles,

* 'A Strong Army in a Free State.' (Simpkin and Marshall, 1900.)

† In reality the sum is much larger.

‡ 'Army Reorganisation.' ('Blackwood's Magazine,' November 1900.)

and it has become wholly dependent upon State aid, which its growing political influence tends more and more to augment. The latter is a most formidable, well-trained, and admirably organised citizen army. The Swiss infantryman gives, in all, 174 days' service, which is a small concession to the first duty of citizenship. This service is regarded 'not only as a duty, but to most as a real pleasure also. . . . The army (says Mr. Coulton) is extraordinarily popular, as a similar army would be in England.' In spite of some recent utterances, there is no evidence that a measure so essentially democratic as the application, without respect of persons, of the ballot to the Militia would be unpopular. Universal service, an infinitely stronger measure, rigidly applied, has not prevented Germany from rapidly developing into a great industrial nation capable of competing successfully with us in the markets of the world. There is good reason to believe that the German people owe much to the discipline, the orderly habits, and the heightened self-respect inculcated by their enforced military training. It is a great moral advantage to bring home a sense of the responsibilities of citizenship to the masses; and there are many present signs that such a tonic is needed in this country. Personal service is a truer proof of patriotism than money payment. To apply the ballot to the recruiting of the Militia, with exemptions only to a limited number of Volunteers and Yeomanry, and to theological students, would imply no social revolution. The liability to a total military training of about six months in five years would be no hardship; the effect would be far-reaching and universally beneficial. If, however, leading statesmen, in place of explaining national needs to the British people, prefer to frighten them by wholly fallacious pictures of the effects of compulsion in this mild form, then the tax must be levied in money and not in service, and the moral gain will be lost.

To make the Militia into an effective force it is necessary to discard the fatal notion that it is only a feeder to the Army. The effect of rewarding Militia colonels in proportion to the number of men they annually pass to the colours has naturally proved disastrous to the old constitutional force. At the same time, the more and more subsidised Volunteers have drawn away men who, in the absence of superior attractions, would have joined

the Militia. The second-line army should consist of not less than 200,000 men, who, failing the application of the ballot, must be obtained by adequate payment. The organisation should provide (a) a field force of not less than ten divisions complete in themselves as regards infantry, field artillery, and field engineers, and (b) a sedentary force, infantry, garrison artillery, and engineers told off to the fortified harbours on our coast-line. The basis of the organisation should be strictly territorial; and, as proposed by the author of 'Army Reorganisation,' the blighting influence of centralisation should be removed, so as to 'allow the Militia to resume its legitimate place in the county, and to ensure the civil administration of this country taking an interest in its welfare.' By means of a retaining fee, coupled with the condition of occasional drills, a real Militia Reserve can be created, not to fill the ranks on mobilisation, but to supply wastage in war or to enable additional units to be formed in case of great national emergency. While the Militia field army is maintained for purposes of home defence in the absence of the regular forces, it should be able, if circumstances permit, to supplement the Army in any part of the world, thus fulfilling the rôle which has given it a distinguished place in our military history.

The function of the Yeomanry should be to provide the mounted force required for the home field-army. This country affords little scope for the work of cavalry, but is admirably adapted to the employment of mounted infantry. As such, therefore, the Yeomanry should be exclusively trained, intelligent scouting and proficiency in rifle shooting being the main requirements. The establishment should be based upon that of the territorial army, each division of which should have its *quota* of Yeomanry, leaving a balance of the latter capable of being independently employed. The Yeomanry should, during their period of training, be paid at a rate sufficient to enable the necessary establishment to be maintained; and a small reserve should be formed.

The Volunteers must be recognised as a paid force, on condition of a greatly improved standard of efficiency. The present establishment should be reduced by one half, the object being to allow selection in recruiting, so as to obtain grown men of good physique. A force which cannot be

trained on a definite system, because its attendance as a whole at specific periods is not enforced, must fall far short of the attainments possible to a Militia. Men of education and superior intelligence can, however, be sufficiently trained on a volunteer basis to be valuable in war. The reformed volunteer force should provide only infantry, position artillery, and engineers. Its special duty should be to take up and defend field positions previously studied, thus forming a second line to the Militia field army for home defence. Its organisation in peace time need not be higher than the brigade, and it should be provided with regimental transport. Affiliated cadet corps or rifle clubs should be encouraged as feeders to the Volunteers, but must not be regarded as direct sources of national strength. In order to reorganise the so-called 'auxiliary forces,' it is necessary to lay down clear and definite conditions on the above lines, and to appoint small committees, on which these forces should be capably represented, to work out the details of the new scheme. Of the total population of the United Kingdom, more than one person in forty-three belongs to the naval or the military forces. A higher proportion than this is not required. It is the nature of the personal service rendered and the age of those who render it that need modification.

To deal adequately with the training of the military forces would require a separate article. The South African campaign has revealed with painful distinctness the unreality of our whole system of military education. Alder-shot tactics have become a by-word, and their many critics in years past have been abundantly justified. It has been necessary for all ranks to unlearn, in face of the enemy, and at a heavy cost of life and prestige, the lessons inculcated in time of peace. Our relatively long period of army service confers advantages which we have utterly failed to reap. Elementary training has been impaired by throwing it upon the field units. Higher training has been degraded by a farcical system of inspection, by the absence of any serious purpose, and by incompetence in many places. The biting criticism of the author of 'An Absent-minded War' is not wholly undeserved. It is not unjust to say that 'mediocrity, if assisted by influential friends so much the better, has been pushed to the front.' As regards the preliminary training of the

recruit, what is most effectively accomplished by the depot of the Royal Marines at Walmer can be done in the case of the Army. This part of the soldier's education can best be carried out in large schools of instruction, where special appliances and specially qualified instructors can be provided. Higher training depends upon an intelligent progressive curriculum, and upon the personal capabilities of superior officers. The war has served to weed out much incompetence and to bring to the front comparatively young officers, who will be well able to reform the training of the Army. It rests with the War Office to ensure that military merit shall be the sole avenue to military preferment and that exercises and manœuvres shall be seriously regarded by all ranks.

Short of suffering great disaster, no nation has ever received so grave a warning as that conveyed to us by the experiences of the past fourteen months. We have seen that we possess, alike in Great and in Greater Britain, the most excellent material, and that our resources of all kinds are unrivalled. We have also seen that our military system is grossly defective in essential respects. Most fortunately that system has been tested only by conflict with a small and unorganised people, whose fighting men we could overpower by sheer weight of numbers, time being happily available. We have, therefore, escaped the crushing national disaster which befell Prussia in 1806 and France in 1870-71; but the warning is not less grave in the eyes of all thoughtful students of affairs. Mismanagement in military matters cannot be regarded as an isolated evil; it is but part of a general laxity in the conduct of public business to which Lord Rosebery has pointedly referred; and the patent inefficiency of our Army organisation cannot be ascribed entirely to the shortcomings of a single public office. The secrets of the twentieth century lie hid; but it needs no foresight to perceive that, straight in front of us, are many dangers. If the writing which now flames upon the wall is correctly read, if the plain lessons of the South African war are sternly applied, and if preparation for war is made a national object, we can await the unknown future with confidence; but if we neglect the warning, disaster is inevitable.

Art. IX.—THE LATER YEARS OF NAPOLEON.

1. *Napoléon Intime*. Par Arthur Lévy. Paris: Plon, 1893.
2. *La Captivité de Sainte-Hélène, d'après les rapports inédits du Marquis de Montchenu*. Par G. Firmin-Didot. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894.
3. *Mémoires du Général Baron Thiébauld, d'après le manuscrit original*. Par F. Calmettes. Five vols. Paris: Plon, 1893-1895.
4. *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*. By W. M. Sloane. Four vols. New York: Century Company, 1894-1896.
5. *Sainte-Hélène. Journal Inédit de 1815 à 1818*. Par le Général Baron Gourgaud. Two vols. Paris: Flammarion, 1899.
6. *A Diary of St Helena. The Journal of Lady Malcolm*. Edited by Sir A. Wilson. London: Innes, 1899.
7. *The Campaign of 1815*. By W. O'C. Morris. London: Grant Richards, 1900.
8. *Napoleon. The last Phase*. By Lord Rosebery. London: A. L. Humphreys, 1900.

'WILL there ever be an adequate Life of Napoleon?' asks Lord Rosebery at the outset of his, the very latest, contribution to Napoleonic history. As yet the 'adequate Life' cannot be said to exist. For certain periods of Napoleon's life Houssaye and Vandal have worked marvels; and there is much force in Lord Rosebery's suggestion that they should combine to give the world, not monographs, but a complete biography. There is no age, no personality in history, of greater interest, either to France or to the world, than the Napoleonic era and Napoleon. Never before or since has war been waged upon so incessant and gigantic a scale. Never before or since have capacity and energy been so powerfully combined in one individual. As he said himself, 'centuries may pass before circumstances combine to produce another such as I was.' His genius was such that the master of almost any profession may study it with profit. The soldier, as Moltke has said, who understands Napoleonic strategy has nothing more to learn. The statesman will be penetrated with admiration for the clearness and boldness of Napoleon's conceptions. The author will be impressed by the force and fire of his spoken and written words. The lover will

be moved by the grace and passionate ardour of his early letters to Josephine. The philosopher will watch the influence of a meteoric rise to power, and as meteoric a fall, upon a character which is not the less fascinating because it is and will always remain something of an enigma.

The material for a final verdict upon that character is fast accumulating. During the past twenty years a flood of Napoleonic literature has broken upon the world. The grave has given up many of its secrets. We have had the memoirs of Chaptal, Metternich, Pasquier, Marbot, Lejeune, Méneval, Thiébault, Gourgaud, Foy, and Madame de Rémusat, with a host of others of less note; the monographs of Welschinger, Vandal, Houssaye, Chuquet, Masson, Rambaud, George, Ropes, Lord Rosebery, and Judge O'Connor Morris; collections of unpublished documents such as the 'Lettres Inédites'; and general studies of Napoleon's character and life such as those by Lévy, Sloane, and Seeley. Some of these works are of quite exceptional interest and value. Gourgaud's diary of the events at St Helena from 1815 to 1818, for instance, is a priceless document, worth all the volumes of Las Cases, O'Meara, and Montholon. It was written day by day, but not with any idea of publication, differing sharply in this from Las Cases' famous 'Mémorial' and O'Meara's equally famous 'Voice from St Helena,' which are rather political pamphlets upon a gigantic scale, composed with the object of furthering Napoleon's cause in France, than records of the truth. Gourgaud, moreover, has this great advantage, from the historian's point of view, that he is not above contradicting his master when he considers Napoleon in the wrong; and he is by no means a blind admirer. He is essentially truthful; if he were not he would never have left to posterity so much that reflects unfavourably upon his own temper and disposition. It is in his pages that we see the real Napoleon, *Napoléon intime*—to use M. Lévy's phrase—and this Napoleon is essentially the same as M. Lévy's, differing greatly from the figure created by the feminine bitterness of Madame de Rémusat, who, if we may hazard a guess, liked Napoleon none too well because he had rejected her advances. In fact, where he is in question, she is as untrustworthy in her memoirs as Madame de Staël.

No memoirs contain so many characteristic sayings of Napoleon as do Gourgaud's two volumes; here alone we have the great man, posing no longer before the intelligent interviewer, but speaking something which approximated to the real beliefs of his heart. Thiébault, whose five volumes appeared between 1893 and 1895, is of scarcely less value, though his evidence bears upon Napoleon's character as reflected in his acts rather than in his words. He covers the whole period from the outbreak of the Revolution to the final fall of the great Emperor, but he has this disadvantage, that he wrote in 1837-38, many years after the events which he describes. He tells us that at times he used notes taken from day to day; and his account of the wonderful interview with Napoleon at Valladolid, which at every turn reproduces the Emperor's words, proves that he did so. But there are other occasions when it is difficult not to feel almost as suspicious of his veracity as of Marbot's. An able and distinguished officer, he rose from the grade of grenadier to general of division, served on the staff of such brilliant leaders as Masséna and Junot, and was entrusted by Napoleon with responsible commands. But he was corrupt,* and he had an exaggerated idea of his own importance, and even fancied that Napoleon had stolen from him the plan of the Marengo campaign. For his spirit, epigrams, and good stories, as well as for the information which he gives on the inner history of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic armies, he will, however, be pardoned by any reader. His mordant sketches of the generals he hates, such as Davoût and Soult; his tales of the fantastic extravagances of Junot, which culminated in that general's appearing at a public reception without a shred of clothing other than pumps, orders, sword-belt, and cocked hat; his anecdotes of the Emperor and the imperial entourage, among which is the unforgettable picture of Napoleon tearing across the lonely guerilla-haunted mountains of Spain *au grandissime galop*, attended only by Savary, and covering in twenty-three hours seventy miles; his wonderful chapters—a masterpiece of irony, invective, and pathos—describing

* Napoleon, speaking of him to Junot, calls him 'a man of no delicacy, who has taken a great deal of money at Fulda' ('Correspondance,' 13,351). Yet, reading Thiébault, one would suppose him the most upright and virtuous of men.

the incidents of the *Cent Jours*—these must place him among the immortals, and not even his attitude of ‘Oh, what a good boy am I!’ can deprive him of that place.

Of recent studies in English, Lord Rosebery’s monograph is in some respects far the most striking, though it is impossible to say that it contains much that is new. Its interest is mainly subjective—a statesman’s study of a statesman and soldier. It is written with judgment, brilliance, insight, and epigram. It paints Napoleon less vividly than his surroundings; the great man himself is somewhat of a shadow among a series of miniatures. But the artistic effect is admirable. The impression of Napoleon’s solitude, and of the immensity of his fall, is heightened by the pettiness of the persons by whom he was surrounded and the meanness of the squabbles in which he was involved. Of the conduct of the British Government towards their prisoner we shall have something more to say presently. Professor Sloane is an impartial—and, we fear we must add, a somewhat indigestible—summariser of facts, and does not always understand Napoleon’s character. For instance, he does not believe that the Emperor really intended to invade England in 1803. Yet no one who recalls Napoleon’s extraordinary audacity, his gambling spirit and his belief in his destiny, can feel serious doubts on this head. Though generally accurate and trustworthy, Professor Sloane’s work is disfigured by some curious mistakes; for instance, he often talks of shrapnel in the French battles, though shrapnel was first used in Wellington’s army and was never adopted by Napoleon. Judge O’Connor Morris, in his book on the campaign of 1815, has given us an English work little inferior to Mr Ropes’s learned and admirable study; he is, perhaps, the first British writer to do full justice to the Emperor. Apparently he had not read Gourgaud’s ‘*Sainte Hélène*,’ which would have helped him on one or two disputed points. Lady Malcolm’s St Helena diary gives information on the relations between Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe; while the Marquis de Montchenu’s reports tell us much about Gourgaud and his doings.

To what extent do these works throw new light upon the character of Napoleon? It should be remembered, especially when dealing with the voluminous St Helena literature, that the character of a profoundly impression-

able man,* such as Napoleon clearly was, does not remain fixed, and that it by no means follows that he was at St Helena what he had been in 1805 or 1795. Nor of such a man can we reel off strings of epithets, each with an appropriate anecdote, after the manner of the brilliant Taine. 'His Majesty's character,' says Gourgaud, 'is a combination of contrasts.' Each quality attributed needs qualification. When, for example, Taine tells us that 'any sign of independence annoyed him; that, towards the end, he tolerated around him only captive and submissive minds,' we ask, Is this really true? and, for answer, recall Napoleon's infinite patience with the querulous contradictory Gourgaud at St Helena, or with his officers in the Saxon Campaign of 1813.

'An officer,' says Odeleben, a by no means friendly witness on the Emperor's staff, 'whom Napoleon had perhaps reproached with the failure of some enterprise, might be seen defending himself from his horse on parade, in presence of a hundred persons, composed of generals and other officers, with a vivacity and gestures which occasioned some alarm on his account. But Napoleon took no notice of these acts of presumption, and remained silent.'

'Nothing is easier,' said Foy, fresh from an interview in which he had to tell Napoleon the most bitter truths about the war in Spain, 'than to talk to the Emperor, when one has anything to tell him, but woe to the man who has only phrases to inflict upon him!' †

Thiébaud, in the painful Valladolid *tête-à-tête*, where he had to explain to the Emperor the causes of Junot's defeat in Portugal, and at times to contradict the great master of war, bears evidence to Napoleon's forbearance. 'Gentlemen,' Rapp represents him as saying to his officers, 'I have summoned you here not to echo my views, but to hear your opinion. Tell me what you think.' But instances could be multiplied to almost any extent, though no doubt there were times when Napoleon, after mature and careful reflection and decision, impatiently refused to listen to advice. It will generally be found that in

* 'Ma nature est tout impressionable,' Montholon (ed. Brussels, 1846), *Histoire de la Captivité*, ii, 32.

† 'Vie Militaire du Général Foy,' 114.

such cases he had knowledge not possessed by those who tendered the advice.

So, too, in studying a great and exceptional character, it is well to analyse traits which at first sight may appear reprehensible. Thus Madame de Caulaincourt, speaking to Foy in 1814 of the Emperor's possible return and its results, said: 'Oh, you will see that he will pardon all the world. He has so low an opinion of men that he will regard the blackest treason and the vilest cowardice as simple and natural actions.'* Damning evidence of brutal cynicism this, it will be said, coming from one so near to and so familiar with Napoleon. Yet there are certain words in the diary of another great man, which may, perhaps, shed a light upon Napoleon's inmost thoughts, and prove that the cynicism was not so brutal after all.

'I am inclined,' wrote General Gordon in Khartum, '(satani-
cally I own) to distrust everyone, i.e. I trust everyone. I believe that circumstances may arise when self-interest will almost compel your nearest relative to betray you to some extent. Man is an essentially treacherous animal.'

The general result of recent Napoleonic literature is to negative the darkest conception of Napoleon's character, that conception embodied by Lanfrey in a work reeking with hatred of a dynasty which he personally detested. No sane person can now believe that Napoleon delighted in crime or in wrong-doing. Italian he was in temperament; condottiere, perhaps, in the famous phrase appropriated by Taine from Stendhal's arsenal, yet he does not reproduce the darker features of Italian mediævalism; with a Corsican passionateness, betraying him at times into such acts of violence as executing the Duc d'Enghien, and kicking Volney in the stomach for one of those phrases which he detested, he is yet, in Lord Rosebery's words, 'not so black as he has been painted.' Seeley and Ropes have pointed out that the condition of France rendered Cæsarism inevitable, and that he cannot justly be accused of the offence of usurpation. France has always gravitated towards a more or less despotic form of monarchy; and the permanence of the present Republic has been due rather to the absence of any eligible pretender than to any deep affection for Republican institutions.

* 'Vie Militaire du Général Foy,' 258.

But the breakdown of system and tradition in France, though it favoured Napoleon's rise, contributed in no small degree to his fall. In it lurked the germ of defeat, the demoralisation of an army in which strict discipline was impossible and in which the gravest irregularities were condoned. The destruction of all institutions, while it cleared the way for the new structure of his Empire, left men unsettled and prepared for continual change. No one could be fully trusted. Napoleon himself was painfully conscious of his parvenu birth and his Corsican origin, which rendered him distasteful to the French nobility and an object of perpetual gibes to such officers as Moreau. Probably he sincerely wished for peace, but found that, in the existing temper of France, peace and the maintenance of his dynasty were incompatible. Only thus can the rupture with England and with Europe be explained.

If it was ultimately the fact that he was a parvenu, and uneasy as to his position, that in 1803 and 1805 drove Napoleon to war, the same sense of instability speedily began to react upon the efficiency of his army. In the first place he dared not and could not enforce strict discipline. War to the French soldier was welcome, because it meant loot and plunder. Thiébaux gives numerous examples of the disorders prevalent even in the divisions that marched to Austerlitz, at the time when the Napoleonic army was at its very best. Pillage and straggling were the commonest of incidents; officers were threatened, and a general who made vigorous attempts to preserve discipline was asked how he dared to touch 'a soldier of the Emperor.' Such an army might do very well so long as it was victoriously campaigning in fertile territory, but it fell to pieces in the mud of Poland, the mountains of Spain, and the frozen wastes of Russia.

Another disadvantage arising from the 'irregularity' of France was that Napoleon could keep no second in command—no head to plan and arm to strike when he was absent, standing in the same relation to him as Stonewall Jackson to Lee. 'If,' he said to Gourgaud, 'I had had a man like Turenne to second me in my campaigns, I should have been master of the world; but I had no one. When I was not present myself, my lieutenants were beaten.' It is obvious that any officer occupying so lofty

a position must have been dangerous to Napoleon, or, if not to him personally, to the dynasty which he hoped to found. Stendhal has commented upon the affection for mediocrity which Napoleon displayed late in his reign, but the cause was certainly political, supposing the fact be admitted. It does not seem that his later years produced many eminent men. The wave of Revolutionary exaltation had spent its force, and France was no longer breeding great soldiers and statesmen. The greatest of the Napoleonic generals were dead on the field of battle or worn out by incessant campaigning, so that it was not altogether the Emperor's fault if he had mediocrities about him.

Another cause of danger bequeathed by the Revolution was the financial exhaustion of France. Under ignorant and incompetent administrators the country had been brought to the verge of bankruptcy. Napoleon, to maintain his army and to bestow largesses upon his generals, was inexorably driven to continual wars, which necessitated the levying of vast impositions on the conquered territories. He had to make war support war, though this had always been an axiom on the Continent and was in no sense an innovation. Thus he alienated the peoples of the countries through which his armies marched, when they had been at first by no means ill-disposed to him. Had he been able to administer the conquered territory on the east of the Rhine in the same manner as the German provinces on the left bank, which had been annexed to France in the Revolutionary war, it is at least possible that this spirit would not have been called into existence.

'In 1814,' says von Müffling,* 'among the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine we found a kind of stolid indifference prevailing towards Germany, her language and customs. All interests had turned to France. . . . The German language was almost forgotten. Such were the fruits of French possession after hardly twenty years' rule. Ten years more, and the German character would have perished for ever.'

Von der Goltz has told us how effusively and enthusiastically Berlin received the French army after Jena. The anti-French feeling was caused by French excesses; it did not exist in 1807.

* 'Passages from My Life,' 204-205.

Again, it was Napoleon's feeling of insecurity that led to the divorce and to the Austrian marriage, the incident which, according to his own words, was more than any other responsible for his fall. He felt that if he was to stand, if he was ever to have peace, he must enter the sacred circle of royalty, by taking as his wife a princess of royal blood. His own wish was for an alliance with the Russian Imperial house. Seeley, writing before Vandal* had examined the facts with scrupulous care, is on this head unjust to Napoleon. He accuses him of 'some malignant vice of nature,' because he broke off the negotiations with Russia, and of offering a direct affront to Alexander. But Vandal shows most conclusively that Alexander, and not Napoleon, was at fault. The Russians actually extracted from Napoleon the promise that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established, as a condition of granting the hand of their princess; but then they would not fulfil their part of the bargain, and attempted to put Napoleon off with evasive talk. Only after this rebuff did he break with the Czar and marry Marie Louise. It would seem that from that time Alexander determined upon war with France, and that Napoleon, divining his intention, made ready to strike.

On the other hand, it is impossible to justify his seizure of Spain. That act could in no way conduce to the stability of his empire, as Spain was not to be feared, and was not likely to rebel against the Continental system. From the military standpoint it was equally inexpedient, as he still had his hands full of the war with England, and trouble was already threatening him from Austria. His error of judgment proved disastrous beyond all expectation, and he himself afterwards acknowledged at St Helena the enormity of his mistake. It is known that here again, as in the fatal affair of the Duc d'Enghien, he was egged on by Talleyrand†—Talleyrand, whom Lanfrey pretends to think the genius of moderation—and by

* 'Napoléon et Alexandre I,' ii, 167-197.

† Talleyrand's 'Memoirs' on this head, as on every other, are quite worthless. We have Pasquier's much more trustworthy evidence as to the part which the treacherous diplomatist played. (Pasquier, 'Memoirs,' English translation, i, 350-351.) Pasquier even goes so far as to hint that the original impulse came from Talleyrand. Lord Rosebery suggests that Talleyrand approved of the end, but not of the means; yet Pasquier expressly states that 'Napoleon's policy met with his [Talleyrand's] fullest approval.'

Fouché, the most sinister personality of the Napoleonic epoch. It is probable, too, that family influence was brought to bear upon him. His brothers, from motives of ambition, hoping each to rule the new acquisition, were eager to see the Bourbons deposed and Spain brought under the influence of Napoleon. Joseph, for all his disclaimers later in life, was worrying the Emperor to give him preferment. But it is a perfectly true criticism that these subtle influences cannot condone Napoleon's offence, though they may extenuate it. There are times when the statesman, if he be true to himself and his country, must resist the impulsion of events and environment.

Before returning the final verdict upon this, as upon every other of Napoleon's crimes, recent precedents and the nature of the times must be taken into consideration. In dwelling upon the lawlessness of Napoleon's proceedings, contemporary and even later writers have been too ready to forget that this peculiar lawlessness did not originate with him. Louis XIV's seizures of Luxemburg, Strassburg, and other places, afford an eminent example of violence and perfidy. Frederick the Great's invasion of Silesia in profound peace was a piece of brigandage as bad as the treacherous attack on Spain; the partition of Poland was as indefensible as the worst of Napoleon's aggressions. Prussia, Austria, and Russia at various times made themselves accomplices in Napoleon's lawless acts. True, no one of them was lawless upon so gigantic a scale; but that, if we may guess from their subsequent history, was simply because their rulers lacked Napoleon's energy and capacity. Nor in the Napoleonic diplomacy was there anything worse than Bismarck's 're-insurance' treaty, which German opinion of our own day condones and justifies, or than the attack upon Denmark in 1864 and the subsequent manoeuvres by which Prussia appropriated the spoil.

In the same way the outrage upon the Duc d'Enghien may at least be paralleled. It was really no worse than the murder of the French envoys at Rastatt; not much worse than the seizure of Lafayette—that windbag of whom American sentiment has made a hero—upon neutral soil, and his internment in an Austrian fortress. Even the hands of England are not perfectly clean. If our authorities did not directly assist the Royalist plotters against Napoleon's life, they at least winked at their machina-

tions. Whatever his faults, Napoleon was not at the bottom bloodthirsty or cruel; he was, however, prone to outbursts of passion, when he was capable of crimes of which he repented bitterly in his calmer moments. All that we can say of Napoleon is that in this respect he was not ahead of his times or exempt from the failings of most absolute rulers.

We have now examined some of the causes which contributed to Napoleon's fall; and for the most part they are external causes. To those already enumerated must be added the fact that he was at once the supreme soldier and supreme civil authority in the State. At the outset this was an advantage. He could wage war with the whole energy of the nation. In many governments, especially the British, a grave source of weakness arises from the fact that the politicians do not understand war or realise to what extent the issue of most struggles is determined by preparations and movements made long before war begins, and that they do not give their full confidence to the soldier. It is matter of history that the British Government failed to support Wellington at some most critical moments, and too often turned a deaf ear to his requests. The Austrian Aulic Council confused and embarrassed its generals. Napoleon, from the days of the Consulate onward, had a perfectly free hand. Almost as complete unity of direction is attained in the Germany of our day, where the Emperor as commander-in-chief accompanies the army, while acting as head of the State; though it is true that executive military authority resides with his Chief-of-the-Staff, and that he is not embarrassed with details to the same extent as was Napoleon.

But as the French Empire extended and the times became critical in France, Napoleon's energy was apt to be engrossed by political affairs, when he should rather have been thinking of his army. The best example of this is seen in the Waterloo campaign, when the physical weariness of which he gave clear signs, and which had such disastrous results, was probably due in part to the double burden on his shoulders—a burden all the more oppressive since Soult, his Chief-of-the-Staff, was new to his work, and Napoleon had to attend to everything. Even in the Saxon campaign of 1813 the strain had become apparent. Stendhal has pointed out that the night after the battle

of Leipzig was entirely occupied with political correspondence, and that, in consequence, the orders for the retreat were not issued in time to prevent catastrophe.

Other conditions which had contributed to his success were bound to pass away in the natural course of events. As he aged, he lost something of that readiness to face the most desperate risks on the battlefield, which had marked his generalship at its best, and more than once brought victory in earlier days. At Borodino he failed to gain a decisive victory, because at the crisis he refused to employ his Guard. He wanted it, he said, in the event of disaster. The Napoleon of the Italian campaigns would have argued that, if disaster came, it would not much matter whether the Guard were intact or not, while if it were allowed to complete the Russian defeat, no disaster would be possible. A momentary loss of nerve loses an empire. So at Malojarslavetz he failed to display his old obstinacy when it might have saved him. Then, too, in his earlier days he had to deal with opponents who did not make remorseless war, who, like the Prussians, did not dare to requisition food and fuel on the eve of Jena, who feared losses because soldiers were expensive, who were old, lethargic, routine-bound, and incapable of daring conceptions, whose blunders at every turn, as Thiébault says, could be trusted to give the genius of Napoleon the required opening, and who did not employ the whole energy of the State; while the soldiers of the armies with which he had to contend were as listless and wanting in enthusiasm as his own men were '*électrisés au dernier degré.*'

These conditions were reversed in the years of disaster, 1812-15. His opponents have toiled in his school and profited by his teaching. Men of a new stamp, with his iron determination and utter ruthlessness, have come to the front. Blücher and Gneisenau lead the organism which the genius of Scharnhorst has created. Prussians have learned what it means to be conquered by such an enemy; their statesmen have fostered a national enthusiasm which carries the shoeless battalions of Landwehr cheering through the mud into battle, and at Ligny and Plancenoit leads them to offer so desperate a resistance that the French are amazed. Even in Russians and Austrians the same spirit is noticeable, though in a less marked degree.

and the jealousies of the three allies are composed by the clear perception that if they do not destroy Napoleon he will destroy them. Now it is the French army which has lost its spirit and its zeal. Officers and men are weary of war. 'My friend,' says Duroc to a comrade, 'we shall all die on the field of battle.' This lassitude is no strange phenomenon. Von der Goltz has noted it as a feature in the German operations round Paris in the winter of 1870; Colonel Henderson in the American armies in 1863; innumerable correspondents in the British army of South Africa, during the later stages of the Boer war. The staff, the transport system, the commissariat, have broken down. Moreover, Napoleon begins to commit the very fault which he had most blamed in other generals. In 1813 he forgets his own maxim that it is vital to call in all detachments for the pitched battle, the issue of which may always depend upon a few battalions more or less. He scatters in various fortresses one hundred thousand men who might well have turned the scale at Leipzig. And the field of war, the numbers handled, have become so vast that, as Thiébault acutely observes, man is annihilated by space; and there is no longer any chance of those rapid and unexpected blows by which heretofore Napoleon had decided his campaigns. The growing insecurity of his position leads all the weather-cocks in France to dread his fall, and, in order to secure themselves whenever the fall should come, to intrigue with his enemies. Then, too, the French army is weakened by the presence of thousands of foreigners, many secretly hostile. Forty per cent. of Napoleon's force in the campaign of 1809 are non-French; sixty per cent. in 1812; seventy per cent. in 1813.

These causes, even without the much-debated physical deterioration of the Emperor, would account for his fall. Lord Rosebery gives some of the facts concerning the physical decline, though he does not notice the fit of vomiting which, according to Thiébault, Daru, and Ségur,* seized Napoleon in 1813 when he should have been following Schwartzénberg into Bohemia.

'It is noteworthy that throughout 1812, and notably at the battle of Borodino, when he was prostrate, those attached to his person, like Ségur, observed a remarkable change in his

* Ségur, 6, 138.

health and energy. Ségur, indeed, seems to attribute the morbid and feverish activity which drove him into that fatal expedition, to constitutional disease. Some vivid scraps of the notebook of Duroc, his closest attendant and friend, relating to the beginning of this war, have been preserved, which confirm this view: "Aug. 7. The Emperor in great physical pain. He took opium prepared by Méthivier. 'Duroc, one must march or die. An Emperor dies standing, and so does not die. . . . We must bring this fever of doubt to an end.'" On his return the change was more marked. Chaptal, a scientific observer of his master, says that it was remarkable.

It should be said that Ségur is not always trustworthy, and that the Emperor's illness at Borodino has been denied. But Baron Lejeune alludes to his being 'ill and suffering'; and there can be little doubt that the malady which had so fatal an influence on the Waterloo campaign had already made an appearance.

'He was suffering,' says Judge O'Connor Morris, 'from a disease of the lower bowel and of the bladder, which made riding exercise very painful, and also from strangury. The malady, however, which caused most mischief was an occasional suspension of the proper functions of the skin, which stopped perspiration, re-acted on the brain and nervous system, and produced lethargy for the time. When relieved from this affection his energy and the powers of his intellect were quickly restored.'

Possibly the famous and much criticised statement—'the health of his Majesty has never been better'—with which the 29th Bulletin concluded, was intended as an answer to the vague reports of his illness which had reached western Europe from Russia. It is certain that those about him were increasingly alarmed for his health in the years from 1812 to 1815. Chaptal, Charras, and Thiébault were all struck by the physical difference between the Napoleon of Marengo and the Napoleon of the era of defeat. Thiébault describes the profound impression which the Emperor produced on him in April 1815 as follows:—

'The more closely I examined him, the less able I was to discover the man I had known at the height of his physical force and grandeur. The impression which his appearance produced upon me, at the moment when destiny was about to

give its final decision between him and the world—that impression is always with me. His look, of old so terrible by reason of its penetration, had lost its power and intentness; his features, which I had so often seen radiant with grace, as though modelled in bronze, had lost all their expression, all their character of strength. His contracted mouth no longer retained its old magic. His head had no longer that carriage which marked the ruler of the world. His gait was as embarrassed as his countenance, and his gestures were uncertain. Every characteristic in him seemed to have deteriorated and degenerated. The ordinary pallor of his skin was replaced by a strongly pronounced greenish tint, which struck me. . . . My last look upon Napoleon filled me with sorrowful heaviness of heart. A prey to the blackest presentiments, I quitted the chateau where I was never more to see him.'

Yet when we recall the agony, physical and mental, through which he had passed—the sense that his house was tottering to its fall, that his comrades were abandoning him, and that his enemies had determined 'to meet upon his tomb'—his last years of rule and the *Cent Jours* remain one of the most extraordinary epochs of his life. Could any other man have done what he did in 1815—create a great army, which all but proved victorious in Belgium, in the space of three short months? There is no more astounding exhibition of human energy in history; and that the ceaseless mental effort which it required was succeeded by a violent reaction in the Waterloo campaign can be no cause for wonder. The brain cannot stand the prolonged strain of such prodigious and exhausting toil.

In his analysis of that campaign Judge O'Connor Morris has been able to use the admirable study of Housaye, which has finally cleared up many of the disputed points. The additional evidence given by Gourgaud has not, however, been employed by him. Yet we now know from Gourgaud that Ney had talked to Napoleon, in Gourgaud's presence, of the supreme importance of *Quatre Bras**; and this gave good reason to suppose that Ney would lose no time in seizing the position, even apart from any orders. We learn that at least one explanation of the failure to pursue the Prussians vigorously after Ligny was the desperate obstinacy of the Prussian resistance.

* Gourgaud, 'Sainte-Hélène, i, 502.

'Vous savez,' says the Emperor, 'comme la bataille a été chaude jusqu'au dernier moment.' Where this is the case, pursuit has always been difficult. We hear from the Emperor's lips that he felt he ought to have fought Waterloo on June 17th, though elsewhere he speaks of the rain of that day as having ruined him.* Nor can anyone, who recalls the part which the artillery played in all the Emperor's battles, fail to see that the necessity of allowing the ground to dry sufficiently to permit of the movement of the guns was a strong reason for delaying the attack on the morning of June 18th. In a clay quagmire the manœuvring of the artillery would have been quite impossible. Captain Ingilby, of the British Horse Artillery, whose evidence will be found in Siborne's 'Waterloo Letters,' observes that the horses of his guns sank up to the girths in the middle of the battle; and Captain Mercer notes that the state of the ground, as much as the exhaustion of his gunners, prevented the running up of his guns after each round and gradually brought the weapons into a confused heap. All these are facts which would greatly influence an artillery general, such as Napoleon was; and to say with Judge O'Connor Morris that the delay in attacking was his greatest error, is to ascribe to him a power over the elements which even he did not possess.

On the vexed question whether he gave the order to Guyot to charge with the heavy cavalry of the Guard, or not, Gourgaud's memoirs give valuable information. Montholon maintains that it is an incontrovertible fact that Napoleon did give the order. The evidence for this assertion, however, is not produced; and, knowing what we do of Gourgaud's character, we may be sure that if the giving of the order had been notorious, he would not have allowed the Emperor's statement to pass unchallenged. Three times does Napoleon recur to the subject.† On the first occasion he says: 'I thought I had the mounted grenadiers in reserve. . . . An officer had given the order to Guyot to advance, as though from me.' On the second

* Cf. Montholon, 'Histoire de la Captivité' (ed. 1846, Brussels), i, 160, where Napoleon speaks of 'the pelting rain which so soaked the ground that it was impossible for me to attack at daybreak [of the 18th].' Gourgaud, i, 174; ii, 159.

† Gourgaud, i, 196, 347, 503.

occasion he says: 'I lost the battle of Waterloo through the mistake of an orderly, who gave Guillot [Guyot] the order to engage.' On the third he says: 'How could Guyot, who was my last reserve, charge without my order? I had much too young orderlies.' These three statements are made at wide intervals of time; they all agree; and it is difficult to believe that they do not represent the truth. It is certainly surprising to find that Judge O'Connor Morris nowhere refers to them.

Thiébauld gives a mournful picture of the scene upon Napoleon's return to Paris, fresh from disastrous defeat. We can respect the French general who in this hour, when so many were playing the Emperor false, dared to pay him the last respects of a comrade and soldier.

'Entering the palace [of the Elysée] I was struck by the solitude which reigned there. The gallery was deserted: twelve or fifteen people, at the outside, were in the room on which it opened. Just as I arrived, a door close to where I stood swung back. Napoleon appeared. I made two steps forward, and bowing more humbly than usual, "Sire," I said, "permit me to lay at your feet the expression of a devotion as profound as it is respectful." "You must think rather of France at this moment," he replied. "More than ever, sire, you are her last resource." He looked steadily at me, must have seen my emotion, raised his eyes, and passed on. . . . Such were the last words which I exchanged with this extraordinary man. I was overcome with emotion, heart-broken at his noble expression, which had regained all its old calm, all its former beauty.'

Even more moving was that terrible scene at Malmaison, where, as Hortense afterwards told, Napoleon, with a capacity for deep emotion which his detractors have denied him, flung himself in a paroxysm of grief upon the bed in which Josephine had died, calling upon her by name. So vivid is the picture that the white tear-stained faces of the witnesses seem to rise before us, silent before a grief which now only the advent of death could assuage.

Did Napoleon, in that darkest moment of his life, seek to have done with existence? According to Thiébauld, he took poison; but the story seems to be only a muddled version of what occurred at Fontainebleau in 1814; and

neither Fleury de Chaboulon nor Montholon, both of whom were in attendance, allude to the incident. On the other hand, if he had attempted suicide at Fontainebleau, he was even more likely to repeat the attempt when his chances were still more desperate. He had little doubt as to what would have happened to him had he fallen into the hands of the Bourbons or the Prussians. Blücher, we know,* was for shooting him on the grave of the Duc d'Enghien; the British Government openly expressed the hope that Louis XVIII would hang or shoot him; and Louis could not have been expected to show any compunction. Napoleon professed to believe that if he threw himself on the mercy of the British he would be allowed to live in England; but Lord Rosebery has marshalled the obvious and conclusive objections to this, and they must have occurred to Napoleon. Whatever French writers may say, there was nothing treacherous or unjust in sending him to St Helena. Though the Allies and the French Government had been largely responsible for the return from Elba, by withdrawing his allowance, depriving his son of his inheritance in Italy, and keeping his wife from him, that return had shown him to be still possessed of boundless daring and energy. Mr Ropes, whose opinion is the more valuable because his sympathies are usually with Napoleon, considers that 'there was really nothing else to do with him than to consign him to some distant spot from which he would be unable to escape. For this purpose St Helena was no doubt as good as any other island.'

But, St Helena having been selected as a prison, the British Government might have been more merciful to the captive. Lord Rosebery is the first modern writer to examine exhaustively the evidence as to the Emperor's treatment; and his verdict may be accepted as generally just. The gaoler chosen, Sir Hudson Lowe,

'was a narrow, ignorant, irritable man, without a vestige of tact or sympathy. "His manner," says the apologetic Forsyth, "was not prepossessing, even in the judgment of favourable friends." "His eye," said Napoleon, on first seeing him, "is that of a hyæna caught in a trap." Lady Granville, who saw him two years after he had left St Helena, said that he had

* Müffling, 'Passages from my Life,' 274.

the countenance of a devil. We are afraid (says Lord Rosebery) that we must add that he was not what we should call in the best sense a gentleman. . . . Lowe was a specially ill choice, for a reason external to himself. He had commanded the Corsican Rangers, a regiment of Napoleon's subjects and fellow-countrymen in arms against France, and therefore, from that sovereign's point of view, a regiment of rebels and deserters.'

Such is Lord Rosebery's characterisation of the man on whom depended the amenity or otherwise of Napoleon's captivity. The instructions given him prove that the British Ministry had no wish to temper the sufferings of the fallen Emperor. Lord Rosebery comments severely upon the withholding of the title of Emperor, and the absurd persistency in re-christening the captive 'General Buonaparte,' pin-pricks which were worthy of the Bathursts and Liverpools who then controlled our administration. Lowe and the British admiral charged with taking out Napoleon pretended indeed not to know who was meant by 'the Emperor'—the Emperor with whose fame Europe had been ringing for the past ten years! One can understand how galling this solemn fooling must have been to Napoleon and his companions. A parvenu, he clung pathetically to his dignity, and no possible harm could have been done by giving him at least the title of Ex-Emperor.

A second point in which the British Government was ungenerous was in the money allowance for the expenses of the Emperor's household. Everything in St Helena was four times as dear as in France or England, and 8000*l.* was a sum on which a household of fifty-one persons, accustomed to great luxury, could not exist with ordinary decency. Napoleon himself, even in his greatest days, had never been extravagant. He had felt the bitterness of extreme poverty in his youth, and he was again to experience it in his decline. It was assumed by the British at the time, as it is concluded by Lord Rosebery, that he had large funds at his own disposal, but this does not really seem to have been the case. There was a deposit of 200,000*l.* with Lafitte, the Paris banker; but the trouble was to get at it without revealing its existence to the Bourbon Government, which would certainly have laid hands upon it. Moreover, on at least one occasion, as we know from his mother's letters, drafts of his were dis-

honoured.* A sum of 32,000*l.* was in the hands of Prince Eugène, but this would not go far. The family of Napoleon were by no means well off, and they were hard pressed to find anything beyond the 6,000*l.* a year which the Lafitte deposit appears to have yielded. We do not, then, agree with Lord Rosebery that Napoleon had 'ample funds.' No wonder his followers found it extremely hard to get money out of him. Gourgaud's efforts to obtain a pension for his mother run through a whole volume.

Ultimately the Government saw that the allowance of 8000*l.* was too small, since Lowe could never actually reduce the expenses below 17,000*l.*, a large part of which was provided by Napoleon himself and his followers. The allowance was therefore raised to 12,000*l.* It is only fair to Sir Hudson to say that he made strong representations on this point, and took a considerable risk in sanctioning an expenditure greater than the Government had fixed.

A third grievance—and a legitimate one—was the manner in which Napoleon was housed. Longwood was a miserable, rambling, one-storied building, over-run by rats, and with little accommodation. It was hot and uncomfortable; its environs were shadeless. At last, after long delay, a new house was built for the Emperor, but it was not ready till January 1821, when he was a dying man and not inclined to move. The mere fact that the house was sent out from England and erected is, however, evidence that the complaints of Longwood were justified.

The fourth grievance of the Emperor and his followers was the extreme stringency of the precautions taken to prevent intercourse with the outer world and escape. Lord Rosebery holds that escape was impossible, and that more freedom might have been allowed. But on this point it is difficult to pronounce with certainty. There were plots to rescue the Emperor, though possibly not of a very dangerous nature.

Far more serious complaints than those enumerated were made by Napoleon's followers at the time. It was alleged that Sir Hudson Lowe had approached O'Meara, Napoleon's Irish surgeon, with the suggestion of using poison. The charge has always been received in England with angry incredulity; and it used to be said by the

* Larrey, 'Mme Mère,' II, 221.

apologists of Lowe that 'there was no hint or trace of anything that can justify the supposition in O'Meara's letters.' But the original journals of O'Meara, which have only lately been examined, show that the entry, declared by Forsyth to have been fabricated afterwards, was made at the date under which it appears in the 'Voice from St Helena,' and in substantially the same form, at a time when he was on the best of terms with Sir Hudson Lowe. It was probably due to some misunderstanding, since the worst that is known of Sir Hudson gives no countenance to the idea that he would have made himself an accomplice in a most atrocious crime. Nor does Napoleon himself appear to have believed the tale, when at home and not acting before the world, since he tells Gourgaud: 'I can do what I like with the Governor's reputation. Everything that I say about him, about his bad treatment of me, and of his ideas of poisoning me, will be believed.'* This is not the tone of a man who really thinks that his life is endangered by poison.

Lord Rosebery has dwelt upon the general kindness and patience exhibited by the Emperor towards his followers at St Helena. Occasionally he may be brutal, as when he tells Gourgaud that the mother for whom the pension has been so assiduously sought will be dead long before Gourgaud gets back to Paris; or underbred, as when he tells Madame Bertrand, after his old Tuileries fashion, that she is ill-dressed, that she is like a shopkeeper's wife out for Sunday, and that she has no teeth; but he bears contradiction and ceaseless peevish complaints from Gourgaud with something verging upon angelic patience. Yet this is not a new phase of his character. It is simply the Napoleon whom we seem to discover at every turn when we consult his intimates and go behind the evidence of those who, like Chaptal, only knew him in public life, or who, like Madame de Rémusat, had been slighted by him. Behind his brusque speech and his rough manners, there was at times visible something very like a warm and loving heart. 'Vraiment bon' is Thiébault's description of him. 'Si bon, si généreux,' says Rapp. In his prosperity he did not forget his old friends; in his adversity he was followed by a small band of the

* Gourgaud, ii, 414.

faithful—and this when there was no longer any worldly advantage to be gained by faithfulness. ‘I have made courtiers, not friends,’ he said; but, after all, in what relation stand Montholon and Bertrand to him, if not in that of the truest and bravest of friends? His mask of cynicism is lifted by such facts.

On his public character the course of history has pronounced sentence. He failed and brought ruin upon his country, yet, as we have seen, largely through causes which he could not wholly control—most of all, perhaps, the very greatness of his genius, which, whatever the status of France, must always have rendered him dangerous to the neighbouring Powers. He stimulated the very forces which were to be most fatal to France—the sense of nationality in Italy and Germany, and the growth of the colonial Empire of England. But it was his work to clear the ground for the new edifices of the century. In this sense he was, to use Lord Rosebery’s phrase, ‘the scavenger of God.’ His iron impact made Germany what she has become in our time; and everywhere on the Continent his was eventually a revivifying influence. Nothing, where he had passed, was as it was before.

Was he a good man? asks Lord Rosebery, dubiously: and he answers, though reluctantly, in the affirmative. Morally good, as the saints have understood the phrase, he was not. But he was unmoral rather than immoral, and unmoral because of his unhappy environment. He grew up in an age when religion and morality were making shipwreck in the Revolutionary excesses; and it is small wonder that he was Pagan at heart in his earliest days. Lord Rosebery has traced in his character the development of that spirit which the Greeks called *ὑβρις*, and for which we have no precise English equivalent. But he adds that Napoleon, ‘until he chose to make a demigod of himself . . . was kind, generous, and affectionate; at any rate . . . he was certainly not the reverse.’ Even so measured a panegyric may surprise his detractors; but the latest evidence on Napoleon’s character convinces us that Lord Rosebery errs, if in any direction, upon the safe side.

Art. X.—THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

1. *Boer Politics*. By Yves Guyot. Translated from the French. London : John Murray, 1900.
2. *The Settlement after the War in South Africa*. By M. J. Farrelly, LL.D. London : Macmillan, 1900.
3. *The Renascence of South Africa*. By A. R. Colquhoun. London : Hurst and Blackett, 1900.
4. *British Africa*. (British Empire Series, Vol. II.) London : Kegan Paul, 1899.
5. *Farming Industries of Cape Colony*. By Robert Wallace. London : P. S. King and Son, 1896.
6. *Report of the Inspector of Water Drills for 1897*. Cape of Good Hope Department of Agriculture. [G. 30—'98.]
7. *Special Report on Colonial Irrigation and Hydrographic Survey*. Cape of Good Hope Public Works Department. [G. 76—'99.]
8. *Vigilance Papers*. I-X. Cape Town : South African Vigilance Committee, 1900.
9. *Reports of the 'Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg-Maatschappij'*. Published in the 'Staats-Courant,' Pretoria.
10. *Reports of the Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines*. A. Barsdorf and Co., Wool Exchange, London.

(I.) *State Finance and Industrial Enterprise.*

INDUSTRIAL and commercial expansion in South Africa must depend so materially upon the policy of the British Government that no intelligent discussion of the subject is possible without first determining the sum, if any, which that country will be called upon to contribute towards the cost of the war. Can we arrive at any general principles which will aid in the solution of this question? The investigation may be divided into two parts—firstly, considerations of justice or equity; secondly, financial resources and expedients.

Was the war undertaken to defend Imperial or local interests? If the former, it is obviously the duty of Great Britain to meet the outlay out of the Imperial Exchequer; if the latter, then South Africa ought in time to refund the whole cost with interest; if both, then the problem is to

determine the proportions chargeable to each. That the position of Great Britain in South Africa was challenged by the two Republics is now acknowledged upon all sides; and that the possession at least of the Cape is vital to the Empire needs no profound study of geography to appreciate. Was the war waged to remedy the Uitlanders' grievances, or to wrest the rich gold-fields from the Transvaal, or to defend our general rights as paramount Power, from which the loss or retention of the Cape is certainly inseparable?

There is no difficulty in answering this question. Mr Kruger's ultimatum was the natural outcome of a succession of events which made a struggle for supremacy inevitable. Upon this ground the bill should be entirely paid by this country. But there are other considerations. We have occupied the territory of the Boer Republics, and we have taken possession of what their Governments have left us as State property. We step, in fact, into their shoes, and we are entitled to make the most we can out of the assets that accrue to us. There is a vast difference between turning these to the most profitable account, and making the inhabitants of the country feel the iron heel of the conqueror. Had we restored the Transvaal and the Orange Free State to the Boers, we should have been justified in exacting an indemnity; but, as we have annexed those States, our position is altered. It may be urged that, since the inhabitants would have had to pay an indemnity had Presidents Kruger and Steyn been reinstated, they may with equal justice be made to pay now. But, in that case, the citizens would have had the State property to draw on for the indemnity, whereas now it has become an Imperial asset.

There are strong grounds, however, which warrant our placing a share of the cost of the war on the taxpayers of the Transvaal. The Uitlanders are to be freed from indignities and oppression; the waste of treasure, amounting approximately to 2,000,000*l.* per annum, in secret service, armaments, &c., will cease; the restrictive policy that obtained under the Kruger *régime*, which crippled industrial and mining operations with a view to limiting the foreign population, will disappear; and the fullest development of the resources of the country will be encouraged. But the contribution to be paid in considera-

tion of these benefits must not be such as to injure prosperity. The aim of the British Government should be to foster trade, not only that the new colonies may prosper, but also to increase the export trade of this country. To hinder this would be commercial and political folly. Any participation in the cost of the war must be so adjusted as to leave the population of the Transvaal under at least as good if not better conditions than those which existed during the Republic, or discontent of a most dangerous order will be the result, involving not only the Dutch but our own kinsmen.

But if, on these grounds, the Transvaal may be expected to contribute, why not also the Orange River Colony and the other colonies? The Imperial army was for many months engaged in repelling the invader from the Cape Colony and Natal, while these districts, together with the Orange River Colony, will profit, like the Transvaal, by the improvement of trade. If the individual in the Transvaal is to bear his share of the burden, why not also the individual in the other parts of South Africa? The question of the relative richness of the different communities may affect the proportion of the respective contributions, but it cannot affect the principle.

In the next place, assuming the cost of the war to be 100,000,000*l.* (an amount which is a mere guess, as operations are still proceeding), what proportion of that amount arises from the unprepared state of this country? Is South Africa to be saddled with any share of the expenditure traceable directly to War Office bungling and lack of foresight? The whole question is so complex, and the issues at stake so vital, that no hasty decision should be arrived at. The gravest consequences might follow any ill-considered legislation, fixing a specific sum as the share of the burden to be borne by the various provinces of South Africa. Either a Royal Commission or a carefully chosen Committee of the House of Commons should be appointed to examine thoroughly and report upon the subject; and its deliberations should be aided by the best expert financial testimony obtainable, by means of which a basis can probably be found at once satisfactory to the Imperial Government and to those who will have to pay. It is not a case for hasty adjustment, or for the arbitrary assessment of any definite sum, small or large, to please

the taxpaying electors at home, but is a problem that should be approached with infinite care.

The agricultural portions of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies are suffering grievously from the war, and the only source from which any considerable amount can be drawn is the Witwatersrand. That good government, the cancellation of monopolies, the better management of railways, &c., will result in placing the mining industry upon a much higher profit-earning basis than it enjoyed under President Kruger is certain; and the Imperial Government, having brought this change about, may fairly claim a proportion of the benefit as a matter of business, but not on political grounds. A considerable sum will be needed, when peace is restored, to assist the Boers themselves. A great number of their farms, probably a majority, are mortgaged; and as they are depleted of stock, and in many cases the homesteads are destroyed, capital will be needed for a fresh start. The value of the Boer homestead in the Transvaal rarely exceeds 100%, so that the destruction due to the war is of far less consequence than would be supposed by those who have in mind the farm-buildings usually met with in this country. Safeguards for the payment of interest and redemption of the loans can and must be devised; but assuming these precautions to have been taken, it is obviously the duty of the State to encourage the Dutch landowners to cultivate their farms and restock them, as well as to settle British farmer emigrants in the country. Such action will tend to obliterate the bitterness which the war must leave behind, and help to educate the Boer to be a loyal citizen of the Empire, which, having vanquished him, ministers to his needs.

For the benefit of South Africa the agricultural, pastoral, and other industries should be restarted as soon as possible. It may be found essential in some instances to grant State aid, as a temporary measure and as a matter of good policy, but it should be given with a sparing hand, and, apart from Englishmen, only to those Boers who declare their readiness to settle down as loyal subjects of the Crown. It is neither just nor politic that Boer refugees and the families of the men who are actually fighting against us should be well fed and cared for at the expense of this country, whilst British refugees are

left to starve or to subsist on charity. This true but anomalous circumstance appears indicative of a strange English characteristic, an exaggerated if not a perverted sense of justice. It may flatter our vanity to succour our foes, and we are entitled to the satisfaction of doing so if we first give succour to our friends; otherwise our superlative generosity becomes gross injustice.

After peace is proclaimed, it will be necessary, in addition to the mounted police force now being raised, to keep a large, if gradually decreasing, garrison in South Africa for two or three years. The additional expense due to keeping the troops in South Africa instead of in England should be borne by South Africa; for otherwise it would be the interest of the inhabitants to keep a large number of soldiers permanently there, since general trade must benefit by their presence. It must be made the business of every resident to get rid of them as soon as possible. It is highly probable that the revenue will not suffice to defray the cost of government and of this charge as well; so for a year or two the cost may be added to the capital sum for which South Africa is rendered liable. The total sum should be fixed as soon as is compatible with full examination, since the trade of the country will suffer and possessors of capital be afraid to embark in new enterprises, so long as the amount of the debt is undecided. It is therefore of great moment that the body chosen to report upon the question of South Africa's contribution to the cost of the war should begin its work as soon as possible. The interest and redemption charge, say $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in all, should be fixed; and if the revenue cannot meet it during the first few years, the deficit can be added to the capital. Probably the revenue, after a couple of years' resumption of work and normal conditions, will be sufficient to meet the outlay upon general administration, including the police force, which will involve an expenditure of about 3,000,000*l*.

The Commission appointed to investigate the proportions of cost that should be borne by this country and South Africa will also be in a position to report upon the respective amounts that can reasonably be demanded, not only from the Transvaal, but, on commercial grounds, from the Orange River Colony, as well as from the Cape and Natal. Great Britain can with justice insist that, owing to

her having annexed the Transvaal, a rapid development of the immense natural resources of that country will follow, which will bring considerable extra revenue to the aforementioned colonies; and their contributions should only become payable when the revenues exceed the amounts accruing in the best years during the existence of the Republics. To tax the revenues at once would cause great discontent: to claim a conditional share of contingent profits cannot be fairly objected to.

The Cape and Natal may with some show of reason contend that they have suffered by the invasion of the Transvaal and Free State burghers, and have therefore a claim against those States for damages sustained, which the Imperial Government, as successor in title, should satisfy. But the Government have already repudiated any pecuniary liability for damages caused by war; and it may be replied that, but for the British army, those countries would have become vassals or portions of the Boer States. Admitting, however, that an indemnity is due, it could at most only be deducted from the amount apportioned to those colonies as their share of the expenses of the war. Both these colonies being in the enjoyment of responsible government, it is not possible, except by friendly negotiation, to insist upon their bearing any share of the war cost. On the other hand, as it can be clearly demonstrated that they will benefit enormously as the result of the British administration of the late Republics, they should voluntarily agree to pay a share of outlay, more particularly as any legislation they may pass to that end can be so framed as not to be oppressive, and should only come into operation as the revenues increase. Should they refuse, the alternative is simple. The control of the trade will be in British hands; and customs regulations, coupled with railway rates, can be so arranged as to exact the contributions which they may refuse to make voluntarily.

Before touching in detail upon the effect which good government may have upon the industries of the Transvaal, let us summarise the preceding observations. First, the war is an Imperial war, necessary to the retention even of Cape Town as a British port; second, the possession of the Cape is vital to the existence of the Empire; consequently, the Imperial treasury should pay for the war.

But, thirdly, good government will ultimately prove of immense commercial benefit to South Africa, and a great saving in the cost of loans may be effected by a judicious use of the Imperial credit; therefore South Africa should contribute a reasonable share of the expense.

Sentimental or moral benefit can hardly be translated into money value, so the share of South Africa's profit that is claimed as a contribution towards expenses can be claimed only on commercial grounds. The gentlemen entrusted with the investigation into the financial outlook in South Africa, with a view to determining the respective shares of expense to be drawn from the different portions of that country, should keep in mind as a guiding principle not only the claims of Great Britain but the progressive future of South Africa. The problem is complex. Upon its solution depend the future relations of South Africa with this country, and the question whether that sub-continent is or is not to absorb a great proportion of our surplus population and of our trade—in fact, whether we are to lay the foundation for the building up of a great nation of South Africans in sympathy with, or in opposition to, the mother country. A share of the burden can no doubt be borne by South Africa without stunting the growth of good feeling towards Great Britain, if its weight be determined with judgment, and the strong arm of our national credit be made available to support the younger land until it has grown strong enough to stand alone.

Irresponsible persons who talk glibly about making the Transvaal mine-owners pay for the war do not realise that the prosperity of South Africa depends almost entirely upon the success of the mining industry, which cannot be crippled without detriment to the whole country; and moreover it should be remembered that any action which hampers the general development hits the bulk of the population, which is poor, much harder than the capitalists at whom it would be aimed, with the disastrous consequence of creating a hostile British as well as a hostile Dutch population. Any such insane policy would be sacrificing the hard-earned fruits of victory—nay, would infallibly produce a repetition of the gruesome spectacle now drawing to a close, or even a secession of the South African colonies from the Empire.

With regard to the finances of the future, no critical analysis of the statistics published by the late Transvaal Government is possible within the limits of this general glance at the subject; but an examination of the figures clearly indicates that, without raising the taxes, the revenue can be increased, and, with due regard to proper civil administration, the expenditure can be diminished. That is a satisfactory position to start from.

Neither the increase of population nor the development of the country during the five years from 1894 to 1898 accounts for the enormous increase of revenue and expenditure during that period. For this increase an explanation must be sought in other directions. Fixed salaries, for instance, rose from 419,775*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* in 1894 to 1,080,382*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* in 1898. It is highly probable that 500,000*l.* may be saved under this head. Outlay upon public works rose from 260,962*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* in 1894 to 1,012,866*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* in 1897, but was reduced to little more than half that amount in 1898. That a large portion of this outlay was devoted to preparations for war is certain, there being no visible public works of magnitude except armaments and forts to account for such expense. 'Sundry Services Account' appears to be a euphemistic title for secret service; it absorbed, on an average, about 140,000*l.* per annum during the period under review. 'Special Expenditure,' which figured at 330,181*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* in 1894, seems to have been an elastic account, the object of which is not declared. Under this heading 682,008*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* was spent in 1896 (the year in which the Reform prisoners were tried), but the sum was reduced to 211,910*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* in 1898. Upon 'War Department' the declared expenditure in 1894 only amounted to 28,158*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*, whilst in 1896, after the Raid, when Mr Kruger thought it unnecessary to cover up so much of the outlay under this head, it stood at 495,618*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, and in 1898 at 357,225*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* The total saving that can be effected cannot be determined until the new administration has been organised, but it is not improbable that about half the expenditure can be avoided. On the other hand, the mounted police force which will be required for some years will cost a larger sum than the most rigid retrenchment upon Mr Kruger's budget can save; and additional expenditure on justice and education will be necessary.

Turning to the 'Receipts,' it will be seen that, whilst the revenue was 2,247,728*l.* in 1894, it was slightly over 4,000,000*l.* in 1897 and slightly under that figure in 1898. The incidence of taxation might with advantage be changed in some particulars, but the chief taxpayer must in the future, as in the past, and in equity, be the mine-owner. The Boer was no doubt unduly favoured under the old *régime*, and hardly contributed at all; but, though he should in the future be made to share equally with the other white inhabitants, the revenue would scarcely be affected; and until the rural population has had time to get its farms restocked and in working order again, their owners cannot be made to bear any heavier taxation.

The two principal sources from which a larger revenue may be drawn without creating new or raising old tariffs are the Netherlands Railway and dynamite. The Netherlands South African Railway Company has issued elaborate reports, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to elicit the truth from them. The revenue from railways is hopelessly mixed up with the Customs Dues, which, under the concession, were collected by the Company upon merchandise landed at Delagoa Bay and entering the Transvaal from Portuguese territory. The lines have been taken over by the British Government, and no indication has as yet been given as to the compensation which will be paid to the Company. That the Hollander officials have gravely compromised the owners of the railway by their over-zealous and needlessly aggressive activity on behalf of the Boers is incontrovertible; but it would be neither just nor dignified for the British Government to seize upon their delinquencies as an excuse for the confiscation of innocent shareholders' property. There are just grounds, however, for exacting from the Company repayment in full for damage done to Colonial railways and bridges by the 'Destruction Brigade' of the Company; and in no case should the compensation exceed the outlay upon the railway system as represented by the share and debenture capital at par.

The capital of the Company comprised 14,000 shares, of 1000 gulden each, equal to 1,166,666*l.*, and debentures amounting to 7,209,166*l.*, besides which they had contracted a loan of 548,000*l.*, making in all 8,923,832*l.* If this amount were paid by the Imperial Government, the shareholders should consider themselves handsomely

treated, taking all the circumstances into account. If interest and redemption of this sum are reckoned at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., this would involve an annual payment of 290,024*l.* The yearly profits of the Company amounted at the outbreak of the war to about 1,500,000*l.*, out of which debenture holders and shareholders were first paid the guaranteed interest, while 85 per cent. of the balance went to the Transvaal Government, and the remainder was divided between the shareholders and the management. Mr Kruger's Government owned 5,788 of the 14,000 shares issued, and these have become an asset of the Imperial Government. According to official accounts the Government received in 1897 737,366*l.*, and in 1898 668,951*l.*, as its 85 per cent. of surplus profits. The dividends which accrued upon the 5788 shares are probably included in the Interest Account, and amounted roughly to from 50,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* in 1898 (see note on p. 239).

Assuming that, when peace is restored and work fully resumed, the volume of trade and the railway rates will be the same as before the war, and leaving out of account that expansion of commerce which it is hoped that annexation will produce, the annual profit of 1,500,000*l.* would accrue to the British Government, as against a liability of 290,024*l.*,* leaving a net income, beyond what the Transvaal Government derived from this source, of over 500,000*l.*—a valuable aid towards financing the new Crown Colony. That the British Government should acquire the railway and hold it as it were in trust for the benefit of the Transvaal in some form is of great importance, for the railway not only provides a weapon to control the finances of that country, but can be used as a powerful lever in dealing with the neighbouring colonies.

It is evident that the railway has been extravagantly run, and a capable general manager will no doubt succeed in reducing the cost of working the line to less than 50 per cent. of the gross earnings, the proportion at which it stood, roughly speaking, in 1899. The following table gives an interesting comparison between some of the systems working in South Africa.

* Of this sum, 15,700*l.* (roughly) would be refunded on account of the 5,788 shares held by the late Government.

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PROPORTION OF WORKING COSTS TO GROSS REVENUE.*

	1899.	1906.	1907.
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
Netherlands Railway	49·91	51·46	50·46
Cape Government Railways	65·5	68·1	61·8
Natal Government Railway	59·79	55·46

COMPARATIVE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE PER TRAIN MILE.

	Revenue per Train Mile.			Costs per Train Mile.		
	1899.	1906.	1907.	1899.	1906.	1907.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Netherlands Railway	13 9	13 5	15 0	6 10	6 10	7 5
Cape Government Railways . . . }	7 0	6 7	6 11	4 7	4 6	4 3
Natal Government Railway . . . }	..	7 2	8 8	..	4 3	4 10

Most of the trains entering the Transvaal pass over the Cape and Natal systems, and before crossing the border are raised 3,988 feet and 5,433 feet respectively above sea level, the remainder of the journey being over a comparatively flat country. Only in the case of trains coming from Delagoa Bay are the loads raised to the high plateau *after* entering the Transvaal; so the working costs of the Netherlands Company should upon this ground alone have been lower than those of the Cape and Natal, apart from the fact that the situation of the coal mines is all in favour of the Dutch Company. There would appear to have been grave mismanagement when in such circumstances an expenditure of 6s. 10d. out of a revenue of 13s. 9d. per train mile occurred, as against an expenditure of 4s. 7d. out of a revenue of 7s. per train mile on the Cape system.

The dynamite monopoly originally came into existence as a concession granted to certain persons for the manufacture and sale of explosives in the Transvaal. The mining industry was from the first strongly opposed to the concession, on the ground that, while the State's proportion of profit was ridiculously small, the price charged

* These figures are taken from official reports.

for the explosives supplied to the mines was vastly in excess of the price at which they could have been imported from Europe, and a heavy tax was thus imposed on the mines for the benefit of foreign concessionnaires. The provisions of the concession were proved to have been flagrantly contravened, and after some years of agitation it was in consequence cancelled. Only a very short time elapsed, however, before the concession was revived under the title of a State monopoly in explosives, which under another guise placed the trade again in the hands of the old concessionnaires, upon terms which were in some respects even better than those of the original concession. The British Government protested against the so-called State monopoly, as being a breach of the London Convention; and it would seem reasonable therefore that, having become masters of the country, they should now cancel it. It is unnecessary to enter into details as to the form in which this should be accomplished, whether by a formal cancellation of the monopoly or by simply throwing open the trade in explosives under certain conditions. In any case, without prejudicing the mining industry, a sum of about half a million sterling a year might be added to the receipts of the country by imposing a tax of twenty shillings upon every case of explosives used. Assuming the monopoly to have been cancelled, the charge of twenty shillings a case should be levied not only upon all explosives imported into the country, but also on those manufactured within its boundaries. The land and sea carriage of the bulky materials used in the manufacture of dynamite costs three times as much as the carriage of the manufactured article; whence it may clearly be inferred that cheapness was not the object of establishing a factory in the Transvaal.

Some prominence has recently been given to the *bewaarplaatsen*, the right of mining under which is generally regarded as having belonged to the Transvaal Government. A good deal of misconception exists both as to the nature and value of these areas. When the working of the Witwatersrand gold reefs began, a digger could procure either what was known as a digger's licence or a prospector's licence. It is unnecessary to define the distinction between these two licences further than to state that the former was much more costly than the latter, and was

supposed to confer a safer title. Prospecting licences were usually taken out not only on the outcrop of the reefs, but also on the ground lying to the south of them, the object with which the southern areas were pegged out being to secure sites upon which 'tailings' could be deposited. With a view to making the *débris* sites somewhat cheaper than the prospecting claims, the Government introduced legislation which created the *bewaarplaatsen*, and according to which an area, which cost under prospecting licence five shillings, cost under *bewaarplaatsen* licence three shillings and ninepence. In many cases owners of prospecting areas used as depositing sites were compelled to exchange their prospecting for *bewaarplaatsen* licences. As time went on and the reefs became developed in depth, it became evident that the *bewaarplaatsen* were valuable as mining areas. The holders of the licences for these areas very naturally considered that they would have the first right to take out mining licences; and their belief was justified by many provisions in the Transvaal laws, such as, for instance, that by which a brick-maker who held a licence simply to take clay from the surface had the first right, if the presence of valuable minerals was either discovered or suspected on the area held by him, to take out a mining licence. Adventurers and concession-hunters endeavoured to secure from the Government the right to all the minerals under the *bewaarplaatsen*; and for some years a struggle was carried on for the acquisition of these rights, the areas in question becoming all the time more and more valuable. Finally the Government signified its intention of selling these areas for the benefit of the State, and called for tenders. Shortly afterwards the war broke out, and nothing further was done.

Looked at from the standpoint of equity, there is no more justification for the selling of these rights than there would be for the selling of every piece of ground in the Transvaal upon which a licence is sought for mining purposes; and it appears probable that, at least in many cases, it may be proved from a legal point of view that no such right of sale exists, but that the holders of the *bewaarplaatsen* licences have the first right to take out mining licences. Apart from the question of rights, there is an entirely erroneous impression as to the value of

these areas. It may be definitely stated that, with very few exceptions, the *bewaarplaatsen* cannot be worked at a profit except by the companies whose ground is adjoining, for the simple reason that the quantity of ore contained within the areas is insufficient to pay for separate working; and it may further be definitely stated that the whole of the *bewaarplaatsen* are not worth more than a million sterling. To those familiar with the subject, the visionary value recently placed upon the *bewaarplaatsen* is ludicrous. Should the British Government decide to sell these areas, they will no doubt employ competent engineers to report upon their value; and it will then be found that the estimate given here is not unreasonable.

Finally, amongst the assets to which the British Government succeeds must be reckoned the unallotted lands in the Transvaal. No estimate can yet be formed of the value of these unoccupied areas, which, from an agricultural or pastoral standpoint, cannot be of great importance, or they would not have remained in the hands of the State. But in such a highly mineralised and so imperfectly prospected a country, discoveries may at any time be made, in consequence of which a large and prosperous population may be able to settle upon these untenanted wastes.

A few years ago the greater part of South Africa was in this desolate condition. Although we have had a foothold in the country for the best part of a century, no development of any importance took place until the diamond mines attracted a young and enterprising class of fortune-hunters. Twenty-five years ago the railways, which now cover a distance of five thousand miles, were hardly in existence; and the terminus of the trunk line, now being pushed vigorously on towards the Victoria Falls on the Zambezi River, was at a little village called Wellington, forty-five miles from Cape Town.

The gigantic industrial and commercial advance of the last few years is almost entirely due to the mines, and this advance has largely affected agricultural and pastoral conditions, through the enhanced demand for produce and the consequent rise of prices. If such an increase has taken place under the unpropitious conditions hitherto existing, it may be confidently expected that it will continue under British government, for many years to come, at a still more rapid rate. The consequences to agri-

cultural enterprise must be far-reaching. Lands which could not be profitably worked, undertakings which had no chance of success, in former days, may now promise a secure return to investment. A generation ago, there was neither capital in the colonial treasuries to undertake public works on a large scale—irrigation works, for instance—nor a demand for agricultural produce which would have justified such expenditure. This is the case no longer; and prognostications of failure, based on agricultural difficulties which were mainly due to bygone conditions, must therefore be largely discounted. Agricultural prosperity, in South Africa, depends on industrial and commercial progress; and, if we would encourage the former, we must be careful to foster, at all events not to hinder by excessive demands and restrictions, the latter.

The potentialities of South Africa are appreciated by few in this country. A gold output of twenty millions sterling, capable of great increase under favourable conditions, a diamond output of over four millions sterling, an unlimited supply of coal well distributed over the various divisions of the country, the known existence of a quantity of iron, of lead, of copper, some silver, and some tin—the magnitude of which has yet to be demonstrated—and possible new discoveries in many as yet unprospected regions, constitute an inducement which no other sparsely populated portion of the globe can offer to those in search of fortune. The crying needs of the land, which has practically been allowed to sleep through the ages, are an energetic population and a good government willing to lend a helping hand financially. So long as the mines absorb all the available private capital, the State must assist agriculture. Advances made judiciously, under the advice and control of a body of experts appointed for the purpose, could be adequately secured. The cheapening of commodities and the widening of the field of labour will be one of the chief duties of Government in South Africa, and one by which, politically and commercially, the position of the Empire may be indefinitely strengthened.

THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA. 239.

Note.—NETHERLANDS RAILWAY.

CALCULATION OF COST OF EXPROPRIATION DURING 1901.

			£	s.	d.
1897.	Dividend—‘A’ 13 per cent.	. . .	119,166	13	4
„	„ ‘B’ 11½	„ . . .	28,750	0	0
1898.	„ ‘A’ 11½	„ . . .	107,708	6	8
„	„ ‘B’ 10½	„ . . .	25,625	0	0
1899.	„ ‘A’ 12½	„ . . .	114,583	6	8
„	„ ‘B’ 11	„ . . .	27,500	0	0
Total, three years			£423,333	6	8
Average per annum			£141,111	2	2·6
141,111l. 2s. 2·6d. × 20			2,822,222	4	6
Add 14 times 1 per cent. of 1,166,666l. 13s. 4d.			163,333	6	8
			£2,985,555	11	2
Obligations per Balance Sheet, 31/12/99			7,209,166	13	4
Klerksdorp Line Loan			548,000	0	0
			£10,742,722	4	6

To the above sum must be added the cost of liquidation of the Company, payments to liquidators, legal expenses, &c., involving a small outlay only. On the other hand, large deductions will have to be made on account of damage deliberately done to railway and other property by the officials or agents of the Netherlands Railway Company.

(II.) *Immigration, Agriculture, and Irrigation.*

M. YVES GUYOT, the able editor of the ‘Siècle,’ in his book on ‘Boer Politics,’ attempts to bring his countrymen into line with us on the South African controversy, by pointing out that the conflict is essentially one between lower and higher types of civilisation. By following the history of our relations with the Boer Republics, he is able to make an effective reply to an article by Dr Kuyper in the ‘Revue des Deux Mondes,’ and to show that our action is defensive in character and deserves the support of all lovers of liberty. Amidst the storm of invective and abuse directed against us from the Continent, it is a pleasure to become aware that so influential a voice as that of M. Guyot has made and is still making itself heard in support of our action ; and if the outcome is to establish an industrial civilisation of a higher type as the basis of Africa’s regeneration, even those amongst us who oppose the war may take comfort.

M. Guyot's definition of the issue does not lighten but increases the burden of our responsibility, if we are to deal wisely with the tangle of interests thrust into our hands by President Kruger and his advisers. Fortunately the materials for a correct judgment are not wanting: there are many writers on the South African theme who are more or less trustworthy contributors. One who claims consideration by reason of his intimate knowledge of the subject, and his temperate handling of it, is Dr M. J. Farrelly, who has endeavoured in his book, 'The Settlement after the War in South Africa,' to impress upon us the necessity of finality in that settlement. He writes:—

'The one conclusion which is borne in upon the mind is the necessity of a final settlement, once for all, of the question, Into whose hands is political power to be committed? On the answer to this question depends the whole future of the race in South Africa. . . . The object with which I write, therefore, is to show that above and beyond the rights and wrongs of the particular issue to which Boer and Briton in South Africa are committed, finality in the settlement should be the dominating thought in the minds of the statesmen who will have to decide when the cannon is silent—finality imperatively required to further the mission in the world of the European race, . . . to promote the fusion of the European race in South Africa, . . . to ensure the elevation ultimately, and in the present the just treatment, of the subordinate races. . . . That nothing must be left to the settlement of time alone in this struggle between Imperial British and Republican Dutch supremacy is the one great political fact which I purpose to make clear.'

This is excellent good sense, but Dr Farrelly's political remedies do not strike one as the only or even the best means for solving the practical difficulties of the situation. His demonstration of the Separatist tendencies of Afrikanerism is worthy of all attention, especially on account of his former connexion with the Transvaal Government, though he hardly gives due weight and prominence to Boer hostility and European intrigue as contributory causes of the war; but his proposals dealing with the future settlement will not carry the support of many South Africans, since he turns to the old and discredited safeguards—constitutions, systems of government, Governors—

General, Imperial Councils, and other political machinery, which has broken down so completely in the past. The object being to obtain a higher type of civilisation or a final settlement, how can these be secured by multiplying British institutions, British Governors and British colonies, if the people themselves are not British? Finality, recognised on all sides as absolutely necessary, will be obtained only when South Africa is mainly British and not Dutch; and by British we mean British by blood and not by legal fiction. Dr Farrelly is wholly right when he distinguishes so carefully, in the paragraph we have quoted, between the Imperial British and the Republican Dutch. After the war, the British will remain supporters of the British Empire; the Dutch will remain supporters of their suppressed Republics. A fairly intimate knowledge of our incomparable British constitution and British ideas of liberty did not convert the Smuts, Esselens, and other university graduates, who began life as subjects of the Queen, into enthusiastic supporters of the British flag in South Africa. The closer their acquaintance with our 'higher type,' the greater their hostility; and what has happened in the past will happen in the future, clemency and self-government notwithstanding. The steady trend towards secession will continue, and will be heartily, if secretly, assisted by the Sauers, Moltenos, Hofmeyrs, and other half-foreign politicians elected to rule over our colonies.

In a published address to the women of South Africa their interpreter and mouthpiece, Olive Schreiner, wrote lately :—

'I know not how it is with any of you, but for myself personally, as long as I live, whenever I look into the recesses of my own heart, I shall always see there waving free the gallant flags of those two little Republics, said to have been furled for ever, enshrined there in my sympathies and affections. And if there be in South Africa another two hundred thousand hearts in which those flags are enshrined, then I know the day will come when hands will rise which will in actuality unfurl them, and they will float free across South Africa. We may not live to see it; many of us may go down amid tears and blood and sorrow to our graves, but the future is with the Republicans. . . . The future is ours. Let us, the women of South Africa, keep our eyes steadily fixed on it, and labour for it.'

This is language clear and emphatic enough. 'But,' say some, 'we will catch these Dutch Republicans young, we will make them British Imperialists when they are at school.' Those who believe in this remedy must be child-like indeed—or shall we say ignorant? Stellenbosch, the Dutch educational centre, a few miles from Cape Town, where we have established a camp ostensibly for training horses, but really to keep a military eye on the most active Republican centre in the British Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, issues a students' 'Quarterly Magazine,' from the last number of which the following is taken:—

'The theory that the reduction of the Republics to the condition of British provinces, and the suppression of the power of the Afrikaner element in the Cape Colony will for ever extinguish the dream of an Afrikaner nation, is a phantom. . . . The war, even if it should annihilate the two Republics, will raise upon the ruins of the conquered but not humiliated Republics an Afrikaner nation from the Limpopo to Cape Agulhas.'

Emphatic declarations of this sort, combined with a knowledge of the Cape Dutch, and supported by a consideration of the sentiments usually cherished by the conquered, render us extremely distrustful of the efficacy of all constitutional expedients designed to convert Republicans into Imperialists. Our safety lies not in paper constitutions nor in magnanimity, but in wise and energetic action.

The word which should be graven on the heart of every supporter of the British flag in South Africa is Immigration. It is the Alpha and the Omega of the problem that faces us in the settlement. Whether the efforts to win our Dutch fellow-colonists by concessions will succeed or fail we do not know; the evidence is so far unfavourable; but we can make their success or failure a matter of indifference and merely sentimental regret, if the political power is transferred from the secessionists to the British by making the latter the majority instead of leaving them as now the minority.

Next year a general census will be taken in South Africa as elsewhere. It will be found, we estimate, that the white population numbers approximately 780,000; and of this total 415,000 will be of Dutch origin, 340,000 will be British,

and the remainder will be foreigners. Natural increase will double these numbers in twenty-five years and give the elements antagonistic to us a gradually increasing numerical majority. Thus we shall lose South Africa unless we can by immigration increase the number of our own people and ensure a continuance of that liberal and progressive legislation which alone can promote an influx of men and money into the country. We cannot afford to lose the control of the ballot-box, which will be the chief agency by which the silent struggle soon to be entered upon will be decided. Whether the Cape Treason Bill, by which a number of Dutch voters will be disfranchised for a period of five years, will suffice to retain the Liberal party in power is a matter of doubt. It may be that even so early as next year the largest and most important member of the proposed South African Federation—the Cape Colony—will fall again under Dutch dominance, and thereby add greatly to the difficulties of the situation. Indirect legislation will be the weapon employed, in the future as in the past, to check the too rapid increase of the Uitlander in the Cape Colony. The scab insect in sheep, phylloxera in the vines, locusts everywhere—these are strange weapons to employ against Anglo-Saxon expansion. But President Kruger, whose direct action was hampered by the Conventions, has given South African politicians some useful lessons in indirect obstructive tactics; and even the insect plagues of South Africa are useful auxiliaries when the advent of white farmers threatens to disturb the political balance. Afrikanerism can exist only by preserving its isolation. This truth was thoroughly understood by politicians like President Kruger and Mr Hofmeyr. When the census results are published even the politicians of the Karoo will comprehend it, and will, while voting money for Imperial battleships, oppose obstacles to immigration—such for example as heavy taxes on joint-stock companies, which, by promoting the development of the country, are stronger supporters of British power than even the navy. Against ‘slimness’ of this kind, awakened by the instinct of self-preservation, mere political safeguards will prove worse than valueless, for they will serve only to conceal the truth and will lull to a false security just when vigilance is most needed. Those who believe otherwise do not know the slow-thinking conservative Boer peasant.

Granting, then, the need for strengthening our position by increasing the numbers of our friends, a study of the factors influencing immigration into South Africa should be our first task. Some light is thrown on the economical conditions which must be studied in connexion with this problem, by the second volume of the 'British Empire Series,' entitled 'British Africa.' The series of papers it contains has been contributed by competent writers, though it must be confessed some of them have not taken much pains with their work.

Professor Wallace, in his book on 'Farming Industries of Cape Colony,' gives a profusion of useful facts relating to agriculture in the Cape Colony and the condition of its farming industries at the time of his visit in 1895. The tour was undertaken at the instance of the Cape Government; and the book has consequently an official character, though its form and its many excellent illustrations remove it from the blue-book category. Its chief defect, apart from minor errors which should not appear in a work of this high class, is a want of suggestiveness; the author contenting himself in many cases with recording the data collected by him without pointing out so fully as could be wished the lines of future development and improvement, or, indeed, estimating the relative value of the various industries noticed.

Considering the rapid expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race, the substitution of a British for a Dutch majority in South Africa may seem easy; but the growth of other white races increases our difficulties. South Africa will for many reasons attract the surplus populations of Europe and America; and if we cannot regulate and control the alien inflow, the dangers arising from the Republican drift already mentioned will become greater. The Republicans begin with a majority, and they count upon securing all that foreign flotsam which we so generously allow to drift into every outlying section of the Empire. After the war the foreign element will grow rapidly: the signs are not to be mistaken. When South Africa calls for immigrants the call will be answered from every slum and bourse throughout the civilised world. Five out of six of those who have crossed the Atlantic since the American War of Independence have been non-British; and a far smaller proportion—one in two—may suffice to make

the Dutch dream of a South African Republic a reality. The alien element in the Transvaal has given us not a little trouble already; and, assuredly, in the absence of those restrictive measures which British statesmen can hardly adopt, our troubles with the foreign vote in the ballot-box will not diminish. This danger cannot be ignored, but it should not be exaggerated. The unrestricted influx of foreigners into the new colonies may give rise to anxiety, both from their probable numbers and their character. But it should be remembered, in the first place, that they are not likely to come unless there is work for them to do; and that hands are as important as capital for the development of the country. Secondly, if even under the disadvantageous conditions hitherto prevailing, the British element on the Rand largely outnumbered the foreign, it is not likely that the proportions will be reversed under the new *régime*. But, whether this turn out to be the case or not, it is against our principles to restrict immigration; and if we wished to desert those principles in this case, the difficulties, practical and political, would prove insuperable. We can only hope that prosperity and good government will turn these foreigners into good citizens.

The danger, however, makes it all the more incumbent on us to adopt a wise and liberal policy, designed to attract British immigrants to the new and the old colonies. Several suggestions have already been made. The establishment of agricultural colonies, composed of reservists from the police forces, is one proposal, which the Government is believed to favour; though all experience and all the probabilities are against the successful and permanent conversion of the adventurous and roving type, found in these irregular forces, into steady and successful small peasant proprietors. Land schemes, such as find favour in other quarters, are as a rule open to the objection that the attraction of the mining and urban centres is too strong to be resisted, and that in a short time the immigrants become dissatisfied and adopt other occupations or leave the country. Against these and similar proposals the general objection holds good that artificial immigration of this character never yet peopled a colony. Owing to the expense, only hundreds can be thus introduced when thousands are needed. Here and there a scheme may be

successful, but its success is only as a drop in the bucket; the majority fail. In his book, 'The Renaissance of South Africa,' Mr A. R. Colquhoun makes some sensible remarks on this subject :—

'South Africa,' he says, 'must not be pushed into abnormal growth if she is to be healthy. Her development may be speedy, but cannot be accomplished in one *coup*, nor by such crude measures as those suggested, of simply bribing men to stay in the country and buying them spades. Once the country is made liveable the farmers will come fast enough of their own accord, and the artificers and mechanics will find plenty of work. Thus communities properly organised will grow up, striking root in the soil.'

Schemes being of little use, our only real resource is to encourage what may be described as a natural immigration into South Africa. It is true that the vote of 50,000*l.* passed in 1819 for the promotion of emigration to South Africa was followed by a great success—a success so great that it is hardly too much to say that the vote saved the country for the Empire. But the conditions that made it successful no longer exist. Once planted on the soil the emigrants of 1820 were compelled to make the best of their position: they could not escape, for the voyage from the country was a tedious and costly undertaking, quite beyond their means. Between 1820 and 1870 the number of European emigrants to South Africa was very small, and the country remained poor and unknown. It was the discovery of diamonds that advertised South Africa and attracted emigrants, and the development of the gold mines quickened the tide. Diamonds and gold did more in a few years to increase the British population than the outlay of millions on schemes of emigration could have done. Such lessons should not be lost on us. It is in the development of the country's natural resources that the true solvent of the country's political antagonisms will be found. Like most new countries, South Africa possesses certain natural assets which, in the language of the older economists, are necessary, useful, and agreeable to man; and it is by removing obstacles and promoting the development of this natural wealth that most can be done towards inducing British settlers to locate themselves there permanently. Soil, sunshine, water, minerals—these

are the alchemists that will resolve South Africa's troubles. Least in value, but first in power to attract, are its minerals. All measures likely to induce capital to seek its profits in exploiting the country's gold, silver, tin, lead, iron, copper, and coal, its diamonds and sapphires, should be taken. In this field the danger to be guarded against is that prejudice which regards capital as a maleficent agency. Capital is a new country's greatest need. Money attracts men; and minerals, if legislation is not unwise, attract money. Fortunately for the chances of an Anglo-Saxon civilisation in Africa, the development of her minerals has been delayed until now, when the political control has passed to us—if we do not wilfully throw it away.

The subject of South Africa's mineral resources calls for separate discussion. All that need be said here is that a generous policy is essential, not so much for the sake of South Africa as for that of the Empire. When large accessions to the civilian garrison are required to protect the strategic centre of the Empire it is not wise to scrutinise too closely the exact measure of the burdens which the country can support without collapsing. Yet it is possible, if we may judge from the utterances of responsible leaders, that, to save a surplus, the millions we have spent on the war will be lost as effectually as the money we spent to coerce America. A republican South Africa—and, unless we can make the country a contented British State, a republic it will be—will compel the historian of the future to regard the war tax, like the tea tax, amongst the measures that have decided the fate of nations.

We repeat that the fate of South Africa as a British possession will be decided mainly by the steps taken or omitted to further the development of her natural wealth—minerals being in this connexion the most important. After the gold, the immense coal and iron deposits ought to be actively worked, and with the exploitation of these should proceed the development of the country's illimitable agricultural resources. We use the word 'illimitable' advisedly, though doubtless there are many who, gauging the future by the past, condemn South Africa to perpetual barrenness, and believe that, because she has for a generation past imported her food, she must always do so. As the impression is widely spread that there is little to

attract agriculturists, early steps should be taken to disseminate truer conceptions of the advantages attaching to agricultural pursuits in South Africa. It may surprise some to learn that for the prosecution of some of the most profitable branches of the ancient art the country offers unsurpassed facilities. In the past, agriculture has been carried on mainly by Boers and natives, neither of whom had or have the energy, knowledge, and capital needed for the successful pursuit of agriculture. When these three needs are forthcoming, the capabilities of the country will begin to be realised. We propose to give here a few facts bearing on its suitability as a field for agricultural emigrants.

South of the Zambesi river, Africa is a great gaunt tableland, an almost treeless plateau which averages from three thousand to four thousand feet above sea-level, and breaks down in terraces of varying width to the rock-bound coast. About a million and a quarter square miles of the whole sub-continent are under the British flag. Black and white together, the population under that flag is less than five millions, though the distance from north to south, from Cape Town to the Zambesi, is not less than the space between London and Algiers, while the distance from east to west is even greater. Some conception of the magnitude of our possessions may be gained from the statement that if peopled as densely as England it would contain more than six hundred million British subjects. The tropic of Capricorn cuts through the centre.

This land is fitted by position and natural advantages to be the home of a great European civilisation. Like Australia and India, the country has its wet and dry seasons, its tracts of aridity and fertility, great mountain chains with rivers of corresponding magnitude, a splendid climate, and, as a drawback, recurrent cycles of deficient rainfall. The range of latitude and the altitude of the great main plateau enable all temperate and sub-tropical food-plants to be raised. Viticulture is established in the south-west; there are sugar and tea plantations in Natal, and productive wheat-areas in the Orange Colony. Cereals and European fruits can be raised everywhere if water is available.

With a larger population, having some education and knowledge of scientific agriculture, South Africa would at

once cease to be a food-importing country. The effort of an insufficient population to spread itself over and occupy the land is largely responsible for the neglect of agriculture, since the owner of three or four thousand acres finds it easier and more profitable to raise sheep and cattle than to attempt to earn a living by raising crops. The defective means of communication and the immense distances are also to be reckoned among the chief causes why agriculture can scarcely be said to exist in South Africa.

Yet enough has been done to prove that much more can be done. There are very few countries so favoured by nature as the western Cape Colony for the production of great quantities of wine. The rainfall is sufficient, the seasons are favourable, and the soil is fertile; but the efforts of the Dutch cultivators have resulted, after centuries of mistaken methods, in the production mainly of an inferior brandy, which has an unenviable reputation, even in South Africa, as 'Cape Smoke.' It has been demonstrated that the quality of the wine and spirit when scientifically treated is very high; and only capital is needed to develop an industry that will provide lucrative employment for thousands of cultivators. The world, however, is quite ignorant of the dormant wealth of the Cape Colony as a wine-producing country. For example, what European vine-grower is aware that the average annual yield of wine from the coast vineyards is 190 gallons per thousand vines; that in other districts the yield is 400 gallons per thousand vines; and that in some cases as much as 600 gallons are obtained—that is to say, that the yield is five or six times greater than the yield from French vines, and six or seven times greater than it is in Australia or California? A wine expert who was called in to report in 1894 stated that, except in the Constantia district, the farmers did not understand how to make wine; and he predicted, amongst other things, fortunes for the manufacturers of fine cognac. More attention is now being paid to scientific methods of treatment, but the work so far accomplished is almost infinitesimal.

The real cause of the backward condition of viticulture at the Cape is the ignorance and conservatism of the Dutch cultivators. Not until capital and energy are introduced will the neglected wealth of the country as one of the most favoured wine-growing areas in the world be

utilised. All the leading men are of course aware of this, and know what should be done to improve and rapidly develop the wine-making industry. But every step has to be taken in opposition to the deep-seated prejudices of the wine farmers, who are often legislators; and, owing to the racial divisions which have been either openly or secretly the governing factors in the case, it has resulted that the Cape Colony has the cheapest and worst brandy and the dearest bread in the civilised world.

We have outlined the position of viticulture at the Cape because it is typical of the backward condition of South African agriculture generally. Every circumstance save one is in favour of the vine-grower; but, because the people and the government are unprogressive and lethargic, the product of the country's vines is, after nearly two hundred and fifty years, unknown beyond South Africa; and even there the consumption, except of inferior brandy, is not great. So it is with fruit-growing. Nothing save capital and enterprise are required to make South Africa a fruit-growing country of absolutely first rank. It has great advantages over Australia and California. All the fruits of the temperate zone can be produced in perfection; the seasons fall conversely, enabling the Cape grower to place summer fruits on all European markets during the northern winter; and there is in addition a large local demand in the mining centres, such as Kimberley and Johannesburg. A British fruit-grower of thirty years' experience, quoted by Professor Wallace, after enumerating the advantages of the country, writes:—

'It would seem, therefore, that the only element required is an increase in the number of intelligent and practised growers. We want them from England, from the States, from California, in fact from anywhere where the skill and experience required has run for years into everyday practice. This is the immigration wanted just now at the Cape to catch at the opportunity of the moment, and to turn skilled fruit-growing into gold. No question but that success awaits the man who knows how to deal with fruit-trees, to break his ground up properly, to drain, to prune, to gather, to pack for market up country or for market in Covent Garden, and who has a well-founded contempt for the slovenly style of letting things grow themselves, and taking as a crop what chance sends and insect plagues leave.

'Then you will say, Are there no growers at the Cape? Truly very few; here one, there one, but by no means sufficient to give a character to this magnificent country as a home of fruit-growing—not sufficient, even, to lead by example the prevailing carelessness into better ways. The growth of fruit here has been almost always a by-thing, or what we might call a toy-pursuit of the landowner.'

Every word of this opinion is true; and true not of the Cape Colony only, but of all the British States in South Africa—excepting of course the arid areas in the west, from the Karoo northwards through Bechuanaland as far as the Zambesi. Natal, especially the higher districts about Ladysmith, and Swaziland, farther north, are agriculturally rich, and should in the course of a few years be in a position to supply Europe with choice summer fruits and vegetables in December and January. An article on the 'Highlands of Natal,' published in the book already mentioned, 'British Africa,' says:

'The extraordinary facility with which avenues of all sorts can be produced is always one of the pleasantest features of High Natal. The oak grows almost three times, the weeping willow quite four times as fast as in England; the wholesome-smelling tribe of eucalyptus grows from ten to twenty feet a year. . . . The Natal orange has been exported, but as yet on a slight scale; but a quotation from the London agent seems worth giving. Messrs Gillespie and Sons of London wrote: ". . . the mandarins were, without exception, the very finest lot ever seen in our market, the boxes containing only a hundred realising 1½d. each wholesale. This is, we believe, the highest price that has ever been obtained."'

It would be easy to multiply the evidence bearing on the value of South Africa for fruit-growing—an industry which has been completely neglected, but is nevertheless capable of filling the land with British immigrants. Money, energy, technical knowledge, railways, men, and progressive legislation are needed before anything great can be done; but it should be possible to secure these things after the war—not only for fruit-culture and wine-making, but for the many other promising fields open to agriculturists. In adjunctive agriculture, for instance, such as sheep-, cattle-, and horse-farming, ostrich- and antelope-rearing, there is great scope for experienced men who are prepared

to learn what the South African farmers can teach them, and will supplement local knowledge by experience gained elsewhere. There are many drawbacks, of course; but few are of such a character that energy and skill will not remove them.

Perhaps the most encouraging evidence of this is to be found in the attempts made to discover the cause and cure of the deadly disease known as horse-sickness, which has hitherto prevented profitable horse-farming over the greater part of South Africa. The Cape Government, with a praiseworthy enterprise which has been all too rare, established a Bacteriological Institute and secured the services of a competent expert whose first duty was to discover, if possible, a cure for horse-sickness. Dr Edington has carried on his researches for seven or eight years, and quite lately he has been able to announce the success of his efforts—the discovery of a serum which secures the immunity of the animals inoculated. By-and-by it may be possible to obtain a breed of horses which, like the zebra, will not be affected by the disease, but will thrive even in the deadly districts along the Zambesi. Zebra hybrids would probably be proof against attack, and cultivations of the organism in zebra blood may yet give even better results than those obtained by the use of the serum discovered. But whatever future discoveries there may be, enough has been done to ensure a great future for South Africa as a horse-breeding country.

The facts stated in the preceding paragraphs are sufficient to show that the agricultural resources of South Africa are quite undeveloped, inasmuch as even those industries which we might reasonably expect to see flourishing are in a very backward state. The climatic and other natural conditions affecting the industries we have named—viticulture and fruit-growing—are all that could be desired; but the country exports neither wine nor fruit. It is apparent then that, since nature is not to blame, we must look elsewhere for the causes that have checked agricultural immigration and the profitable prosecution of those pursuits. These causes will be found on the one hand in the nearer attractions offered by such rich countries as North America, and on the other in the repellent influence exercised by the country's racial divisions and their accompanying political struggles, not to speak of native

wars. But the road is now open for remedial measures that will tend to bring agriculture to its natural position as the main source of South Africa's wealth.

In this direction so much has yet to be done that it is not easy to specify the reforms most urgently called for. Whatever is done, the extent of the country is such that co-operation between the various States and the Imperial Government is very desirable. There is room for the energies of several Royal Commissions, for not only must data be collected in the new States, but also in such comparatively settled districts as Natal, the Cape, and Rhodesia. The recognised duty of a State Executive, to conserve and develop the natural wealth of its country, has been neglected to a scandalous extent by all the South African Governments, who have left this duty to the people, with the result that, except in the older districts of the Cape, nothing is known of the capabilities of the various soils or the methods best suited for their development. It is obvious that the work of educating the people, and creating those co-operative organisations without which modern agriculture cannot be carried on, is great enough to occupy the time and energies of the Liberal party in South Africa for a great number of years. That party has not yet succeeded, in the Cape Colony, in passing so elementary a measure as a Scab Act for the eradication of that disease in the sheep flocks of the Colony, while such minor reforms as the scientific study of the animal and plant diseases peculiar to the country have hardly been mooted.

As illustrative of the vast extent of the task facing intelligent administrations in South Africa, let us look for a moment at the subject of irrigation and its bearing on the future. Few trustworthy data respecting the rainfall have been collected, but it may be said generally that each section of South Africa has its wet and its dry seasons. In the south and west the rains fall in winter; towards the east and in the new colonies the rains occur in the summer. The highest parts of the country lie not far from the eastern seaboard; and this distribution of the watersheds on the east and south has produced the great basin of the Orange river, some four or five hundred thousand square miles in extent, extending from the boundaries of Natal on the east over half the Cape Colony, the whole of the Orange

Colony, the Southern districts of the Transvaal, Bechuanaland, and the Kalihari desert. In the western half of this immense hydrographical basin the average annual rainfall is not more than six inches a year; but east of a line passing through Kimberley, about the twenty-fourth east meridian, and in the coast districts, the annual rainfall ranges from eighteen to forty-two inches. As the annual rainfall in the Thames valley is twenty-five inches, it may be said with truth that more than one half of South Africa has a rainfall not less than that of London. It is in the distribution of this rainfall over the year that the difference lies.

In his report for the year 1898, the Chief Inspector of Public Works in the Cape Colony, Mr J. Newey, says:—

‘The rainfall of the country taken altogether, though not great, is not small in comparison with that of the countries from which we have grown accustomed to purchase those necessities and luxuries of life which we ought to produce ourselves; and it is without doubt the most valuable and enduring asset we have. Yet it is the least appreciated and most neglected.’

This remark is made of the Cape of Good Hope, which is the driest colony in South Africa, except the German territory in the west. In Natal, the Orange Colony, the Transvaal, and Rhodesia, there is no deficiency in the rainfall when spread over a series of years. But, being seasonal in character, and falling as a rule during only four or five months of the year, a small rainfall in any year is followed by a period of drought; and as wet and dry years appear to follow in cycles, there are occasionally great losses among agriculturists. These recurring droughts are no doubt largely responsible for the evil reputation of the country, though South Africa seems better off in this respect than Australia.

Another drawback resulting from the sub-tropical character of the rainfall in many parts is the loss of the bulk of it in the flood waters which run rapidly to the sea. In a ‘Special Report on Colonial (Cape) Irrigation and Hydrographic Survey,’ it is estimated by Mr F. R. Johnson that if five per cent. of the mean annual rainfall were caught for irrigation purposes, sufficient water would be

obtained to cultivate successfully five million acres; 'and if the value of this area could be increased by even 20% an acre, it follows that the Cape Colony would be permanently enriched by over one hundred millions sterling.'

Obviously, then, the work of conserving the rainfall and utilising the rivers must be taken in hand by the Government. Indian and Californian experience will be of incalculable service in this matter, as those countries have bought the knowledge necessary to command success; and that knowledge is at the service of the Governments of South Africa. The officials of the Cape Colony have made some praiseworthy attempts to awaken their legislature to the value of water, but so far their success has been small, though public opinion is now making itself heard. Mr Newey in the Hydrographic Report mentioned complains that—

'Hitherto the efforts of the Department [Public Works] to meet the felt and stated wants of the people, and to educate them up to the acceptance of better things, have been hidden away between the covers of the blue-books, prepared at very great expense and probably never read by one person in a thousand outside the Houses of Parliament; and I should think that even members of Parliament, for whose information they were primarily prepared and published, might not be cognisant of the representations already put forth.'

With the new *régime* a resolute attempt should be made to demonstrate to the people the value of their rainfall, and not of their rainfall alone. The rains, being of sub-tropical violence, carry vast quantities of soil into the rivers, to be wasted in the sea. There is hardly a farm in South Africa where a little judicious work directed towards dispersing the surface waters and preventing their disappearance in dongas and water-courses would not do much to prevent that denudation which has hitherto gone on unchecked, to the great detriment of the country. Such work would soon have an appreciable effect on the quantity of subterranean waters available, though South Africa can already be described as a country with subterranean rivers. The dolomitic limestones in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland favour the accumulation of great subterranean reservoirs, which may yet prove to be the means of rescuing the Kalahari Desert for the service of humanity. Work done

during the Langeberg expedition, on the borders of that desert, by well-sinkers, proves that even there the level of these underground waters is not one hundred feet below the surface. In the Cape Report of the Inspector of Water Drills for 1897, it is estimated—

‘that for the total sum of some 2500*l.* expended in four years the value of the farms in the Railway Grant land [Bechuana-land], where water has been found, has increased fifty per cent.’

Mr H. Saunders, the Inspector, says further that—

‘the time is not far distant when the Karoo will be studded with windmills’ [for pumping]; and that ‘the cry throughout the country is for water, and it seems a national crime that advantage is not taken of the practically inexhaustible supplies which undoubtedly exist within reasonable distance of the surface.’

If it is a national crime that the underground waters have not been tapped, how shall we describe the neglect of the great rivers? The Orange river, one thousand miles long, with a basin eight times as large as England, is an asset far more valuable than the Rand gold-fields. Hitherto it has done more harm than good, for it yearly carries to the sea in its flood-waters immense quantities of valuable alluvium. In the fact that it rises in rich well-watered districts, and runs, in the lower part of its course, through country that is almost or wholly desert, the Orange river resembles the Nile. At some distant day, perhaps, the river will serve to irrigate portions of the desert; but it will first be utilised for the improvement of the plains through which it runs before it enters the arid wastes to the west of Kimberley.

The desirability of utilising the waters of the Orange for irrigation led in 1899 to a conference on the subject between delegates of the Cape Colony and Orange Free State Governments, but no definite result was reached. Seeing that the rights on rivers of this class are extremely valuable, it will be well if an agreement between the Orange Colony and the Cape Colony can be concluded at an early date. Sir Charles Dilke, in his ‘Problems of Greater Britain,’ relates that feeling as to the disposal of the waters of the river Murray ran so high in 1889 between Victoria and New South Wales as to threaten civil war

If South Africa develops as rapidly as we expect, the question of the ownership of the waters of the Orange river will soon come into prominence; and the matter should be the subject of an early arrangement between the Cape and Imperial Governments.

We have merely touched the fringe of this question of South African irrigation, with the object of indicating the enormous range and importance of agricultural development in South Africa. An Imperial blue-book recently issued states that the expenditure in India on irrigation works down to 1899 was 26,830,247*l.*, that a profit of 6·28 per cent. was returned, and that the value of the crops raised in 1898-99 from 12,026,185 acres irrigated was 21,385,609*l.* As much and more can be done in South Africa; only money and patience are needed.

The great value of water conservation and distribution in such countries as India and South Africa is strikingly shown in the recently published *Life of Sir Arthur Cotton*.* This account of the career of a notable Indian expert on irrigation opportunely reminds us that modern engineering science and skill are capable of mitigating, if not entirely preventing, the disastrous consequences which so often follow a temporary failure of the rainfall. Sir Arthur Cotton was a remarkable man, gifted with that far-seeing faculty which is not always appreciated by contemporaries. Whatever differences of opinion his views may excite among those who have only a limited personal acquaintance with the problems surrounding the proper utilisation of such periodic rainfalls as occur in Australia, India, and South Africa, there are not a few thinkers who now endorse his emphatic dictum that droughts and famines are remediable evils, and that their remedy is irrigation, coupled with improvements in means of communication. Lady Hope, his biographer, has carried out her filial task with loving care, and has given an account of the great Indian engineer and his life-work, such as no practical politician who is confronted by the problem of peopling South Africa should omit to study.

Other sections of this article, on Mines, Railways, and the Native Question, will be published in April next.

* 'General Sir Arthur Cotton; his Life and Work.' By his daughter Hope. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1899.

Art. XI.—PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

1. *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley.* By his son, Leonard Huxley. Two Vols. London: Macmillan, 1900.
2. *Leaders in Science: Thomas Henry Huxley—A Sketch of his Life and Work.* By P. Chalmers Mitchell, M.A. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900.
3. *The Scientific Memoirs of T. H. Huxley.* Edited by Prof. Sir Michael Foster and Prof. E. Ray Lankester. Vols. I, II. London: Macmillan, 1898-1899.

THE appearance of the long-expected 'Life and Letters' of Thomas Henry Huxley provides a wealth of material bearing upon the history of English science during the past three quarters of a century, and the part taken by one of the chief workers and probably the most striking and picturesque personality. The thought will doubtless occur to many readers that the thousand closely-printed pages might have been reduced by omitting and condensing many of the letters. On the other hand, the serious student of these stirring times will value the opportunity of studying and comparing all the available thoughts and opinions of one who played so important a part; and the very repetition of certain ideas, which proves their persistence and dominance in Huxley's mind, is a matter of considerable importance. However it may be to the general reader, the student would deprecate the omission or condensation of any of the writings of Darwin or Huxley. The special interest and value in the letters of such men lie in the fact that their inmost opinions on matters of the deepest scientific importance are to be found, perhaps, in the compass of a brief sentence. There we find, as we cannot find in any other way, the real core of the matter, with all accessory and surrounding considerations stripped away from it. In some cases we look in vain for their opinion in any other part of their writings.

These volumes have been prepared with patient and loving care by one who is not a scientific student. Allowing for the inevitable loss which the record of a scientific man must suffer from this limitation, the work has been well and faithfully done. Those readers who desire to obtain a general and yet accurate survey of Huxley's life

and work, will find an excellent account of it, in a brief compass, in Mr Chalmers Mitchell's pages.

Huxley's own estimate of his position in the scientific world is given in a letter to the Bishop of Ripon (1887):—

'As for me, in part from force of circumstance and in part from a conviction I could be of most use in that way, I have played the part of something between maid-of-all-work and gladiator-general for Science' (ii, 162).

He thus placed his public duties and, above all, his struggle to uphold 'the dignity and the freedom of science,' before his scientific discoveries; and, significant as these were, it is impossible to feel that he was mistaken.

Almost at the outset of his career, Huxley was deeply impressed by the utter carelessness of scientific requirements, and the frequent contempt for scientific work, which prevailed in the British Government Services. The *Rattlesnake*, the surveying ship on which he was surgeon, sailed 'without a volume on science,' in spite of the captain's application. On the voyage itself, Huxley says:

'The singular disrespect, with which the majority of naval officers regard everything that lies beyond the sphere of routine, tends to produce a tone of feeling very unfavourable to scientific exertions. How can it be otherwise, in fact, with men who, from the age of thirteen, meet with no influence but that which teaches them that the "Queen's regulations and instructions" are the law and the prophets, and something more?' (i, 49).

When Huxley returned home and was working out his material, he found it impossible to get a small grant for publication. In returning thanks as a medallist at the Royal Society dinner, on November 30th, 1852, he said:

'The Government of this country, of this *great* country, has been two years debating whether it should grant the three hundred pounds necessary for the publication of these researches' (i, 104).

Twenty-one years later he wrote to Professor Anton Dohrn, who was then founding the Zoological Station at Naples:

'I only wish I could see England represented among the applicants for tables. But you see England is so poor' (i, 399).

Again, nearly ten years later, Dohrn wrote to ask 'whether England would follow the example of Germany and Italy in sending naval officers to the Zoological Station at Naples to be instructed in catching and preserving marine animals for the purposes of scientific research.' To this he replied:

'So far as the British Admiralty is represented by the ordinary British admiral, the only reply to such a proposition as you make that I should expect would be that he (the British admiral, to wit) would see you d——d first' (ii, 42).

Huxley's early experience of this general depreciation of science was doubtless the chief cause of the splendid and, so far as it went, successful stand which he made for the principle expressed in the words he uttered in 1866:—

'The important question for England was not the duration of her coal, but the due comprehension of the truths of science, and the labours of her scientific men' (i, 277).

Those who consider that it would be an extravagance for a Government to spend money in objects such as those indicated in the previous paragraphs, and in costly experiments under the direction of the most eminent scientific men, may be reminded that the extravagance of the antagonistic attitude is revealed at a later stage, when we are compelled to make war in a British colony of which no trustworthy maps exist, when our wounded are jolted in ambulances devised by men clearly ignorant of the principles of their trade, and when our neglect of scientific training, of chemical and other laboratories, and of technical and commercial schools, is threatening to deprive us of our industrial and commercial supremacy.

It is only possible to speak of Huxley's success in this matter in qualified terms, because so much remains to be done. Writing in 1892, he speaks of the Trustees of the British Museum, of whom he was one, as

'hampered by the Treasury and the Civil Service regulations. If a Bates turned up now, I doubt if one could appoint him, however much one wished it, unless he would submit to some idiotic examination' (ii, 342, 343).

This is still the recognised method of appointment and the recognised method of advancement is that o

which he wrote to the then Director, Sir W. H. Flower, in 1891 :

‘ My “ next worst thing ” was promoting a weak man to a place of responsibility in lieu of a strong one, on the mere ground of seniority. *Cæteris paribus*, or even with approximate equality of qualifications, no doubt seniority ought to count; but it is mere ruin to any service to let it interfere with the promotion of men of marked superiority, especially in the case of offices which involve much responsibility ’ (ii, 295).

So far as the Trustees are able to make occasional exceptions in appointment or advancement they of course create a grievance in the minds of the most deserving among those who have been subject to the mechanical system. Here is a cause in which we may well invoke a double portion of Huxley’s spirit to aid us in sweeping away the sterile influences which unfortunately hold sway in a noble institution. On June 7th, 1887, Huxley had an interview by appointment with Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister. He took some very interesting notes immediately after the interview (ii, 164, 165), which was significant of a desire on the part of the Government formally to recognise achievement in science, letters, and art. The difficulties of official recognition were well put by Huxley; and from the point of view of the scientific man such a movement, as well as the conferment of rank or nobility, to which Huxley also objected, would be of doubtful advantage. But from the point of view of public advantage it would seem to be the duty of a man of science always to help, in however small a degree, the Government and Services to maintain and increase their contact with scientific workers and thinkers.

The requirements of space prevent any further consideration on the present occasion of Huxley’s public duties—of his services to education, of his work on Royal Commissions, of his tenure of important offices in the scientific world, including the most important of all, the Presidency of the Royal Society. In these positions ‘ the freedom and the dignity of science ’ was the cause which he ever served with unfailing energy and conscientiousness. Although Huxley was immersed in these public duties, and was much hampered by ill-health, he had the keenest enthusiasm for research. His enquiries were not

those of the naturalist. 'I am afraid there is very little of the genuine naturalist in me,' he says of himself; and walking once with Hooker in the Rhone valley, where the grass was alive with red and green grasshoppers, he said, 'I would give anything to be as interested in them as you are' (ii, 443). In later days he experienced the pleasures of the naturalist in his study of gentians in Switzerland, and in the care of his garden; but through all the strenuous years of his life it was the 'architectural and engineering' side of nature which appealed to him; he was a comparative anatomist with a strong but unsatisfied craving for physiological enquiry.

Although zoological science was profoundly influenced by his researches, Huxley was too independent to attach himself to any school, and did not even covet one of his own.

"“Authorities,” “disciples,” and “schools”” he wrote (ii, 316), 'are the curse of science; and do more to interfere with the work of the scientific spirit than all its enemies.'

There are, however, interesting exceptions to the scientific isolation which was on the whole a marked characteristic of the man. The most remarkable of these was his warm sympathy with the work of the late W. Kitchin Parker, to whom he wrote, as a mock spiritual adviser:—

'Nothing short of the direct temptation of the evil one could lead you to entertain so monstrous a doctrine as that you propound about *Cariamidae*. I recommend fasting for three days and the application of a scourge thrice in the twenty-four hours! Do this, and about the fourth day you will perceive that the cranial differences alone are as great as those between *Cathartes* and *Serpentarius*' (i, 286).

The generous interest he took in a dock labourer who had observed for himself with a magnifying glass (ii, 365 &c.) is to be looked upon as the expression of his strong human sympathies. The writings of those who assisted him in teaching testify to the warm affection, as well as a feeling akin to reverence, which he inspired. In one important respect he profoundly modified his system of instruction as the result of the influence of an assistant teacher, the late Professor Jeffery Parker, who induced him to reverse the order of studies in the biological course which he in-

augurated in 1872 (ii, 411). But an imperfect picture of the man would be given if his isolation and aloofness from general zoological enquiry were not insisted on as a very marked feature.

It is impossible within the limits of our space to give an adequate account of his numerous scientific memoirs, many of which laid the foundation of later advance. As Mr Mitchell truly says of his work on the Medusae and the allied groups,

"Just as the superstructures of a great building conceal the foundations, so later anatomical work, although it only amplified and extended Huxley's discoveries, has made them seem less striking to the modern reader' (pp. 34, 35);

and the same words might be used of many of his other papers. Rather than attempt the discussion of these, the object of the present writer will be briefly to set forth the relation of Huxley to the ideas for which he did so much, and which did so much for him—the doctrine of evolution and its suggested motive cause in the hypothesis of natural selection. These ideas largely controlled and modified his life from the end of 1859, illuminating and directing the lines of his zoological and palæontological researches, and inspiring the noble stand which he so successfully made against all those influences which tend to restrain the most perfect freedom in the search for truth, and the free expression of the conclusions to which that research may lead.

Those who have been inclined to belittle the hypothesis of natural selection, now that the battle of evolution is won, should reflect upon the waste of speculation in which the greatest minds of their age were wandering, until guided by the light which first appeared to Darwin and Wallace. So we find even Darwin thus explaining the extinction of species by causes operating from within: 'As with the individual, so with the species, the hour of life has run its course, and is spent.' Just as the length of the life of an individual, if not terminated prematurely by accidental causes, is predetermined in the structure of the first cell, so Darwin, in the days before natural selection occurred to him, seems to have imagined that the life of a species is predetermined in the structure of the first individuals that compose it. In other words, both indi-

viduals and species are so constructed that they will run to a certain number of generations—the one of cells, the other of individuals. We find him pursuing the parallel between the individual and the species still further, to the length of supposing that species are so constituted that they must give rise to other species or become extinct, just as an individual dies unrepresented if it has not become the parent of other individuals. These curious and interesting speculations of Darwin are such as might occur to the naturalist. Huxley, in his search for a foundation for evolution, developed an entirely different set of ideas. These arose naturally from his interest in the forms and structures of animals, from the ‘architectural and engineering’ side of nature, which he tells us chiefly appealed to him. As is well shown by Mr Mitchell (pp. 60–62), he imagined each of the great groups of animals as a cluster of modifications of a single type, his conception being based on the physical and chemical sciences, rather than the phenomena of the living creature. He did not see his way to the passage from one group to another. If such passage ever occurred,

‘then the doctrine that every natural group is organised after a definite archetype, a doctrine which seems to me as important for zoology as the theory of definite proportions for chemistry, must be given up.’*

Earlier, in 1847, when he was only twenty-two, he wrote to his sister, from Sydney, expressing the anticipation that he had achieved ‘one of the great ends of Zoology and Anatomy, viz., the reduction of two or three apparently widely separated and incongruous groups into modifications of the single type’ (i, 34). He here referred to his great work in building up the group which we now know as the Coelenterata. That he pictured to himself some symmetry in the radiation of modifications from the central archetype seems to be clear from his letter of November 9th, 1851, to W. S. Macleay (i, 92):—

‘I am every day becoming more and more certain that you were on the right track thirty years ago in your views of the order and symmetry to be traced in the true natural system.’

* ‘Monograph on the Cephalous Molluses,’ ‘Transactions of the Royal Society,’ 1853.

This opinion is a revelation to anyone who has seen Macleay's extraordinary diagrams; and it is almost a relief to find from his later writings that Huxley upon the whole came to prefer an agnostic attitude towards evolution and its causes. When, however, later on, evolution was 'in the air,' and natural selection had been before the world for nearly a year, although as yet unfamiliar to Huxley, a letter to Sir Charles Lyell, written on June 25th, 1859, indicates that his only hope of a solution at that time still lay in his old comparison with the definite proportions of chemistry (i, 173, 174).

The isolation which was so remarkable in Huxley is apparent in the history of the famous years 1858 and 1859. Although the hypothesis of natural selection was thoroughly explained to the world in the joint paper of Darwin and Wallace read before the Linnean Society July 1st, 1858, and although Darwin had long before this explained his ideas to Hooker, Lyell, and Asa Gray, Huxley tells us that the thought which was uppermost in his mind when he had read the 'Origin,' in November 1859, was: 'How extremely stupid not to have thought of that!'^{*} and his letter to Lyell, alluded to in the previous paragraph, shows that natural selection was then unknown to him. His letter to Hooker on September 5th, 1858, proves that he had a general idea that great changes were impending, for it contains the words, 'Wallace's impetus seems to have set Darwin going in earnest, and I am rejoiced to hear that we shall learn his views in full, at last. I look forward to a great revolution being effected' (i, 159). But an excellent abstract of Darwin's views had already been given to the world; and a few weeks later a paper by Canon Tristram appeared in 'The Ibis' (October 1st, 1858) accepting the principle of natural selection and applying it to the explanation of the colours of Saharan birds.

The 'Origin' convinced Huxley once for all as to the sufficiency of the evidence for evolution, and the probability of natural selection as its explanation. He instantly foresaw the struggle which would come, and braced himself to bear the brunt of it. He fought with all the more vigour and spirit because the contest was not only for fair play to evolution but for the much wider

^{*} 'Life and Letters of Charles Darwin,' ii, 197.

issue of freedom in the expression of a sincere conviction of the truth, however unpalatable it might be ; and this battle he won so completely that it is now, and has been for long, almost impossible to realise the conditions under which controversy was conducted between thirty and forty years ago. That we are now living in an entirely different intellectual atmosphere is chiefly due to his success. Further light is thrown, in the 'Life and Letters,' upon the historic scene at the meeting of the British Association at Oxford in 1860. The interesting and detailed account in 'Darwin's Life and Letters' represents Huxley as gaining a great triumph over the Bishop of Oxford. Since the appearance of this work the views of others who were present have become known, and these tended to throw doubt upon the completeness of Huxley's success.* Mr Leonard Huxley has collected valuable evidence which uniformly supports the older view. He publishes a convincing letter from Mr A. G. Vernon-Harcourt of Oxford, and also one written by Huxley to Francis Darwin in 1891. This last letter makes it clear that Huxley was himself satisfied with the result ; for he wrote :

'Hooker and I walked away from the meeting together, and I remember saying to him that this experience had changed my opinion as to the practical value of the art of public speaking, and that from that time forth I should carefully cultivate it, and try to leave off hating it. I did the former, but never quite succeeded in the latter effort' (i, 188).

Moreover, Mr G. Griffith, the Secretary of the British Association, who was present, assures us that Huxley's reply was most effective and successful ; he also states that Huxley dined at the Red Lion Club at the Oxford meeting and made several short speeches, in all of which he alluded to the discussion in the happy frame of mind of one who has come through a difficulty successfully.

Considering all the evidence, we may be certain that the opinion that Huxley was too angry to speak effectively is altogether mistaken. It probably arose in the minds of certain witnesses who were not prepared at that date, only a few months after the appearance of the 'Origin,'

* Poulton, 'Charles Darwin,' &c., London, 1896, pp. 153-155 ; and 'Charles Darwin, a Biography,' by F. Darwin, 1892.

to hear such a vigorous defence of Darwin. Even ten years later Professor Rolleston wrote the most carefully-guarded sentences concerning evolution in the introduction to his 'Forms of Animal Life' (1870, p. xxv). One interesting and curious feature of the record is the fact that the published accounts of the successful repulse of the Bishop have been so largely contributed by the clergy. We owe most of our knowledge of the great contest to Canon Farrar of Durham, Canon Fremantle, and J. R. Green; more recently Canon Tuckwell has written an account which represents the more doubtful view of Huxley's success. It may be worth while, in considering the attitude of Oxford on this famous occasion, to recall the fact that Professor Baden Powell, in his essay 'On the Evidences of Christianity,' written soon after the appearance of Darwin's great book, and before the meeting of the British Association, calls it 'a work which must soon bring about an entire revolution of opinion in favour of the grand principle of the self-evolving powers of nature.'*

Although Huxley became, as he himself expressed it, 'Darwin's bull-dog,' and did more than any other man to secure a fair hearing for the new views, he by no means committed himself to the entire acceptance of natural selection. From the very first, and from time to time down to the end of his life, he wrote and said that the evidence in favour of this hypothesis was insufficient. It would be easy, if space permitted, to support this statement by a series of quotations from his speeches and writings, showing that his opinion on this subject never wavered during the thirty-four years between the publication of the 'Origin' and his speech at the Royal Society dinner on November 30th, 1894. But in spite of this want of entire confidence in natural selection, Huxley was enabled by its aid to accept evolution. He had been an agnostic as regards evolution, because 'firstly . . . the evidence in favour of transmutation was wholly insufficient,' and secondly because 'no suggestion respecting the causes of the transmutation assumed, which had been made, was in any way adequate to explain the phenomena.' As regards the first difficulty, Darwin completely convinced him in chapters ix-xii of the 'Origin,' while the second was removed by natural

* 'Essays and Reviews,' 7th ed. (1861), p. 139.

selection, even if the hypothesis itself should ultimately be disproved; for—

‘if we had none of us been able to discern the paramount significance of some of the most patent and notorious of natural facts, until they were, so to speak, thrust under our noses, what force remained in the dilemma—creation or nothing? It was obvious that, hereafter, the probability would be immensely greater, that the links of natural causation were hidden from our purblind eyes, than that natural causation should be incompetent to produce all the phenomena of nature.’ *

It is of great interest to consider the flaw in the experimental proof of the validity of natural selection which affected Huxley's opinion so powerfully, and to attempt to determine whether he was entirely justified in his reserved and cautious attitude. The different races of animals into which a species is often broken up are fertile *inter se*; nearly related species when paired produce hybrids which are themselves sterile *inter se*; distantly related species when paired cannot produce offspring at all. By artificial selection man has broken up a species, such as the ancestor of our fowls or pigeons, into sets of forms which are often as different structurally as widely separated species, and yet remain functionally mere races, mutually fertile and reproductive. In order to prove that natural selection has produced the functional gaps between existing species, Huxley maintained that we ought to be able to produce the same sterility between our artificially selected breeds; and until this had been done he could not thoroughly accept the theory of natural selection. This objection is expressed in many of his writings, one of the simplest statements being in a letter to the late Charles Kingsley:—

‘Their produce [viz. that of Horse and Ass] is usually a sterile hybrid. So if Carrier and Tumbler, *e.g.*, were physiological species equivalent to Horse and Ass, their progeny ought to be sterile or semi-sterile. So far as experience has gone, on the contrary, it is perfectly fertile—as fertile as the progeny of Carrier and Carrier or Tumbler and Tumbler. From the first time I

* ‘Life and Letters of Charles Darwin,’ vol. ii, p. 198; chapter by T. H. Huxley, ‘On the Reception of the “Origin of Species.”’

wrote about Darwin's work in the 'Times' and in the 'Westminster' until now, it has been obvious to me that this is the weak point of Darwin's doctrine. He *has* shown that selective breeding is a *vera causa* for morphological species; he has not yet shown it a *vera causa* for physiological species. But I entertain little doubt that a carefully devised system of experimentation would produce physiological species by selection—only the feat has not been performed yet' (i, 239).

It is probable that the experiment thus suggested could be successfully carried through. There are immense differences in individual fertility, and by careful selection it is in every way likely that two sets of individuals could be produced which would be sterile *inter se*, each remaining, nevertheless, perfectly fertile within its own borders. As selection may be directed to one character alone, such as fertility, it would probably be easy to arrange that no morphological differences separated these two sets of individuals which, nevertheless, would act as physiological species—in fact, to reverse the ordinary results of artificial selection. The experiment would be an interesting one, and it is to be hoped that it may be undertaken; but there are grave reasons for doubting whether it would justify such far-reaching conclusions as those Huxley saw in it. Even if the natural barrier of sterility were thus artificially produced, we should be very far from the proof that its existence in nature was due to the same kind of cause, viz. selection. Darwin did not believe that the barrier of sterility was caused by natural selection; he did not see how natural selection could operate so as to produce it. Wallace is inclined to take the other view; but probably the majority of naturalists follow Darwin in this respect. To Darwin and those who agree with him, Huxley's argument and suggested experiment are alike unconvincing. The experiment would merely do by artificial selection what is not done, so far as we know, by natural selection.

It is not difficult to understand the mutual sterility of natural species as an incidental result of their separation for an immense period of time. In the process of fertilisation a portion of a single cell nucleus from one individual fuses with a portion from another individual, the two combining to form the complete nucleus of the first cell of the offspring, from which all the countless cells of the future

individual will arise by division. Each part-nucleus contains the whole of the hereditary qualities received from and through its respective parent, and must therefore be of inconceivable complexity. We can only speak in generalities about processes of which so little is known, but we cannot be wrong in assuming that sterility is sometimes due to the fact that the complexity of the one part-nucleus fails in some way to suit the complexity of the other. The individuals of a single species inter-breeding together form a biological whole, in which selection rigidly keeps up a high standard of mutual compatibility between the sexual nuclei. Individuals whose sexual nuclei possess a structure which leads to sterile combinations with those of other individuals are excluded from contributing to the generations of the future. As soon, however, as a group of individuals ceases to breed with the rest of the species, there is no reason why the compatibility of the sexual nuclei of the two sets should be retained. Within each set, selection would work as before and keep up a high standard of compatibility: between the sets, compatibility would only persist as a heritage of past selection, gradually diminishing as slight changes of structure in either or both of the sets rendered them less and less fitted to form fertile combinations.

It is probable that of all the nice adjustments required in the living organism, the mutual adjustment of these inconceivably complex part-nuclei is the most delicate and precise. Now, delicately adjusted organs, such as those of sight, rapidly become incapable of performing their function when in any species they have been withdrawn from the operation of natural selection; similarly it is here suggested that the adjustment of sexual nuclei to each other would sooner or later give way when no longer sustained by selection. If, then, mutual fertility be the result of unceasing selection, and mutual sterility the inevitable, even if long-postponed, consequence of its cessation, it is obvious that Huxley's difficulty is solved, while his suggested experimental production of sterility by selection would not reproduce any natural operation: it would afford a picture of a natural result, but would be produced in an unnatural way. The length of time required for mutual sterility to be complete may be inferred from the fact that entirely distinct, but closely related, species

are still partially fertile in that they can produce hybrid offspring. When our domestic breeds of pigeons have been entirely prevented from interbreeding for some immense period of time, we may expect that they too will only produce sterile hybrids, and later still not even these. At present the majority of these breeds are not everywhere rigidly prevented from interbreeding, so that an approximation to natural species-formation has not even begun. There are others, however, such as the most widely different breeds of dogs, in which the divergence in size is so extreme that interbreeding has probably been a mechanical impossibility for some considerable time. The sexual nuclei of such breeds could be brought together by artificial means, and it would be of the highest interest to obtain a careful record of the degree of mutual fertility.

If, then, we cannot as yet reproduce by artificial selection all the characteristics of natural species-formation, but can only imitate natural race-formation, we can nevertheless appreciate the reasons for this want of success, and are no more compelled to relinquish our full confidence in natural selection than we are compelled to adopt a guarded attitude towards evolution because our historical records are not long enough to register the change of one species into another.

Another point upon which Huxley felt doubtful, and expressed his doubt in a letter to Darwin (i, 175, 176), is the rejection in the 'Origin' of *per saltum* or discontinuous evolution. An interesting letter to Sir Charles Lyell (June 25th, 1859) shows that this conclusion ran counter to his preconceived views; for in it he argued that '*transmutation* may take place without transition' (i, 173, 174). He stated this objection in the 'Westminster' in 1860, but did not continue to refer to it; and it is possible that his palæontological researches gradually led him to modify his conclusions. Whether new species arise by sudden changes in structure or by gradual transition is a question capable of decision by a sufficient study of the records preserved in the rocks; and, although this record is as a whole extremely imperfect, certain parts of it are remarkably complete. In these latter the smooth and continuous passage of skeletal structures from an older parent form through a series of *intermediate* forms in the early

rocks is not interrupted by rapid changes of form or the abrupt loss of pre-existing elements. One of Huxley's most celebrated addresses dwelt upon a transition of this kind in the history of the horse; and it seems probable that the close consideration of one of these examples in which the course of evolution has been preserved for us would have affected his general views. On the other hand, in the year before his death, he alluded to his early protests in '59 and '60 without indicating that his views had undergone any modification. Thus, in acknowledging Mr Bateson's book '*On Variation*,' in which discontinuous evolution is advocated, although without any consideration of the direct evidence afforded by palæontology, Huxley wrote, February 20th, 1894: 'I always took the same view, much to Mr Darwin's disgust, and we used often to debate it.'

Huxley objected to Herbert Spencer's term, 'survival of the fittest,' as a substitute for 'natural selection,' 'in consequence of the ambiguity of "fittest"—which many take to mean "best" or "highest"—whereas natural selection may work towards degradation . . .' (ii, 268; see also ii, 303). In this criticism he probably underestimated the insight of a younger generation, and also their advantages. To men past middle age when the '*Origin*' appeared, natural selection only became intelligible with the greatest difficulty, and doubtless Herbert Spencer's more self-explanatory phrase was at first misunderstood. But men accustomed to these ideas from their student days have no difficulty in grasping the true meaning of both expressions, and are not likely to be led into so obvious a pitfall. 'Fittest,' in this connexion, is well understood to mean 'possessing those qualities which most tend to ensure survival.'

A keenly contested controversy arose in this country in 1887, and continued for many years, upon the causes of evolution suggested by earlier thinkers, and admitted by Darwin to take a place, although but a small one, beside natural selection. These causes were the inherited direct effect of environment, suggested by Buffon, and the inherited effect of use and disuse, suggested by Lamarck. The controversy, which was due to the writings of Weismann, turned on the evidence for and against the inheritance of 'acquired characters.' Huxley took no part in it, and it is therefore of the deepest interest to find the record of

his opinion in his private letters. He wrote to Herbert Spencer on June 4th, 1886:

'Mind, I have no *a priori* objection to the transmission of functional modifications whatever. In fact, as I told you, I should rather like it to be true. But I argued against the assumption (with Darwin as I do with you) of the operation of a factor which, if you will forgive me for saying so, seems as far off support by trustworthy evidence now as ever it was' (ii, 133, 134: *cf.* 268, 269).

The allusion to his earlier discussion of the Lamarckian view with Darwin is of great interest. He wrote to Sir Joseph Hooker on September 29th, 1889:

'Why do not some of these people who talk about the direct influence of conditions try to explain the structure of orchids on that tack? Orchids at any rate can't try to improve themselves in taking shots at insects' heads with pollen bags—as Lamarck's Giraffes tried to stretch their necks!' (ii, 242).

And again in 1890 he wrote to Mr W. Platt Ball: 'I absolutely disbelieve in use-inheritance as the evidence stands.'

Certain statements in Huxley's letters may possibly convey a false impression of egotism. For instance, in several letters he refers to his failure to write a description of *Spirula* for the 'Challenger Reports,' justifying his retention of the material and drawings on the ground that 'no one could make head or tail of the business but myself' (ii, 190; see also i, 399; ii, 196, 197, 234). This sentence is capable of being read in a sense almost opposite to its true meaning. Huxley only meant that no one else could explain or make proper use of his drawings and such notes as he had written: he was only stating what every writer of a monograph would feel about his preliminary notes and even his finished but undescribed drawings. Early in his career Huxley had written an epoch-making paper on the group to which *Spirula* belongs; then came long years of other work and administrative duties, interrupted by much ill-health; and in the meantime our knowledge of the Mollusca was progressing rapidly in the hands of many workers in many countries. The probable interpretation of the long delay, for which he was much criticised, is that he always intended and yet never could bring himself to study all these accumulated arrears with the care which he felt would be necessary before he could

publish a monograph upon so rare and treasured a form as *Spirula*, and one from which so much was expected. Finally, in 1893, he handed over his plates, with an explanation of them, to Professor Pilseneer of Ghent, who wrote the paper for the 'Reports' (ii, 360-362). The paper is illustrated by Huxley's plates, and appears under their joint names, Huxley consenting to Pilseneer's wish that this should be the case.

The authors of the two biographies, both Oxford men, do scant justice to their university as regards the teaching of science. Oxford has lost so much by spending immense sums on laboratories before it was known how best to construct them, that she might at least have the credit of her misfortunes. This Mr Leonard Huxley would withhold from her (ii, 110); while Mr Chalmers Mitchell implies that Rolleston's students did not themselves dissect the animals chosen as types of the chief divisions (p. 179). The true history of the type-system of instruction is given in the 'Life and Letters' (i, 377, 378), where Professor Lankester expresses the opinion 'that Rolleston was influenced in his plan by your father's advice. But Rolleston had the earlier opportunity of putting the method into practice.' This important system of teaching, which has influenced the study of natural history far and wide, was begun at Oxford about 1861, while Rolleston published his notes as 'Forms of Animal Life' in 1870. Huxley's classes began in 1871, while the 'Practical Instruction in Elementary Biology,' by him and H. N. Martin, first appeared in 1875. It is true that Rolleston's unfortunately pedantic style prevented his work from producing a far-reaching influence like that exerted by the luminous and perfectly simple descriptions of which Huxley was a master.

There are a few obvious mistakes in detail in the 'Life and Letters.' Professor Lankester is described as a Fellow of University instead of Exeter (i, 408). Wilfrid Ward's statement that Frank Balfour was at Eton, instead of Harrow, is quoted without correction (ii, 397). There are also some uncorrected errors in H. F. Osborn's account of Huxley's speech in seconding the vote of thanks to Lord Salisbury at the meeting of the British Association at Oxford in 1894 (ii, 376, 377). The occasion was not 'Huxley's last public appearance,' nor had he 'spoken his last word as champion of the law of evolution': these statements

were true of his speech nearly four months later at the Royal Society dinner on November 30th. Professor Osborn also speaks of the D.C.L. gown 'placed upon his shoulders by the very body of men who had once referred to him as "a Mr Huxley."' The words were really used by the 'Times,' as Mr Mitchell correctly states (p. 66). Among the few mistakes in Mr Mitchell's work is the statement that Huxley made several trips to America (p. 276): he made but a single visit, in 1876, when the 'American Addresses' were delivered.

It has been commonly believed that Huxley's extraordinary success as a speaker was the outcome of practice rather than natural capacity. The late Professor Rolleston even pointed to Huxley's success as an example from which encouragement might be derived by poor lecturers, showing the heights which may gradually be attained by patient trial and long experience. This opinion appears to have been held by Huxley himself, and is expressed in the 'Life' (e.g. vol. i, pp. 87, 88, 413), and by Mr Mitchell (pp. 208, 209). It is of course true that great improvement in speaking may be effected by practice, but it would be holding out false hopes to the beginner to suggest that anything approaching the remarkable power exhibited by Huxley could be attained except by the fortunate possessor of an innate faculty at a very unusual level of development. Experience enabled Huxley to control his natural nervousness, and thus to give his power free play; but the power itself was one of 'the things that are inborn and cannot be taught,' to use his own words as applied to 'energy and intellectual grip' (ii, 320). There is evidence that he was successful from the very first, and that to the end he retained the strong feeling, essential to the finest oratory, that in speaking he was undertaking no light task, but something serious and difficult, demanding close concentration, and even then entered upon almost with a sense of impending failure.

A very interesting account of his feelings on the occasion of his first lecture is given in a letter to Miss Heathorn (i, 98). He was just twenty-seven at the time. Writing on April 30th, 1852, he says:—

'I have just returned from giving my lecture at the Royal Institution, of which I told you in my last letter. I had got very nervous about it, and my poor mother's death had greatly

upset my plans for working it out. It was the first lecture I had ever given in my life, and to what is considered the best audience in London. As nothing ever works up my energies but a high flight, I had chosen a very difficult abstract point, in my view of which I stand almost alone. [The subject was 'On Animal Individuality.'] When I took a glimpse into the theatre and saw it full of faces, I did feel most amazingly uncomfortable. I can now quite understand what it is to be going to be hanged, and nothing but the necessity of the case prevented me from running away. However, when the hour struck, in I marched, and began to deliver my discourse. For ten minutes I did not quite know where I was, but by degrees I got used to it, and gradually gained perfect command of myself and of my subject. I believe I contrived to interest my audience, and upon the whole I think I may say that this essay was successful. Thank Heaven I can say so, for though it is no great matter succeeding, failing would have been a bitter annoyance to me. It has put me comfortably at my ease with regard to all future lecturings. After the Royal Institution there is no audience I shall ever fear.'

Remembering that this account is written by one who was extremely critical of his own achievements, it cannot be doubted that Huxley possessed natural capacity for speaking of a very high order. Seventeen years later he wrote to Professor Prestwich :—

'There is no doubt public-dinner speaking (and indeed all public speaking) is nervous work. I funk horribly, though I never get the least credit for it. But it is like swimming, the worst of it is in the first plunge' (i, 311).

A few years before his death he was asked, late in the afternoon of St Andrew's Day, to propose the health of the medallists at the Royal Society dinner the same evening. Throughout the dinner it was obvious to those who watched him that he was, with much effort and concentration, preparing for the fine speech which he afterwards made.

Apart from the natural gift of speech his great success depended upon his presentation of the subject in the simplest and clearest manner. We are told that—

'an unfriendly critic once paid him an unintended compliment, when trying to make out that he was no great speaker; that all he did was to set some interesting theory unadorned before

his audience, when such success as he attained was due to the compelling nature of the subject itself' (i, 467, 468).

Certainly no higher praise could be bestowed on a speaker whose task it is to instruct and to inspire interest than this: 'He displays his subject rather than himself.' The common mistake of the fluent speaker, who feels no sense of effort or nervousness, is to cover up and obscure his subject by over-indulgence in rhetoric. This explanation of Huxley's success probably also accounts for such a failure as that in his early days at an institute in St John's Wood, whose members petitioned 'not to have that young man again' (i, 88). The success of a lecture rests largely with the audience; and even now audiences are to be found incapable of being interested by a scientific subject, however clearly it may be set before them.

Perhaps the greatest of Huxley's lectures was delivered as one of the two evening discourses at the meeting of the British Association at York, in 1881: it is very inadequately treated in the 'Life,' where it is spoken of as if he had read a paper at one of the sectional meetings (ii, 34). He chose as his subject the 'Rise and Progress of Palæontology,' and lectured without a note. Huxley afterwards told Mr G. Griffith, the Secretary of the Association, that the discourse had never been written down in any form, explaining, however, that he had reflected much upon the subject. The lecture produced a very deep impression, and many must have felt what was expressed to the present writer at the conclusion, that no one else could have presented the subject as Huxley had presented it. The address was afterwards printed, and may be found in 'Collected Essays' (iv, p. 24).

It is not necessary to consider at any length Huxley's power and style as a writer of English. Everyone is familiar with it, and differences of opinion will exist upon this as upon all questions of form. Mr Chalmers Mitchell, after an interesting discussion (pp. 213-217), concludes that he 'produced his effects by the ordering of his ideas and not by the ordering of his words; . . . he is one of our great English writers, but he is not a great writer of English.' It is probable that the majority of readers will emphatically disagree with this conclusion. The 'Life and Letters' make it certain that Huxley felt 'the sedulous

concern for words themselves as things valuable and delightful, the delight of the craftsman in his tools,' which Mr Mitchell, in the absence of this new evidence, considers that he lacked (p. 215). The same work shows that the easy and pleasant reading of his compositions meant, as usual, 'hard writing.' In 1854, when Huxley had been partially supporting himself by writing for some years, he said, in a letter to his sister (i, 118), 'My pen is not a very facile one, and what I write costs me a good deal of trouble.' In 1882 he wrote to Romanes :—

'My own way is to write and re-write things, until by some sort of instinctive process they acquire the condensation and symmetry which satisfies me. And I really could not say how my original drafts are improved until they somehow improve themselves' (ii, 39).

Within four years of the end of his life he wrote to H. de Varigny :—

'The fact is that I have a great love and respect for my native tongue, and take great pains to use it properly. Sometimes I write essays half-a-dozen times before I can get them into the proper shape; and I believe I become more fastidious as I grow older' (ii, 291).

There can be no question that this labour of love and duty produced an admirable result. Huxley's essays and addresses contain many pages which for purity, terseness, vigour, and comprehension of the English language, are hardly to be surpassed by any writer of the Victorian age.

We may conclude this brief account of some aspects of a great man with the words of Professor E. Ray Lankester: 'I feel that the world has shrunk and become a poor thing, now that his splendid spirit and delightful presence are gone from it' (ii, 423). At the same time his memory is with us to encourage us in the warfare on behalf of science, which he carried on so unflinchingly, the struggle which is as necessary now, at the opening of a new century, as in the past, to bring about the most favourable conditions for the pursuit of truth, and to make the people heed the truth when it has been found.

Art. XII.—THE NICARAGUAN CANAL.

THE rough handling, which the treaty negotiated by Lord Pauncefote and Mr Hay early in last year has experienced at the hands of the United States Senate, has caused a natural feeling of resentment in this country. It was generally believed that the attitude which the British Government took up at the time of the Spanish-American War merited and would receive some return, in a more sympathetic appreciation of a policy which has never been intentionally hostile to America, and in a willingness to meet us halfway where the interests of the two countries are opposed. But neither in Alaska nor yet in Central America do the people of the United States appear disposed to abate a tittle of what they regard as their strict rights on the score of friendship; and in the latter case bitterness is added to the pill by the manner of its administration. The discourtesy of an attempt to 'supersede' an international agreement by one of the parties, without consultation with the other, must have been patent to a large number of those who voted in the majority which carried the amendments to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. Yet for some reason they preferred to risk the ill-will which their conduct might be expected to engender rather than give effect to the carefully considered work of two able and experienced diplomatists.

The motives which decided the fate of the treaty were probably extremely diverse. With some members of the Senate the belief that American interests demanded the Americanising of the canal was, we do not doubt, the main influence. The vote of many more was secured, it may be surmised, by railway interests acting upon party organisation, in the hope that the transformed treaty would not be acceptable to Great Britain, and that the construction of the canal would be delayed in consequence. With the representatives of the Western States of the Union it is possible that mere dislike of this country was the predominant feeling, and that they regarded the present opportunity of giving us 'another fall' too good to be lost. The Western States, which contain a large percentage of inhabitants of other than Anglo-Saxon origin, have always shown more hostility towards us than the States

of the Eastern half of the Union. It was the former which drove President Madison into war in 1812; and it was their press which, during the negotiations preceding the settlement of the Oregon boundary in the forties, raised the cry 'Fifty-four forty, or fight,' and which was equally bellicose when the Alaska settlement was pending. Some day we may live down that feeling, but for the present it renders negotiations with the United States difficult to carry through, and, if the results are to be destroyed at the will of one side only, perhaps hardly worth the anxiety and trouble which they cost.

The uneasy course which Anglo-American diplomacy has run, in consequence of the atmosphere of distrust in which it has had to work, is typically illustrated by the negotiations which have centred upon the construction of a water-way across the waist of the American continent. A mutual suspicion of one another's intentions adversely affects the relations of nations far more than those of individuals. There cannot, from the nature of the case, be the same free intercourse between nations as between persons; and men are generally quicker to see evil in the aims of those whom they have not met than in those of their own acquaintances. This check upon international cordiality has been constantly apparent in the intercourse of Great Britain and the United States, from the date of the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 down to the failure of the Commission over which the late Lord Herschell presided. A brief outline of the principal points in the history of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention of 1850 will serve to show what small causes are sufficient to arouse the latent fear of being outwitted by a more subtle-minded bargainer.

The project of forming a cross-country connexion by water between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts had stirred men's minds for centuries before it came so far within the sphere of practical matters as to be made the subject of international agreement. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the United States had entered upon the career of commercial development and territorial expansion which to-day has placed it among the great powers of the world. The Union had spread westward to the Pacific Ocean; it was creeping slowly southward. The admission of Texas to the Union in 1845, and the annexations which followed the war with Mexico, caused

American politicians to view with jealousy claims on the part of other countries in Central America which might conflict with the interests of the United States. At that time the only fruits which remained of repeated efforts on the part of William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, and other British merchants, to found colonies on and about the isthmus, consisted of the settlement of British Honduras on the Guatemalan coast, including a claim to the Bay Islands, which was disputed by the States, and a protectorate over the eastern sea-board of Nicaragua, which was inhabited by the Mosquito Indians.

In 1846 Lord Palmerston, becoming Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the fall of Sir Robert Peel's ministry, commenced a vigorous assertion of British claims in Central America, his policy being directed to securing the predominance of Great Britain in the neighbourhood of the San Juan river and Lake Nicaragua. The vigour with which he pushed his efforts led to a conflict with Nicaragua, and subsequently to a treaty by which that State surrendered to the Mosquitos its claims to the town of San Juan, now known as Greytown. The immediate consequence was an outburst of hostile feeling in the United States, whose Government at once despatched an agent, Elijah Hise by name, to enter into negotiations with Nicaragua. Hise, contrary to his instructions, concluded an agreement without consulting the authorities at Washington. By the terms of this treaty—the Selva-Hise Convention of 1849—Nicaragua undertook to allow to the United States, or to a company to which a charter should be granted by the United States Government, the exclusive right to construct a canal from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and to cede so much land as might be required for the purpose. The United States and Nicaraguan warships were to pass through the canal free of charge, but for all other vessels such tolls were to be exacted as the body constructing the canal should deem necessary. The United States Government was to be permitted to build fortifications for the protection of the works, and in return was to guarantee Nicaragua from foreign aggression. This treaty was not ratified, owing to the convention made between Great Britain and the United States in the following year.

In consequence of this effort to circumvent British

influence in Nicaragua, and of several other acts of an irritating character committed by one side or the other, there ensued a severe tension of Anglo-American relations. While matters were in this condition, Mr Clayton, the American Secretary of State, with the view of soothing the bitter feelings aroused in both countries, opened negotiations with Great Britain. Upon instructions from him, Mr Abbott Laurence, United States Envoy in London, in a despatch of the 14th December, 1849, urged that the Government of Great Britain should join the United States in the enterprise contemplated by the treaty with Nicaragua.

‘A ship-canal,’ he said, ‘connecting the two oceans, will do more to perpetuate peace between Great Britain and the United States, and in fact the whole world, than any work yet achieved . . . It is our mission to extend commerce—the pioneer of civilisation and child of peace—to all parts of the world; to cultivate friendly relations with all; to bring the distant near; and to illustrate by our example the elevating effects of Christianity.’

These were the days of the Great Exhibition, when commerce was generally supposed to mean peace and goodwill to all mankind—a belief which later experience has unfortunately dispelled. Whether Lord Palmerston shared this belief or not does not appear; but he replied to the invitation by sending Sir Henry Bulwer to Washington; and the treaty to which the negotiators have given their names was executed on the 19th of April, 1850.

By that treaty the contracting parties engaged that, in the event of the construction of a canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by way of the River San Juan de Nicaragua and either or both of the Lakes Nicaragua and Managua, the following conditions, among others, should be observed by the parties:—

Art. I. Neither Government will obtain or maintain an exclusive control over, or erect fortifications commanding, the canal, or exercise dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America; nor will either attempt to obtain, directly or indirectly, advantages in relation to commerce or navigation exclusively for its own subjects.

Art. II. British and American vessels traversing the canal shall,

in case of war between the parties, be exempt from blockade, detention, or capture, for a distance from the entrances to the canal to be afterwards agreed upon. [This was two years later fixed at twenty-five miles.]

Art. V. The two Governments undertake to protect the canal from interruption or seizure, and to guarantee its neutrality: this guarantee to be conditional on the proper regulation of the canal by the company making and managing it.

Art. VI. All friendly nations shall be invited to enter into stipulations with the contracting parties similar to those by which the latter have bound themselves; and the parties to the present Convention agree to make treaties with the Central American States for the purpose of carrying into effect the design of the Convention. [In consequence of this article there are treaties in force to-day which would apparently require to be modified before the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, as amended by the Senate, could become operative.]

Art. VIII. The same protection shall be extended to any other communication across the isthmus connecting North and South America, whether made by canal or railway, provided that the traffic charges are equitable, and that there is no attempt to discriminate against the ships or commerce of any country.

Unfortunately the treaty was not free from ambiguity. Before ratifications had been exchanged, Sir H. Bulwer was instructed by the British Government to announce formally to the American Secretary that the engagements of the Convention (*i.e.* under the first head) were not understood to apply 'to Her Majesty's settlement at Honduras or its dependencies,' the Bay Islands. To Bulwer's note Clayton replied that neither of the negotiators contemplated the inclusion of 'the British settlement of Honduras, commonly called British Honduras, as distinguished from the State of Honduras, nor the small islands in the neighbourhood of that settlement, which may be known as its dependencies.' But apparently, in communicating the substance of Sir Henry Bulwer's note to the Senate, Mr Clayton omitted to state Great Britain's reservation of her claim to the islands, so that when the full extent of the reservation became known, the Americans believed that their representative had been outwitted, and were very sore in consequence.

Another cause of misunderstanding was the Mosquito protectorate claimed by Great Britain. In the despatch

to which reference has already been made, Mr Laurence had objected to that claim, and also to the British occupation of Greytown. He maintained that in order to give full confidence to the capitalists of Europe and America, neither the United States nor Great Britain should exercise any political power over the Indians, or any of the States of Central America.

‘The occupation of Greytown,’ he said, ‘and the attempt to establish a protected independence in Mosquito, throw at once obstacles in the way, excite jealousies, and destroy confidence, without which capital can never flow into this channel.’

In the course of the negotiations the Americans were very urgent that the protectorate should be surrendered, and the Mosquito territory incorporated in the State of Nicaragua on such terms as to the rights of the Indians as should commend themselves to the British Government. They asserted that the governing council was composed entirely of Englishmen, and that, therefore, to maintain the claim would look like an attempt on the part of Great Britain to evade her obligations under the treaty. Lord Palmerston refused to yield the point, though he promised that no advantage detrimental to the United States should be taken by this country of her position; and, in order that there should not be any subsequent question with regard to this matter, some words were added to the original draft at the instigation of Sir Henry Bulwer. The United States, however, continued to press for the abolition of the protectorate, on the ground that such a control ‘must, from the nature of things, be an absolute submission of these Indians to the British Government, as in fact it has ever been’; and that it was therefore necessarily opposed to the spirit of the treaty. Lord Clarendon met the complaint by pointing out that, since the actual language of the document recognised the possibility of protection, the intention of the contracting parties obviously was ‘not to prohibit or abolish, but to limit and restrict such protectorate.’ Nevertheless, in order to ease relations which were becoming somewhat strained, Great Britain entered into agreements by which she ceded the Bay Islands to Honduras in 1859, and the Mosquito coast to Nicaragua in 1860, the latter State undertaking not to interfere with the internal affairs of the Indians. The treaty of 1860

was supplemented by another two years later; and the privileges reserved to the Mosquitos were the subject of an arbitration between this country and Nicaragua in 1881, when the present Emperor of Austria acted as arbitrator.

In 1880 Congress passed a resolution calling upon President Garfield to take steps to obtain the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; and Mr Blaine, who was then Secretary of State, entered into correspondence with the British Foreign Office with a view to securing that object. He failed, however, as did also his successor, Mr Freylinghuysen, who was Secretary in President Arthur's administration. The latter, indeed, concluded another convention with Nicaragua on lines somewhat similar to those adopted in the treaty of 1849 between the same parties. Under the Freylinghuysen-Zevalla Treaty, Nicaragua was to cede to the United States a strip of territory, ten miles wide, for the site of the canal, and the United States in return were to make a loan to Nicaragua of four million dollars, and to engage to protect Nicaraguan territory against external aggression. But, mainly on the ground of the last provision, the treaty was thrown over when Mr Cleveland came into power in 1885. There was no farther correspondence between the British and United States Governments on the subject until two years ago. The negotiations then begun resulted in the Hay-Pauncefote Convention (signed February 5th, 1900), the terms of which are as follows:—

Art. I. It is agreed that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, either directly at its own cost, or by gift or loan of money to individuals or corporations or through subscription to or purchase of stock or shares, and that, subject to the provisions of the present Convention, said Government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal.

Art. II. The High Contracting Parties, desiring to preserve and maintain the "general principle" of neutralisation established in Article VIII of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, adopt, as the basis of such neutralisation, the following rules, substantially as embodied in the Convention between Great Britain and certain other powers, signed at Constantinople

20th October, 1888, for the free navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal, that is to say:—

1. The canal shall be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any nation or its citizens or subjects in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise.

2. The canal shall never be blockaded, nor shall any right of war be exercised, nor any act of hostility committed within it.

3. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not revictual or take any stores in the canal except so far as may be strictly necessary; and the transit of such vessels through the canal shall be effected with the least possible delay in accordance with the regulations in force, and with only such intermission as may result from the necessities of the service. Prizes shall be in all respects subject to the same rules as vessels of war of the belligerents.

4. No belligerent shall embark or disembark troops, munitions of war, or warlike materials in the canal except in case of accidental hindrance of the transit, and in such cases the transit shall be resumed with all possible despatch.

5. The provisions of this Article shall apply to waters adjacent to the canal within three marine miles of either end. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not remain in such waters longer than twenty-four hours at any one time except in case of distress, and in such case shall depart as soon as possible; but a vessel of war of one belligerent shall not depart within twenty-four hours from the departure of a vessel of war of the other belligerent.

6. The plant, establishment, buildings, and all works necessary to the construction, maintenance, and operation of the canal shall be deemed to be part thereof, for the purposes of this Convention, and in time of war as in time of peace shall enjoy complete immunity from attack or injury by belligerents and from acts calculated to impair their usefulness as part of the canal.

7. No fortifications shall be erected commanding the canal or the waters adjacent. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder.

Art. III. The High Contracting Parties will, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Convention, bring

it to the notice of other Powers and invite them to adhere to it.

It will be observed that this convention preserves and amplifies the neutrality clauses of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention, merely modifying the terms of that document (Art. I) as to the right of construction and control: the other clauses of the older treaty remain intact. To such an alteration this country could not well have taken objection, nor had it any disposition to do so. The treaty of 1850 contemplated the construction of the waterway by private enterprise; but fifty years of inactivity at Nicaragua and the failure of the Panama Canal Company seem to show that this stupendous task must be undertaken by a nation and not left to private effort, if it is to be completed within reasonable limits of time. In these circumstances it would have been an impracticable as well as a selfish policy to oppose a change needful to American interests, and not directly detrimental to our own.

But the amendments adopted by the United States Senate have considerably altered the state of the case. In the first place, the Clayton-Bulwer Convention is declared to be 'hereby [*i.e.* by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty] superseded.' Secondly, the first five clauses of Art. II are declared to be of no effect in case the defence of the United States is in question. Thirdly, the invitation to other powers to become parties to the principles set forth in the treaties is cancelled. Several other amendments were proposed but rejected. By one of these the American Government was to be enabled to impose discriminating tolls in favour of American manufactures and shipping in certain cases; but such a principle was too obviously in conflict with the main purpose of the treaties and the general trend of public opinion to be accepted even by such a body as the American Senate.

Deferring for a moment the consideration of these amendments, let us consider the value of the canal in peace and in war to the United States and to Europe respectively. Commercially, the project will not, we fear, be an unmixed gain to the Old World. Indeed, it is probably not too much to say that Europe has more to fear from the mere existence of the projected waterway than from any conditions imposed upon its usage. We could

not, however, prohibit the construction, even if we would ; and we must be content with endeavouring to prevent any power from acquiring an advantage which its natural position would not give to it. We cannot alter the fact that this junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans will bring the manufacturing cities of the United States some thousands of miles nearer to the consumer in China or Japan than Manchester and Liverpool are at present ; and the rejection of the amendment in favour of discriminatory tolls secures us, for the present at least, against any artificial increase of the advantage which will naturally accrue to the American trader in his dealings with the inhabitants of those countries and of the western sea-board of South America.

So far as Europe is concerned, the canal will afford a nearer route to the Pacific littoral of North and South America, to the South Sea Islands, and perhaps to New Zealand. But the reduction which it will effect in the distances to eastern markets will be all in favour of the United States. Through the Suez Canal the ocean route from Great Britain is closer than that from the eastern seaboard of the United States to Australia, China, and Japan, by between two and three thousand miles. When the Nicaraguan canal is built, the cities of the Atlantic seaboard of North America will have the advantage of us in point of distance by from one to three thousand miles ; and American merchants and politicians are looking to this reversal of space conditions to assist them in reducing British commercial supremacy in the Far East.* The Nicaraguan Canal will therefore not confer the same commercial advantages upon Great Britain and Europe generally as it will on American manufacturers. European trade to the East will for the most part go, as it has gone hitherto, through the Suez Canal ; the factories on the eastern coast of North America will send their goods for consumption in the East by way of Nicaragua instead of by Cape Horn or across country by rail, thus saving either thousands of miles of sea journey or the cost of trans-shipment. In 1896 the United States shipping passing through Suez was only 194,000 tons, and in 1898

* Cf. the 'Times' for January 10th, 1901, published after this article was in type.

less than 316,000 tons, out of a total traffic of over 12,000,000 tons, the British proportion for the years 1896, 1897, and 1898 being 68 per cent., 67·3 per cent., and 68·2 per cent. The proportions of shipping passing through the Nicaraguan Canal will doubtless be the reverse of these.

The importance of an isthmian canal to American trade cannot be overestimated; to European trade it is mainly important as placing an additional burden—that of greater distance—upon it when competing with American goods; while, with regard to European traffic to the Pacific coast of America, which will naturally seek the Nicaraguan route, there is the further risk of discriminating tolls. The disadvantage is one which can only be overcome either by preventing the construction of the canal or by greater activity on the part of European manufacturers. The first method is, as already said, out of the question; and it is by no means certain that the second will prove adequate to forestall injury to British commerce. With regard to trade with the republics of western South America Great Britain at present heads the list, with Germany second, and the United States third. But Mexico takes by far the larger portion of her imports from, and sends the larger part of her exports to, the States; and with the opening of the canal we must expect to see the lead we now hold materially reduced, and perhaps superseded. The mere advantage of proximity will accomplish that without any discriminating rates.

‘What we want,’ wrote an American commercial traveller to Senator Frye some years ago, ‘is the Nicaraguan Canal, and it ought to be completed as soon as possible, and be under the control of this Government. Then we can sit on the front seat with the commercial world for the west-coast trade of South America. The people want our goods if they can get them at the same rates of freight as from England and Germany.’

The fact that American manufacturers will have the advantage of us without lower rates of carriage seems our best protection against discrimination. Their view may, of course, undergo a change, but the defeat of the amendment asserting a claim to discriminate seems to show that we are not menaced in that quarter at present; and it is not by any means impossible that the States will modify their navigation and tariff laws before very long even if they do not actually become the free-trade nations.

economists expect to see. In addition we have such protection as treaty rights can be said to afford in view of the Senate's recent conduct, for the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, like its predecessor, enjoins entire equality 'in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic.'

Commercially, then, neither the supersession of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty nor the recently proposed amendments to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty will seriously affect our position. The existence of the canal will, of itself, form a menace to British commercial hegemony in the East far more serious than the confirmation or abrogation of any treaty rights. There are, as will be shown presently, certain distinctions between the treaties of 1850 and 1900; but from the point of view of our trade, at all events, they are not very important, and it is not easy to see how the abrogation of the earlier treaty can be commercially detrimental to us. As to the measures contemplated by the Davis amendment, whether the canal is neutralised or is entirely under American control, it is unlikely that British commerce will use it in case of an Anglo-American war, when it can use the Suez route, with greater safety, at the cost of a somewhat prolonged voyage. In that event there will be very little, if any, British trade in British bottoms with the western republics of South America; such trade will either cease altogether for the time, or will seek protection under a neutral flag. The last contingency, indeed, is one for which allowances will have to be made in any future hostilities between naval powers. The only case in which the canal will be likely to be useful to Great Britain from a commercial point of view will be that in which a war between this country and a European power renders the Suez route dangerous for merchant shipping; and in such a case the advantage to us may be considerable. In case of war with France, for instance, British merchandise destined for the Far East will probably prefer the route through Nicaragua to that through the Mediterranean and the Suez canal; and, whatever the position of the canal may be, the authorities in charge of it will naturally welcome the additional prosperity which the adversity of the rival enterprise will confer upon them. In peace or war—so long as it is not war with America—with equal or with discriminating tolls, there is not likely to be any

objection on the part of the United States to British traffic taking advantage of this trade route.

We may now consider the recent amendments to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, two of which will, or may, seriously affect our interests in case of war, especially of war with the United States. The proposed supersession of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty has, from the manner of the action, attracted more attention than is justifiable. If we put aside the natural annoyance which we feel at the Senate's disregard of international courtesy, and examine the question dispassionately, we shall find that the amendment makes little real difference. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, in its original condition, embodies all the material stipulations of the Treaty of 1850 except those which it expressly modifies. It provides for equality in canal charges, preserves the 'general principle' of neutralisation, with its corollary, the invitation to other powers to adhere, and prohibits both blockade and fortification. The only other important article in the earlier treaty—Art. I—is modified by Art. I and Art. II (7) of the later Convention, which allow the United States to make, regulate, and police the canal. It is true that Art. I of the earlier Treaty also prohibited either power from 'exercising any dominion over any part of Central America.' But this prohibition we have practically cancelled by the modification above-mentioned, for the United States cannot make and control the canal without taking practical possession of more or less territory on either side.* If the Americans were eventually to decide to annex the whole of Nicaragua—a very improbable contingency so long as Mexico is independent—we could hardly do anything—treaty or no treaty—but protest. We may console ourselves by reflecting that the removal of the prohibition to exercise dominion in Central America liberates us as well as the United States, though we are not in the least likely to make use of the right thus restored.

Thus it appears that the supersession of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty is a matter of small importance to this country. International conditions and other circumstances have undergone so radical a change in the last

* An amendment empowering the United States to acquire territory adjacent to the canal—which would have practically recognised the Frey-linghuysen-Zevalla treaty—was negatived, probably because it was felt to be superfluous.

fifty years that we could not expect the United States to remain indefinitely bound by a treaty made half a century ago and in contemplation of a different scheme; and the unmannerly way in which the Americans have announced their intention not to be bound by it inflicts upon us only a sentimental injury.

It is different with the other amendments, especially that which goes by the name of Senator Davis. This amendment runs thus:—

‘Insert at the end of Section 5 of Article II the following: “It is agreed, however, that none of the immediately foregoing conditions and stipulations in Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of this Article shall apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing by its own forces the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order.”’

In other words, Great Britain is to be bound by the five conditions referred to, while the United States may disregard them at any moment, on the plea that the defence of the country or the necessity for keeping order in the vicinity of the canal demands such a course, the United States Government apparently being sole judge of the truth of the assertion. It will also be observed that nothing in this amendment precludes the United States from exercising the powers which it confers in time of peace as well as of war. For instance, the United States could at any moment, if its relations with another power were strained, use this plea to prevent the ships of that power from passing through the canal (§ 1). Further, although § 7 of Art. II is ostensibly exempted from the action of this amendment, the prohibition contained in that section appears to be rendered nugatory. If ‘rights of war’ may be exercised and ‘acts of hostility’ committed within the canal (§ 2); if the canal itself may be blockaded—by the United States, but not by any other power; or if a belligerent—supposing that belligerent to be the United States acting in its own defence—may, in spite of § 4, ‘disembark troops or munitions of war’ in the canal, what becomes of the general prohibition contained in § 7? It is not necessary to ‘erect fortifications’ in order to render a canal impassable, or to prevent a *coup de main* on the part of another power with which

the United States might be at war, or with which there might be a prospect of war, however distant. The Davis amendment may therefore be taken as practically relieving the United States from all the disabilities contained in Art. II, whenever it may appear to be to its interest to neglect them.

The connexion between this amendment and that which cancels Art. III is now clear. If other powers join in guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal, they may interfere with the action of the United States under the Davis amendment. If they take no part in the treaty, they will have no *locus standi*. The third amendment substitutes protection—ostensibly by Great Britain and the United States, but really by the States alone—for neutralisation properly so-called; and the canal becomes American property. The two amendments stand or fall together.

That the value of the canal to the States from a strategic point of view is immeasurably greater than to any European country it would be idle to deny; and it is not altogether matter for surprise that the Americans should wish to insure themselves against any possible interruption in case of war.

‘With this canal,’ Mr Morgan told the Senate on one occasion, ‘we could move our ships of war upon short lines with abundant fuel, and concentrate in three weeks upon our western coast a fleet that we could not assemble in three months by doubling Cape Horn.’

That this estimate was not greatly exaggerated was proved during the Spanish-American war, when the United States cruiser Oregon, arriving at San Francisco and receiving orders to join Admiral Sampson's command in the Gulf of Mexico, was compelled to make the journey round Cape Horn, at the imminent risk of capture or destruction by the Spanish fleet. Had a trans-isthmian route been then available, the journey would have been accomplished in a few days, and much anxiety would have been saved. This incident has probably given a great impulse to the movement in favour of Americanising the canal.

Let us now consider the effect of this process in time of war. The belligerent groupings of the powers of the world, in the order of importance of the right of using the

canal to one party or the other, would seem to be these : (a) the United States against Great Britain ; (b) the United States against a European power or Japan ; (c) Great Britain against a European power or Japan ; (d) a European power against a European power or against Japan.

In any case in which the United States were belligerent they would constantly require, for the reason stated by Mr Morgan, to make use of the canal for their ships of war. But it is impossible to imagine the commander of a British or any other fleet, whose country was at war with the United States, adventuring his vessels into such a trap as the canal might prove to be, even were it neutralised. In such a war both the warships and the marine of the other belligerent would naturally seek the Suez Canal, since, even supposing neutralisation and the most perfect good faith on the part of the American Government, there would be imminent risk of capture before entering or on leaving the neutral zone, or of some untoward 'accident' in the canal. This would apply to Great Britain ; it would apply with yet greater force to any other power, inasmuch as every other power in the world is far less advantageously situated for attacking the United States on the sea. Even if the States had declared in favour of complete neutralisation of the canal, Great Britain would, from her bases in the West Indies, be able to do considerable damage to American shipping outside the zone of neutrality ; while the establishment of the canal on the footing of American property would enable us to maintain a blockade—supposing that we now refuse to be bound by Art. II (2)—and thus to render the route useless to American shipping of all kinds, so long as we could hold the sea. In the meantime the Suez Canal would afford us a safe communication with the East, unless the United States navy were then vastly stronger than it is at present. On the other hand, the fortification of the canal would probably prevent a *coup de main* by which we might hope to seize one or other outlet, and thus—even if we could not use the canal ourselves—to hinder American ships from using it : and this—it can hardly be doubted—is the primary cause of the demand for what, as we have shown, practically amounts to a right of fortification.

If Great Britain were at war with a European power, or a combination of powers, which could for a time block

the Mediterranean and render the Suez canal unavailable for British ships of war, the neutralisation of the route through Nicaragua would become important to us for the purpose of reinforcing or withdrawing, if necessary, our squadrons in the East in the least possible time. The same consideration would apply to the other belligerent, although perhaps in a less degree. If the canal is neutralised to the extent of being open to belligerent warships (it may, of course, only be neutralised for the protection of trading vessels), this use could be made of it. If it should become solely American property, or should only be neutralised in the lesser degree, belligerent warships would obviously be unable to claim a passage through it, and in going to or returning from the East would be obliged to round Cape Horn, an addition to the voyage of not far short of ten thousand miles. In either case, so long as the United States remains neutral, the new conditions introduced by the Davis amendment would, from this particular point of view, be a matter of indifference to us.

Were two European powers at war, the struggle would be mainly fought out on land. But a country like Germany, with her rapidly growing industrial population, cannot afford to neglect the naval question, and by her therefore, even more perhaps than by France and Russia, the conditions attaching to the user of the isthmian canal cannot be viewed with indifference. Should Japan be one of the belligerent parties, the war would probably be conducted mainly in the East. This would certainly be the case if Russia were the other belligerent; and as Russia is the only power with which Japan has at present any cause for serious disagreement, and Japan is still an unknown factor in naval warfare with European powers, the question of the relation of the canal to any hostilities in which she may happen to be engaged is hardly ripe for discussion. At any rate, this is not our concern.

From what has been said, it will, we think, be clear that neutralisation, as provided for by Art. II of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, would be the course most beneficial to the general welfare of the world. To Europe it would certainly be so; and the United States also would, it is probable, gain more than it would lose by assenting to the principles which both Conventions lay down without

reservation.* Among the advantages accruing to America from adopting neutralisation in its simplest and most extensive form would be the following: The expense of building fortifications would be saved; the American fleet would be freed from the burden of constantly watching the approaches of the canal in any war to which the States were party; the chances of intervention by neutral powers in such a war would be lessened; neutral commerce would be saved from vexatious interference in time of war, and consequently the loss of tolls through diversion of shipping, upon rumour of American hostilities, would be avoided; free passage of American warships in time of war, and of American goods in neutral bottoms, would be ensured; attempts to construct a competing canal at Panama or elsewhere would be hindered. Neutralisation, without fortification, but with the twenty-five mile limit agreed to under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which it is now proposed to reduce to the ordinary three-mile limit, would seem to be best calculated to serve the interests of the United States. In peace the powers given by the Davis amendment would be immaterial; they contemplate only war or the prospect of war. Even if the canal itself could be held by the States, its approaches could not be effectively controlled without a co-operating fleet. The consequence will be that while the system of protection demanded by America will be a matter of indifference to European commerce in time of peace, it will, in a war in which the States are engaged, tempt an attack from the enemy.

Supposing, however, that the American people insist upon the amendments which the Senate has inserted in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, what course is Great Britain to adopt?

The Americans want an American canal, under their own protection and control, which they can use in war as well as in peace, and which they—but not we—can close in time of war against an enemy. They want us to consent to this scheme, and they want us, further, to tie our own hands by undertaking not to blockade the canal by means of our naval forces, while they reserve the right of

* This view is strongly maintained by Mr Dunnell in the 'North American Review' for December 1900.

practically barring the canal from within. Lastly, they demand that we shall forgo the right of inviting other states to join in guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal. This is evidently a very one-sided arrangement. The question is—can we consent to it, with or without a considerable *quid pro quo*? If we cannot consent to it, are we to take any measures to prevent it? and if so, what measures?

There is no present menace to our existing possessions in Central America; but doubtless these, as well as our West Indian possessions, would be rendered less defensible in time of war, at all events of war with the United States, by the mere existence of the canal, even if neutralised—much more so if Americanised. Putting aside the supersession of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty as unimportant, this consideration, together with those urged above with regard to the other amendments, might well be sufficient to induce us to refuse our consent. Nor could we possibly surrender our right to blockade while practically conceding to America the right to bar. The Davis amendment touches other powers beside ourselves, and though it concerns us principally, will hardly be palatable to them. But the Foraker amendment is hardly less unacceptable, for it hinders us from obtaining the support of other powers in opposing measures detrimental to their interests as well as ours. To consent to this amendment would be tantamount to cutting ourselves adrift from Europe in order to gratify the United States, without getting any advantage in return; in fact, to throw overboard European interests and join, or rather follow, the United States against Europe. To adopt such a course would be fatuous. It is hardly conceivable that even the Senate should expect us to adopt it.

If, on the other hand, we adhere to the principle of neutralisation, too much weight should not be laid on the supposed parallel of the Suez Canal. There is little real similarity between the cases. The political and geographical conditions differ widely; and the neutralisation of the Suez Canal, while theoretically complete, is practically modified by our position in Egypt and by the paramount importance of the canal to our communications with India. The question of Nicaragua should be settled on its own merits, without reference to the doubtful precedent of

Suez. This, however, need not prevent us from preferring neutralisation to protection, and from taking any steps which may be consistent with our own dignity and interests to gain that end. The great majority of the American people appears determined that the canal shall be made: there can be little doubt that the commercial and ship-owning interests, supported by political and naval considerations and by the Imperialistic wave now passing over the States, will eventually carry the day against railway opposition; and that, if we refuse our consent to the amended treaty, the Hepburn Bill will be passed by the Senate.

All this is natural enough, and it is not reprehensible. What is reprehensible is that we should first be asked to make certain concessions, and that when we have made them they should be regarded merely as a basis for further demands. We admit the enormous importance of the waterway to the United States; the advantages of control are obvious. We have conceded these; but the Americans must not expect us to consent to further measures against our own interest. There are, moreover, other than purely British interests to be considered. It must not be forgotten that Great Britain is, by virtue of her connexion with Canada, a North American power; and that Canada is or may be interested, both from a commercial and from a naval point of view, in the canal. At present the bulk of Canadian trade is done with the mother-country or with the United States: consequently the Canal will hardly affect Canada commercially for some time to come. In the future, it will probably be beneficial to the trade of her eastern provinces with the Pacific; but the commercial benefits can never be for Canada what they will be for the States. On the other hand, owing to the geographical situation of Canada, the canal will not confer on American trade, in competition with Canadian, the same advantages as it will give to the States in their struggle against European competition. From the military point of view the interests of Canada will undoubtedly suffer, but not to an important extent. Inasmuch as, in the case of war between Great Britain and the United States, the canal, unless we could blockade it, would enable American fleets to concentrate rapidly on either side, the defence of Canada by sea would

so far, be hampered. But the danger to Canada from the States lies not in an attack by sea ; it is in her long and exposed land-frontier. The canal can make no difference here ; nor, on the other hand, would it render the transport of reinforcements from this country more difficult than before. We have yet to hear a definite statement of Canadian opinion ; but these considerations point to the conclusion that the canal is a matter of comparative indifference to Canada. So far as they are touched at all, her interests are at one with ours ; and they certainly are not touched so extensively as to make it incumbent on us to risk a quarrel with the States on that account. There are other matters of Anglo-American concern in which it may become the duty of Great Britain to stand upon her strict rights as guardian of colonial interests. This, however, does not appear to us to be the occasion ; and we should be sorry to see the country driven through pique to adopt a course which would eventually tell heavily against Canada in directions which are of more immediate moment to her.

Assuming, then, that we cannot give our consent to the American proposals, and that, nevertheless, our interests are not sufficiently involved to justify us in pressing our opposition to the verge of a quarrel, what policy remains for us to adopt ? We can still attempt to bring European opinion to bear ; and, if that fails, we can wash our hands of the whole affair.

Other powers are not, perhaps, so materially interested as Great Britain, because they have not the same volume of trade, or the same vast and populous over-sea possessions to consider. Still, this is a matter which concerns the whole of Europe, and in which other nations than those at present negotiating ought to have a voice. Several of them are already concerned, through existing treaties with Nicaragua. The first thing, then, it appears to us, that the Government of this country should do is to sound the chancelleries of Europe as to their willingness to join in opposition to the American proposals. If they consent, the United States could hardly withstand the combined opinion of Europe. If they refuse, we should attempt no more. We cannot prevent the canal being made ; and we have no wish to prevent it. To ask for any return for acceding to American desires would be use-

less. Any attempt to pass through the Senate a treaty containing some rectification of the position in Alaska would be doomed to ignominious failure. The present *modus vivendi* only stands because Mr Hay has succeeded in keeping it from the Senate's clutches. If, then, the suggested negotiation with other European powers fails, or if Lord Salisbury does not see fit to attempt it, our only course will be to protest and say: 'If you are bent upon this policy, we do not feel disposed to oppose you actively. At the same time, sooner than have such a treaty as you present to us we prefer to be absolutely unfettered. We prefer that all our old rights should revive, and that we should be free to take any course which at any future time may recommend itself to us.'

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Art. I.—THE CHARACTER OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

THE death of the most illustrious of the recent sovereigns of the world has been followed by an outburst of respectful eulogy, not merely from her own subjects, whose pride, no less than their affection, was concerned in the matter, but also from independent observers in all countries, even in those which are, by old habit or recent prejudice, hostile to British institutions, and to the rulers of our Empire. It has been gratifying to us to feel that the virtues of Queen Victoria rose so high above all international jealousies as to command veneration even when it must have been grudgingly accorded. In all the nations—but particularly, it should in justice be said, in France and in America—that ugly habit of scolding, from which we ourselves cannot pretend that we are free, gave place, at least momentarily, to a respectful and sympathetic appreciation, for which, unused as we are to these amenities, we can hardly be too grateful. This was a very striking tribute to the person of the late Queen, and one which, when we reflect upon it, must have arisen more from a correct general estimate than from any very exact knowledge. The character of Her Majesty was very widely divined; it cannot with truth be said to have been very precisely known. The fierce light which beats upon a throne has two effects, the one of which is more commonly perceived than the other. It throws up, indeed, into brilliant prominence, certain public features of the character, but none the less it produces a dazzlement, a glare of glory, in the flood of which it is not easy to analyse with exactitude the parts out of which that character is formed.

For a little while after the death of a person for whom a semi-religious admiration has been felt, the blaze of reverence continues. It takes some time for the bewildering radiance to die down, and to leave the majestic potentate in the common light of man. But this regression to the mortal state is inevitable, and it occurs not merely in the moral and religious sense which has always impressed the Bossuets of the pulpit. It occurs in the natural order of history; and it is when it has done its worst, and the solitude is most blank around a royal coffin, that we begin to see what the robes and pageantry concealed. Was it a human being at all? Was it worthy of the idolatry it awakened? How much of the worship was paid to a woman, and how much to a fetish? In the utterances of a loyal and justly emotional press, we have heard the last and least-measured accents of a praise that was too closely allied with pain and grief to analyse or to discriminate. But reason tells us that this cannot last. It tells us that Queen Victoria must, in her turn, take her place among all the other great preceding figures, who are judged not as what they seemed to be, but as what they were. It appears to us that the time has come to begin to abandon the note of purely indiscriminate praise, and to put even this revered personage into the crucible of criticism—to endeavour, in other words, to note, without any blind or sycophantic laudation, what were the elements, and what the evolution of her character. We can try to do so with the more perfect serenity, seeing that by such treatment it has scarcely anything to lose, and, to the undazzled mind, not a little to gain.

The theories of heredity are not encouraged by any study of the temperament of the late Queen. There was little of her father or of her mother that could be discerned in the constitution of her mind. On the paternal side, in particular, although some traits which were really habits have been held to resemble those of, for instance, George III, Victoria offered few or none of the characteristics of her Hanoverian forbears. But in no instance could it be more plainly laid down that while, as we know, poets are born and not made, sovereigns, on the contrary, are rather made than born. Highly exceptional conditions combined to mould the youthful spirit of the Queen into the composite and elaborate mechanism which

it became. It has been customary to say that she was unique, and this is in measure true; but if by this phrase it is meant to be inferred that she was born with an irresistible trend towards personal greatness, like a Napoleon, or a Darwin, or a Hugo, it appears to be wholly incorrect. The daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Kent was born, we seem to see, a rather ordinary mortal, with fine instincts, considerable mental capacity, and a certain vital persistence which was to serve her well. These qualities, not in themselves very unusual, were, however, educated by circumstances which made the very most of them, and, in particular, which enabled them to provide a basis upon which rare excellence could be built up.

The first fact, in short, which we are required to recognise if we wish to comprehend the character of Queen Victoria, is that it was, to an unusual degree, a composite one. It was not brilliantly full at some points and void at others; it had no strong lights and shades. It presented to the observer a kind of mosaic, smoothed and harmonised by circumstances into a marvellously even surface. There was no one element in her mind which would certainly, in other and untoward conditions, have made itself prominently felt. It was this, indeed, which constituted the very essence of her originality, her completeness on so many sides, her marvellous unity and efficiency, the broad, polished surface which she presented to all the innumerable difficulties which beset her path in life. It might be hazarded, as a paradox, that her originality lay in her very lack of originality, in the absence of salient eccentricity. Her character was built up of elements which are usually antagonistic, but which in her case were so nicely balanced that they held one another in check, and facilitated, instead of embarrassing, that directness of purpose and instinct for going straight to the mark, which were indispensable to success in her sovereign career.

We speak for the moment of the Queen's character, not as it had been in earlier and more tentative years, but as it has revealed itself, since the death of the Prince Consort, to those who have publicly or privately been brought into relations with her. There are none now living who have known this composite mind of hers in any other condition than completed. The Lützens and the Melbournes did something to prepare the surface of it; they helped to fit

the pieces into the tessellated floor. But in the memory of living man it has never presented any but a finished appearance. The originality of it, as it has presented itself in recent times, was discovered, when it was closely studied, to be formed of a singular conjunction of shrewdness, simplicity, and sympathy. It will be found, we think, that it was upon a kaleidoscopic combination of these qualities in ever-varying proportions that almost every characteristic act of Queen Victoria was based. Montaigne understood how, in the case of persons fenced in from the combat of life, each little impact lays its stamp on some facet of character. *Chaque parcelle*, as he might have put it, of the temperament of the late Queen was the result of some pressure from these her three cardinal qualities.

Her discriminating shrewdness was at once an invaluable gift and a dangerous weapon. There is no question that it had more than anything else to do with her prolonged success as a politician. It is not difficult to see that it might have proved a peril to her. She early recognised that indulgence in it might lead her astray in the direction of obstinate prejudice, and she was always on her guard against its vagaries. No one that knew her late Majesty well will be inclined to deny that her extraordinary pertinacity, her ingrained inability to drop an idea which she had fairly seized, might naturally have developed into obstinacy. By nature she certainly was what could only be called obstinate, but the extraordinary number of opposite objects upon which her will was incessantly exercised saved her from the consequences of this defect. She was obliged to cultivate her powers of discrimination, and to introduce into her action that element of deliberate and conscious choice which is fatal to the blind indulgence of prejudice. The habit of suspending her judgment, in other words, prevented her from ever resting too absolutely on one order of ideas. The old Pythagorean tag tells us that adversity is the touch-stone of character. In the case of Queen Victoria the same effect was produced by the isolation of extreme prosperity.

It followed that her will, so trained and fortified, usually kept the Queen on a high plane of action. She was actuated by an extraordinary singleness of purpose, from which, however, it was only human nature that she should sometimes descend. It was in these moments of

moral relaxation that she was exposed to the danger of yielding to prejudice, for in these conditions obstinacy, in the true sense, would take hold of her. Conscious as she was of the vast round of duties in which she had to move and take her part, she was sensitive about the quantity of time and thought demanded of her from any one point. Hence, if she thought one of her ministers was not thoughtful in sparing her unnecessary work, she would with difficulty be induced to believe that his demands were ever essential. She would always be suspecting him of trying to overwork her. Her prejudice against Mr Gladstone, about which so many fables were related and so many theories formed, really started in her consciousness that he would never acknowledge that she was, as she put it, 'dead beat.' In his eagerness Mr Gladstone tried to press her to do what she knew, with her greater experience, to be not her work so much as his, and she resented the effort. He did it again, and she formed one of her pertinacious prejudices. The surface of her mind had received an impression unfavourable to the approach of this particular minister, and nothing could ever in future make her really pleased to welcome him.

In daily life, too, the inherent obstinacy, not checked by the high instinct of public duty, would often make itself felt. The Queen was fond of a very regular and symmetrical order of life. In this she showed her great instinct for business, since her hours had to be filled and divided with as rigid a precision as those of a great general or the manager of a vast commercial enterprise. But the habit of regulating all the movements of life necessitated the fixture of innumerable minute rules of domestic arrangement. The Queen displayed an amazing quickness in perceiving the infraction of any of these small laws, and she did not realise how harassing some of them were to those who suffered from their want of elasticity. There they were, settled once and for ever. In small things as in great, the Queen never believed that she was or could be wrong on a matter of principle. This was an immense advantage to her; in great matters it was an advantage the importance of which, in steadying her will, could hardly be over-estimated; but of course in little things it was sometimes apt to become what is colloquially called 'trying.' Again, since it is in moments of physical weak-

ness that the joints in every suit of human armour discover themselves, so, when the Queen was poorly or exhausted, those around her were made to feel how, with less self-control, she might have appeared arbitrary. She would be cross for no reason; she would contest a point, and close the argument without further discussion. At these moments those who knew her best could realise what a merciful thing it was for her own happiness that the immensity of the field of her actions and her decisions forcibly kept her mind upon the very high plane which was its habitual station.

To form an accurate opinion of human beings who were presented to her attention was so important a part of her whole function as a sovereign that it took a foremost part in her intellectual exercise. She was thoroughly convinced of the importance of being correct in her reading of character, and she devoted her full powers to it. In her inspection of a strange minister or a newly appointed member of her household, she had a method well understood by those who observed her narrowly. She received the unfamiliar person with a look of suspended judgment in her face. Her eyes and her mouth took on their investigating aspect. She could be seen to be making up her mind almost as though it were a watch which had to be wound up. If the analysis was easy, and the result of it satisfactory, the features would relax; a certain curious look of amenity would pass across her face. But if the presented type was complex or difficult, those who knew the Queen extremely well would perceive that her mind was not made up after all. The lines of the mouth would continue to be a little drawn down; the eyes, like sentinels, would still be alert under eyebrows faintly arched. But sooner or later she would succeed in her analysis, and an almost unbroken line of examples served to give her a justified faith in her acumen. She was scarcely ever wrong, and she was slow to admit a mistake. The judgment formed in that cool period of suspended observation, of which we have spoken, she was content to abide by; she defined the personage after her own acute fashion, and such as she had seen him first so she continued to see him.

This sureness of judgment was veiled by a simplicity and an absence of self-consciousness which took away from it the most formidable part of such an ordeal. Often,

doubtless, the humorous look of indecision which preceded the Queen's inner summing-up, must greatly have baffled the victim of her analysis. 'What is Her Majesty thinking about?' he might say to himself, but never with a sense of real discomfort, because of the Queen's complete freedom from anything like personal vanity. This was once exemplified in the case of a public man presented to her for the first time. Something was said about his opinion of the Queen. 'Dear me,' she said, 'I did not give a thought to that. It is so beside the question. What really signifies is what I think of him.' If this initial examination was embarrassing to a timid person, no one was so quick as the Queen to observe the result and to mitigate any outward sign of its cause. Then all her kindness would assert itself. To the awkwardness of real modesty no one in her court was so indulgent as herself. Once when a man who was presented to her had been so particularly clumsy that his efforts were afterwards smiled at, the Queen reproved the merriment. 'He was shy,' she said, 'and I know well what that is, for sometimes I am very shy myself.' The most serene and dignified of women to external observation, it is possible that indeed Queen Victoria had a little secret core of timidity, for she was rather fond of confessing, with a smile, to 'a stupid feeling of shyness,' especially if that confession could make another person comfortable.

Perhaps it should be noted that there was one result of the Queen's studied habit of suspending her judgment which was not entirely convenient. She feared to commit herself; and sometimes her cryptic phrases, short and vague, with the drawn lips and the investigating eyes, fairly baffled her ministers. They put before her State conundrums to which she was not prepared to give an immediate answer; and she puzzled them to divine what she had on her mind. She left them in their uncertainty, and sent them away bewildered. It would perhaps have been convenient if, in these cases, she would have deigned to admit that she was herself undetermined.

We have said that when once she had formed a deliberate judgment with regard to a person, it was difficult to induce her to revise it. But her innate and yet carefully cultivated kindness tempered the severity of a harsh decision. She would moderate her condemnation; s'

some pleasant trait in a character not otherwise to her fancy. There can be no doubt that she was aware that her view of others, shrewd as it always was and astonishingly close to the truth as it would often be, was not infallible. Those who watched her could almost see her hold her severity in check, draw herself together lest she should be tempted to be severe, to forget that her first duty was to be quite just. She was, however, very impatient of dulness and of want of instinctive perception. This was, perhaps, where she was least inclined to be indulgent. It would be respectfully urged that some lady who was out of favour was 'a nice kind woman.' 'Yes,' the Queen would reply, 'but I've no patience with her, she's so stupid.' This was not out of any kind of intellectual arrogance, but because stupidity, in relation to herself and the business of the court, was rust on the axle of the coach of state. It was necessary that all things about the Queen should be lubricated with the practical emollient of common-sense and alertness.

Those who were much with her were never allowed to forget that she was the most important person in the room. Without the least emphasis, or need for emphasis, her character imposed itself on her surroundings. It was part of her real importance in great things that she was obliged to be a little tyrannical in small things. After all, it was essential that the court and the country should continue to move; and in order to do this properly, they must revolve smoothly around herself. No doubt, in a degree which she would scarcely have admitted in her secret thought, she was always conscious of this. If any one had ventured to put this into words and to submit it to her, she would unquestionably have acquiesced in it. It was not personal vanity; it was a proper acceptance of her inborn station in the general social system. Oddly enough, though she bore her imperial greatness with such perfect ease and modest assurance, she sometimes displayed a certain love of the exercise of power, for its own sake, in little things. It might almost be said that, feeling decision to be of the first importance to her in her professional life, she was tempted to protect her judgment in matters of petty moment by an arbitrary exercise of will.

The Queen's celebrated punctuality could not be counted among unessential or petty forms of decision, for this was

a habit the paramount importance of which she had seen very early in her career. She would deign to justify her impatience of dawdlers by saying: 'I can't afford to be kept waiting. If I am to get through my work, I mustn't have my moments frittered away.' Punctuality was almost more than a habit with her, it was a superstition. She was really persuaded that all the institutions of the country would crumble if her orders were not carried out to the letter and to the instant. Very few people know how superbly she continued to stand sentry to the business of her empire. She never relaxed her hold, she never withdrew under the excuse of sorrow, or weakness, or old age. This persistent and punctual attention to affairs lasted much later than most people have the least idea of. She did her business, as Head of the State, until the Thursday before her death. Then and not till then did the last optimism of those about her break down. There were amusing instances, in earlier days, of the tyranny of her promptitude. It was well known, that, not only must not the Queen be kept waiting for a moment, but there must be no hitch in her service. She well knew how much is gained to an organising and directing mind by the removal of everything that can vex the temper or distract the attention; and a military exactitude as to times and seasons became a religion with all those who waited upon her. What she liked was a sort of magical apparition of the person wished for, the moment that her wish was formulated; and many were the subterfuges by which her courtiers attempted to become visible the moment that Aladdin touched the lamp. But no rule is without an exception. In the long years of her reign, there was only one individual who dared to break the law of punctuality. The late Lady Mount Edgcumbe had as great a *penchant* for unpunctuality as the Queen had for the opposite. By principle, she was never quite in time. Oddly enough, so devoted was the Queen to this noble and accomplished friend, so completely did she enter into the humour of the thing, that she was never known to be the least incensed at it. But Lady Mount Edgcumbe was a licensed libertine, and in the dread circle of lateness none durst tread but she.

The memories of all those who have served her long and observed her closely abound with instances of her genuine humanity. It was her intense womanliness and

loving tenderness which prevented the stiff regularity of her life and her persistency of purpose from degenerating into a hard autocracy. It is evident that with the authority which was assured to the person of Her Majesty, and the extraordinary edifice of obedience which she had built around her, unkindness or mere sourness of temper would have wrought great misery in her entourage. It would have been impossible, if the moral nature of the Queen had decayed, to have resisted her wishes, however unreasonable they might have been. It is easy to conceive what misery even a slight abuse of her great power might have caused. But her extreme sweetness of heart stepped in and saved all. It was unquestionably a sense of this human genuineness, divined rather than known, which was the secret of the extraordinary and indeed unparalleled sympathy which existed in her last years between her subjects and herself. Cool observers noted, during the festivities of her later jubilee, the evidences of a latent magnetism passing between the Queen and her people, over the heads of her official interpreters. It was as though the Queen spoke to her subjects face to face, as if her very presence hypnotised them. When she returned to Buckingham Palace, amid the shouts of those who gathered at the gates, the tears gushed from her eyes, tears of pure thankfulness. This was the signal for an outburst of frantic and perfectly unpremeditated loyalty. The Queen felt it; she had not the habit of subtleties of speech nor of the 'fine shades,' but she said over and over again: 'How kind they are to me! How kind they are!' This was her formula for a perfect sympathy between a subject and herself. She used it commonly for a minister or a guest whom she liked, and now she used it in the same sense for the nation that she loved, and that loved her.

It is time to endeavour to define, before the clear memory of it is lost, the exquisite manner of Queen Victoria. This was the characteristic in her which grew most definitely out of her training and surroundings. It was made up of what she had learned as a child from Baroness Lützen, as a girl from *grands seigneurs* who gently guided her first unpractised footsteps in public affairs, as a young matron from the Prince Consort. Probably we should be right in attributing the most striking parts of it to the second of these classes of influence, and especial

to the admiration she had felt for the experience of life and the stately *tenuë* of Lord Melbourne and of Lord Conyngham. These men belonged in measure to the tradition of the eighteenth century; they could recall the time when people wore perukes, and long silk waistcoats, and entered drawing-rooms delicately, with the *chapeaux-bras* pressed between the palms of their hands as they bowed. It was a very curious chance which ordained that the earliest guides of the youthful Queen should be men of mature age extremely conservative in manner and bearing, carrying about with them an elaborateness of conduct which was already, sixty years ago, beginning to be antiquated.

The consequence was that the Queen, carefully preserving this tradition as she did, and perpetuating it by her august example, retained not a little of the air of a bygone age. Without pedantry, her scheme of manner was distinctly more *vielle-cour* than that of any one else in Europe. In itself beautifully finished, it offered positively an antiquarian interest. But people who saw her seldom, or who were not accustomed to differentiate, made a mistake in speaking of 'the Queen's beautiful manners.' She had no 'manners' at all in the self-conscious or artificial sense. Her charm was made up of spontaneous kindness and freedom from all embarrassment, built upon this eighteenth-century style or manner which she had inherited or adopted. She acted as a great lady of 1790 might have acted, not because she set herself to have good 'manners,' but because that was how great ladies, trained as she had been trained, naturally behaved, with a perfect grace based upon unsuspecting simplicity. What was inherent nature in her manner struck recent beholders with amazement as conscious art; but what deceived them was a survival of the stateliness of the eighteenth century.

Her 'manner' was greatly aided by a trait so unusual and so strongly marked that no sketch of her character could be considered complete which failed to dwell upon it. It was perhaps the most salient of all her native, as distinguished from her acquired, characteristics. This was her strongly defined dramatic instinct. Queen Victoria possessed, to a degree shared with her by certain distinguished actors only, the genius of movement. It is difficult to know to what she owed this. From the accounts

preserved of her earliest girlish appearances, it would look as though it had been innate. She certainly possessed it in full force as far back as human memory now extends. What we mean by her instinct for movement may perhaps be made apparent by the use of a homely phrase—she was never flurried by a space in front of her. How rare this is, even among the most august of every nation, only those who have had some observation of courts can know. The most experienced princes and princesses hesitate to 'take the stage,' to cross alone, without haste and without hesitation, over a clear floor, just so far as is exactly harmonious and suitable. The most hardened are apt to shrink and sidle, to appeal mutely for help. These movements never gave Queen Victoria a moment's inquietude. She knew by divination exactly where, and exactly how, and exactly how far to advance; how to pause, and how to turn, and how to return were mysteries which never bewildered her in the slightest. When the Czar Alexander II was here in 1874, the Russian court was astonished at the easy and unconscious dignity with which the Queen would walk straight over to some obscure person, and enter gracefully into conversation with him. That so much stateliness could be combined with so unconscious a simplicity was the subject of their continual amazement.

Something more must be said about this habit of the Queen. Her movements on these occasions were never made without a purpose. It was not her custom to go directly to a personage of the first importance who had just been brought within her circle. She made it a practice to be well-informed, and she greatly disliked being put at a conversational disadvantage. She would therefore walk over to a man or woman of less prestige, and obtain from him or her the information she required about the ultimate object of her enquiry. But it would often happen that in the course of this auxiliary interview the Queen's sympathy and interest would be arrested; and while she was collecting facts about the third person, her attention would be drawn away to the individual from whom she was receiving the information. Hence the court was often amused, and those who had but a superficial knowledge of the Queen were surprised, to see her, at a formal reception, linger long in apparently confidential exchange of ideas with one of the least important people in the room. Of

course the person so distinguished was enchanted, and the Queen had made another friend for life, and one whom she would never forget. Then she would serenely resume her turn round the room, entirely unembarrassed, greatly interested in each fresh mind that was presented to her. These were occasions of singular interest to the student of her character, who would try, but try in vain, to decipher the inscrutable look in her face. It is impossible to conceive a social function more distressingly set about with snares for an unwary footstep. But the Queen was trammelled by no *bourgeois* fear of not doing the right thing. She trusted to the unfailing nicety of her famous dramatic instinct.

There are still a few who recollect her demeanour when she went to Paris to greet the Emperor and Empress of the French in 1855. She was not known in France; Parisian society had not made up its mind whether it meant to like her or not. Her tiny figure disconcerted the critics, and somebody quoted Émile Deschamps, 'La reine Mab nous a visité.' Paris decided at first sight that it did not like her English dress, and was frigid to her 'want of style.' But within a week Paris was at the feet of the little great lady. Her conquest of France happened at the gala performance at the Opera. Everybody was watching for the sovereigns, and the moment was highly critical. The Empress was looking magnificent, a dream of silken splendour; the Queen, as ever, somewhat disdainful of her clothes, had made no effort to shine. But when the party arrived at the box of the Opera, her innate genius for movement inspired her. The Empress of the French, fussing about her women, loitered at the door of the box; the Queen of England walked straight to the front, waiting for no help and anxious for no attendance. She stood there alone for a moment, surveying the vast concourse of society, and then she slowly bowed on every side, with a smile which the most consummate actress might envy.

This was a great moment, and the way in which it struck the French was extraordinary. 'La reine Mab' became from that day forth the idol of Parisian society, and 'the way she did it,' the consummate skill of the thing, was celebrated everywhere by the amateurs of deportment. She was never embarrassed; if a question could possibly be raised about etiquette, she would say, 'Wh

matter?' She felt herself to be a law-giver on all such questions. In the same connexion, her behaviour to the Empress of the French was a model of good style. The Empress Eugénie was at that time one of the most exquisite human beings in Europe, while Queen Victoria was not, and knew that she was not, what is understood by 'pretty.' But she was frankly and simply charmed with the admiration which the beauty of the Empress awakened wherever the sovereigns went; she shared this admiration, and it never crossed her mind to resent the expression of it. She would as soon have been piqued at the effect caused by a gorgeous sunset or by a tropical flower. Her admiration was returned on other grounds; the Empress Eugénie's visits became a pleasure which the Queen always looked forward to. The manner of each of them to the other was perfect, and the friendship between the two ladies, begun nearly fifty years ago, ended only with the life of the Queen.

Queen Victoria was unique in combining simple and unconscious dignity with a distinct theatrical instinct. She was unrivalled in her sense of the proper *mise en scène* of a formal ceremonial. When her chamberlains were at a loss to see by the light of nature how a court function should be arranged, at the last moment there was always the resource of appealing to the Queen. This dramatic imagination of hers made her a formidable critic of manners and in particular of attitude. It was no matter of doubt with her how this, that, or the other should be said or handled; she knew at once, infallibly, what was the one right way. Hence she was sometimes, as it appeared to laxer disciplinarians, rather severe on ugly manners; she used to complain that so-and-so had 'such an uncomfortable way of behaving.' It jarred upon her nerves; it was a discord which the perfect rightness of her own instinct made it difficult for her to comprehend. But she never showed the discomfort which she felt. Her command over her face was absolute, and only those who knew her very intimately could detect the slight tightening of the lips and concentrated expression of the eyes which showed her sense of annoyance.

Queen Victoria's genius for movement was born with her, and not inherited. She certainly did not receive it from the excellent Duchess of Kent. She attributed some-

nic attitude and movement, which occupied her attention. When she attended the theatre, which she loved, always commented on any lack of propriety in action; on the other hand, the presence of this quality attracted her strong approval. It is recollected that she rated Grisi on a higher level than all other operatic performers in this respect. When that actress flung herself across the door in 'The Huguenots,' or arranged the poisoning with the Duke in 'Lucrezia Borgia,' and when Viardot rose to the height of her invective in the 'Prophète,' the Queen's face blazed with approbation. She would turn over her box and say, 'There! not one of the others could do that, no, not even Alboni!' At the private plays and court, she was always an acute observer, and, when consulted to advise, a superlatively practical stage-manager; while, when professional companies came down to meet before her—an event to which she looked forward eagerly, and which she enjoyed like a child—it was always the effective theatrical movement which interested her most.

Of her personal attributes, her smile was perhaps the most notable. It played a very large part in the economy of her power, and something of the skill of her dramatic instinct passed into its exercise. No smile was the least of it, and no shadow of it is preserved for posterity in one of her published likenesses. In particular, under the cold glare of the photographic camera it disappeared.

raising of the lines of the lips, a flash of kindly light beaming from the eyes. Then, in another moment, it was gone, leaving behind a suffused softness, something that was the antidote to embarrassment or fear. The Queen could express all *nuances* of feeling by her smile. Sometimes it would suggest the gentlest of reproofs, in a deprecating glance, with a sparkle in the eye which withdrew the least apprehension of offence. Sometimes it would be a little *espègle*, with a hint that the smiler was wide-awake, was aware of the subtleties of the occasion. Sometimes it would be coyly negative, leading the speaker on, the lips slightly opened, with a suggestion of kindly fun, even of a little innocent *Schadenfreude*. But of all the varieties of the Queen's fascinating smile, perhaps the most delicate was the sorrowful one at the troubles of her friends; this was a sort of pale beam emanating from the motionless features, a faint illumination all made up of affection and sympathy and regretful experience of the fragility of human happiness. Curiously enough—and we have to note this as one of the little contradictions in the Queen's character—as she grew older, and her opinion grew firmer, she certainly grew less positive in many of her expressions of it. The more easy she felt it would be to dictate, the less did she seem to desire to be dictatorial. This tolerance, too, was to be read in her smile, a cautious suspension of judgment, a faintly humorous and intentional ambiguity. Her smile, in fact, was the key, for those who knew how to turn it, to the secrets of the Queen's character.

In the intimacy of home life, and particularly when the discipline of her household was relaxed at Balmoral or at Osborne, the Queen gave way without restraint to her very quick and rich sense of humour. If those of her ladies who have seen her at the little purely feminine dinners in Scotland or at Mentone would but speak, they could give us charming studies of Her Majesty in the *allegro* vein. The jests in which the Queen delighted were not of the very subtle kind. But a rather primitive kind of fun, when she was in the mood for it, would amuse her almost beyond her own endurance, till she was simply breathless and could bear no more. Her rather prominent blue eyes would positively beam with entertainment. Sometimes she was taken, and at very awkward moments,

with what the French so aptly term *le fou rire*. She had no very cautious sense of the proper range of jokes, and has been known to pass them on with an extraordinary rashness. A very charming element in her humour, when it was less exuberant, was a certain kindly shyness, as though she were not quite sure of being met half way, and yet believed that she would be, and, at all events, would venture.

Although so given to perceive the risible side of things, and, therefore, unprotected against laughter, the Queen could, when it was necessary, perform feats of endurance. On one occasion an embassy from a leading Oriental power, never represented at our court before, was to be received for the first time. The event was of some importance, and the reception very ceremonious. The English court, however, had not been prepared for the appearance or the language or the formalities of the envoys. From the very opening of the scene, there was something inconceivably funny about everything that happened. When, at last, the ambassadors suddenly bowed themselves, apparently as men struggling with acute internal pain, and squeezed their hands together in passionate deprecation between their knees, the English court quivered with merriment like aspen-leaves. The Queen alone remained absolutely grave. If anything betrayed emotion, it was a deepened colour and a more intense solemnity. The envoys withdrew at last, with salaams the most exquisite imaginable, and then, but not till then, the Queen broke down, saying, through her sobs of mirth, 'But I went through it, I did go right through it!'

The Queen made no pretention to smartness of speech, yet she could often surprise those who talked with her by her wit. It consisted, to a great degree—as, indeed, most wit does—in a rapid movement of the speaker's mind, which dived suddenly and reappeared at an unexpected place. Her sincerity led her to a quaintness of wording which was often very entertaining. One instance of this, among many which rise to the memory, may be given here. A piece of very modern music had been performed in the Queen's presence, manifestly not to her approval. 'What is that?' she asked. 'It's a drinking song, Ma'am, by Rubinstein.' 'Nonsense,' said the Queen; 'no such thing! Why, you could not drink a cup of tea to that!'

Her sense of humour was that of a strong and healthy person. It was a natural outcome of the breadth of her normal and wholesome humanity. That she had a very remarkable fund of nervous strength follows as a matter of course on the record of what she was and what she lived to do. Her courage was one of the personal qualities of which her subjects were most properly convinced; they knew her to have a royal disdain of fear. One of the little incidents, hardly noted at the time, and soon forgotten, which deserve to be revived, was connected with the attack made upon her in 1850 by Robert Pate, who struck her across the face with a cane. She was on her way home from her afternoon drive, when, just as the carriage turned into the archway on Constitution Hill, the assault was made. She was announced to appear at the Opera that evening, and her frightened ladies said that of course she would stay at home. 'Certainly not,' she replied. 'If I do not go, it will be thought that I am seriously hurt, and people will be distressed and alarmed.' 'But you are hurt, ma'am.' 'Very well, then every one shall see how little I mind it.' The usual orders were given, and at the proper hour she appeared in the theatre, where the news of the attack had preceded her; the whole house was in consternation. The Queen walked straight to the front of the royal box, stood there for every one to see the red weal across her forehead, bowed on all sides, smiled, and sat down to enjoy the play.

On her last visit to Dublin, she was strongly urged to have an escort of cavalry always close to the carriage. She refused point-blank. 'Why, if I were to show the least distrust of the Irish, they would think I deserved to be afraid of them.' Under no conditions did she ever show the slightest panic or any fear for her own person. When the Fenian troubles were at their height, there was an idea that an attempt would be made to kidnap the Queen from Osborne, and she was consulted as to steps to be taken for her further protection. She laughed aloud and put the proposals by. 'Poor things,' she said, 'if they were so silly as to run away with me, they would find me a very inconvenient charge.'

The attitude of Queen Victoria towards religion formed a very interesting element in the composition of her character. It was two-fold, the political and the personal.

and these two never clashed. The political side can easily be defined. She accepted, without discussion, the paradox that she was the head of two more or less antagonistic religious bodies. It did not trouble her at all that at Carlisle she was the official representative of the Anglican Church, and a few minutes later, at Lockerbie, she had become the official representative of Scottish Presbyterianism. This she not merely did not question, but its discussion annoyed her; she did not permit any trifling with the subject. She considered her political relation to the national religions exactly as she treated her headship of the army or the navy. It was a constitutional matter, which she never dreamed of disputing. To have asked how it coincided with her personal inner convictions would have seemed to her like asking her if she had ever served as a soldier or a sailor. She was Queen of Great Britain, and the sovereigns of this country were heads of its two national churches. She wished to be kind to her Catholic subjects in the same way; 'I am their Queen, and I must look after them,' she said. She would have been quite prepared to be the religious head of her Mohammadan and her Buddhist subjects in India, in the same professional way. She looked upon these things as part of the business of her statecraft, and never allowed the matter to trouble her conscience.

Of her personal religion it behoves us to speak with great reserve and with deep respect. Yet it was so prominent a feature of her character that we are not justified in excluding it from our study. Be it simply said, then, that in Her Majesty the religious life was carried out upon the plainest Christian lines, without theological finesse, and without either vacillation or misgiving. She never disputed about questions of faith; she never dwelt on its circumstances. She was always very shy of airing her convictions, and had something of the old eighteenth-century shrinking from what she called 'enthusiasm.' She desired above all things to avoid the appearance of cant, and brought to the discussion of religion, as of all other things, that exquisite spirit of good breeding of which she was the acknowledged mistress. It may be hazarded that the forms of service in which she found most satisfaction were those of the Presbyterian Church. But she never discussed them, and never was at

defend them. If by chance some ardent theologian in Scotland should find it irresistible in the Queen's private presence to split hairs and insist upon subtle shades of dogma, he was listened to but not answered. Presently the collie-dog would yawn, and the Queen would faintly smile; if the divine was a wise man, he would accept the criticism. The Queen—it must be admitted—had no leaning to theological discussion, and not much curiosity about creeds.

Preachers not unfrequently made the great mistake of setting their sermons directly at Her Majesty. This was never approved of, and even when it was done in a round-about way it was sure to be discovered. The Queen greatly preferred a direct appeal to the congregation in general; she liked to merge herself with the others—to be forgotten by the preacher, except as one among many souls. References to her 'vast empire' and her 'sovereign influence over millions of men' always gave offence. 'I think he would have done better to stick to his text,' she would say. She had no love for any sort of excess; she discouraged asceticism as a branch of the 'enthusiasm' that she dreaded; she did not approve of long services, and would sometimes scandalise the minister by indicating, with uplifted fan, that the sermon was getting too lengthy. She said of one clergyman, 'I think he would do better if he did not look at me. He catches my eye, and then he cannot stop.' The Queen disapproved of proselytism in the court; she would allow no distribution of tracts, no propagation of fads and 'peculiar opinions.' There was no reason why there should be any sects, she thought, and no proof that modern people were any wiser about morals than their forefathers. She was a Broad Churchwoman, in the true sense, and her attitude towards dogmatic religion was a latitudinarian one, though perhaps she would have disliked it being defined in that way. In the old Tractarian days she felt a certain curiosity in the movement, but when Lady Canning tried to convert her to High Church views, the Queen was very angry. It rather set a mark in her mind against a person that he or she was a ritualist. It was always an element in her reticence with regard to Mr Gladstone, that he was too High Church; 'I am afraid he has the mind of a Jesuit,' she used to say. She liked Roman Catholics very much

better than Anglican ritualists, partly because she had a respect for their antiquity, and partly because she was not the head of their Church, and so felt no responsibility about their opinions. She had foreign Roman Catholic friends with whom she sometimes spoke on religious matters with a good deal of freedom. Her knowledge of many phases of modern religious thought was rather vague; and when the creed of the Positivists was first brought to her notice, she was extremely interested. 'How very curious,' she said, 'and how very sad! What a pity somebody does not explain to them what a mistake they are making. But do tell me more about this strange M. Comte.'

The religious position of the Queen, as a human being, can be very simply defined. The old peasant at her cottage-door, spelling out a page of the Bible, was an image that particularly appealed to her. She was full of beautiful and perfectly simple devotional feelings; she was confident of the efficacy of prayer. She looked upon herself quite without disproportion, not as a Queen, but as an aged woman who had been sorely tried by anxiety and bereavement, and by the burden of responsibility, but who had been happy enough to see through it all that it was the will of God, and to feel that that lightened the load. It was her cardinal maxim that all discomfort comes from resisting that will. To her parish-priests she always showed particular kindness; and some she honoured with her confidence. Dean Wellesley, in many ways like-minded with herself, was long her trusted confidant. Nephew of the great Duke, he was a noble type of the enlightened statesman-priest, and he was the latest survival of all those men who were grouped around the Queen in her early youth. He exercised a paramount authority in matters of Church preferment, where the Queen never questioned his wisdom, for she had proved him to be raised above all sectarian prejudice by his remarkable elevation of character. Dean Wellesley was aware of the importance of his advice to the Queen, and he refused bishopric after bishopric from unwillingness to leave her. At his death, in 1882, she was deeply afflicted. No later chaplain could hope to exercise quite the same power as Dean Wellesley; but Dr Davidson (the present Bishop of Winchester), who, after a short interval, suc-

ceeded him in the Deanery, obtained in later years an influence closely resembling that of his predecessor. In the Established Church of Scotland, no minister received clearer marks of Her Majesty's favour, and none, it may be added, deserved them better, than Dr Norman Macleod, whose elevated and lovable character, compounded of strength and tenderness, good sense, humour, and sympathy, was animated by a form of religion specially attractive to the Queen.

Perfect as she was in a regal and political aspect, filling more than adequately an astonishing number of offices, it was yet inevitable that there should be sides of life in which Queen Victoria was not inclined, or was not, let us boldly admit it, competent to take a leading part. Such shining qualities as hers could not but have their defects, and it is the poorest-spirited obsequiousness to pretend that they had not. No one brought a greater tact to the solution of the questions, What can I, and what can I not do? than did her late Majesty. When it came to her asking herself, Can I be a leader of intellectual and æsthetic taste? she promptly decided that she could not, and she did not attempt the impossible task. It may be admissible to regret, or not to regret, that the Queen did not take the lead in the advancement of literature and art among her people. It may be a not insufficient answer, founded upon absolute common-sense, to say that she had, literally, not leisure enough to do everything, and that she very wisely diverted her attention from those subjects in which, as a leader, she might have failed. She had no time to fail; consequently, if there was the least doubt concerning her ability in any one direction, there it was useless to push on.

This was particularly the case in regard to literature. She saw a vast and growing work being performed by her subjects, and she did not feel that she was in touch with it. She accordingly left it alone, and had the wisdom not to attempt to patronise what she was not sure of comprehending. If we are content to examine her personal tastes and predilections, they were not brilliant, but they did no discredit to her understanding. She was naïve about the books she read, which were mainly novels and travels. Walter Scott was her favourite author; but she had a great partiality for Jane Austen. The Prince Con-

sort was an enthusiastic student of George Eliot, and he persuaded the Queen to read her books; she continued, perhaps partly for the Prince's sake, to express great admiration for them. The Queen had no real feeling for poetry, although she professed a cult for Tennyson, founded upon her emotional interest in his 'In Memoriam.' More modern authors received little attention from her; and the stories current of the Queen's particular interest in this or that recent writer may be dismissed as the fables of self-advertisement. She would sometimes begin a book, at the earnest request of one of her ladies, who would immediately write off to the author: 'I am happy to tell you that the Queen is now deep in your "Prodigies of Passion"'; but the correspondent would fail to mention that Her Majesty had tossed it away when she reached the fifth page. She would be very full of a book of information while she was studying it, would be riveted by particular anecdotes, and would quote them eagerly.

It could not with truth be said that her interest in art was much more acute. Here again, it was always her instinct that guided her rather than cultivated knowledge. She never took the right kind of interest in the beautiful objects she possessed in her palaces, and it is mere courtly complaisance to pretend that she did. In painting, two or three foreigners pleased her, and she rang the changes on their productions. In portraiture she greatly preferred likeness to artistic merit, and it was this that kept her from employing some of the great Englishmen of her reign. The Queen was entreated to sit to Mr G. F. Watts, but in vain. When it was argued that he would produce a splendid painting, she would say: 'Perhaps so, but I am afraid it would be ugly.' Lady Canning, at the time of the Pre-Raphaelite revival, tried very hard to lead the Queen's taste into fresh channels, and to woo it away from its cold German traditions; but she did not succeed. Frankly, the Queen did not care about art. She did not attempt to become acquainted with the leading English artists of her time. The only studio of a master that she ever visited was that of Leighton, whose 'Procession of Cimabue' the Prince Consort had bought for her, and whom she thought delightful, though perhaps more as an accomplished and highly agreeable courtier than as a painter.

Her attitude to music and to drama was much more interesting, though very simple. She had a sweet soprano voice, and had been trained by Costa to produce it prettily. She was very modest and even deprecatory about this accomplishment of hers, in which, however, she acquitted herself charmingly. Her favourite musician was Mendelssohn, who had greatly pleased her in early days as a man. She would have nothing to say, until quite late in life, to Wagner or Brahms, and once dismissed them all in one of her abrupt turns of conversation, 'Quite incomprehensible!' 'I'm bored with the Future altogether,' she used to say, 'and don't want to hear any more about it.' She was not more partial to some of the old masters, and once closed a musical discussion by saying, 'Handel always tires me, and I won't pretend he doesn't.' She carried out her aversion to the last, and forbade that the Dead March in 'Saul' should be played at her funeral.

At the play she must always have been a charming companion, her attention was so gaily awakened, her spirits so juvenile. She was fond of drama, even of melodrama, and let herself become the willing victim of every illusion. Sometimes she put on a little sprightly air of condescension to a companion presumably ignorant of stage affairs: 'Now listen, carefully. You think that woman is the housekeeper, but you wait and see.' And at the *dénouement*, the Queen was always triumphant: 'There! you didn't expect that, did you?' She thoroughly enjoyed a good farce, and laughed heartily at the jokes. She delighted in Italian opera, and when she liked a piece, she steeped herself in every part of it, the melody and the romance, and heard it over and over until she knew the music by heart. 'Norma' was a great favourite; and in later years Calvé won her heart in 'Carmen,' to which opera—music, plot, and everything—the Queen became absolutely devoted. And the pieces of Gilbert and Sullivan were an endless delight to her; she would even take a part in these, very drolly and prettily. No one could form a more sympathetic audience, whether in music or drama, than the Queen. She gave her unbroken attention to the performer, and followed whatever was being done with an almost childish eagerness. If the tenor began to be in the least heavy, the Queen would be observed to fidget, as though hardly restrained from breaking into song herself;

and at the slightest deviation from perfection of delivery her fan began to move. No part of her character was more singularly interesting than the way in which, in such matters as these, she preserved a charm of juvenile freshness like an atmosphere surrounding the complex machinery of her mind.

One side of her development which must not escape consideration was that which made her, without rival, the leading woman of the world of her time. The way in which the Queen faced the society of Europe, or rather advanced at its head, through the greater part of her long life, was the result of a variety of influences, from within and from without. To follow these curiously would lead us too far, and we must confine ourselves to a consideration of certain definite effects upon the Queen's character. But before doing so, it may be well to offer a few remarks with regard to the court which she formed around her, and which took the stamp of her personal tastes and temperament. To comprehend the constitution of the Victorian court, it must be recollected, first and foremost, that the Queen had an extreme respect for *tenue* in all its forms. When she was alone with her usual companions, nothing in the world could be more easy than she was in her deportment and conversation; but on anything approaching a state function utter rigidity was to be observed. This exterior stiffness, for which the English court became rather uncomfortably celebrated throughout Europe, was due, doubtless, in the first instance, to the tradition of Stockmar through the Prince Consort. When the Prince came to this country, there was an idea abroad that the court of Windsor was very much too free and easy. He early induced the Queen to take the same view, and with her remarkable tenacity of purpose she acted on those lines until the end. There were certain modifications, of course. Some people now living can recollect the intensely German evenings at Windsor, with their curious round of etiquette. The Queen herself invented the convenient but embarrassing habit of having one person after another called up to converse with her. Meanwhile silence had to be maintained in the rest of the room, and the whole social effect was stilted to the last degree. The Royalties stood together on the rug in front of the fire, a station which none durst hold but they; and

amusing incidents occurred in connexion with this sacred object. When Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton first dined with the Queen, he strolled about the drawing-room afterwards so freely that Her Majesty whispered in agitation, 'If you don't do something to attract his attention, in another minute he'll be—on the rug!'

But although the rule of the court in these matters was so absolute, and its habits intensely conservative, the Queen's private manner was never affected by it, even on these stately occasions. Sometimes the court, on arriving in the drawing-room after dinner, would form a semi-circle around the Queen, and stand while she spoke to one after another. There was, of course, no other talk. When this ordeal was over, the Queen would take her flight to the sofa, where the Duchess of Kent was already seated at a round table at her game of cards. The formality of the evening would then subside, and the Queen would be once more the charming easy companion with whom her ladies had gone sketching in the park in the morning.

The Queen was sometimes a little nervous lest people whom she did not know well should be tempted to take a liberty. Of course, as years rolled on, this became a more and more utterly incredible supposition, but in old years more than one dinner-party at Windsor was spoiled by it. At the shadow, or less than the shadow, of an undue freedom, she would freeze, and, in all probability, not thaw again through the course of the dinner. She had a droll way of referring to these mischances, for which she had always the same formula; she used to say, 'I chose to have a headache last night. I am not quite sure that —— is discreet.' This was a favourite word with the Queen, and she used it in a variety of meanings. It meant well-bred, and it meant tactful; and it meant personally or instinctively agreeable to Her Majesty. It was rather a dreadful moment when she said that somebody was 'not discreet.' Her favourite form of showing displeasure for want of discretion was to leave off asking the indiscreet person to dinner. The Queen invariably selected her own dinner list; and people who had unconsciously offended found out their error by not being asked for several successive nights. In process of time their sin would be pardoned, and the sign of it would be the reappearance of the name on the dinner list.

She had a very fine instinct for good breeding, but this did not prevent her from being sometimes a prey to vulgar toadies. People would enlist her sympathies for some decayed relation of their own, and the Queen would become violently interested. If, as not unfrequently was the case, the personage proved disappointing, she would often be exceedingly forbearing. 'Not very pretty manners, poor thing! Well, well!' she would say, and that would be the end of it. On the whole, she did not resent this commonness of manner so much as she did lofty behaviour. She looked askance at pretentious people, and in this direction she was certainly sometimes tempted to injustice. She was always a little afraid of 'clever' women; and a reputation for superior intelligence was no recommendation in her eyes. She liked the ladies about her to have extremely good manners and a pretty presence, but she shrank away from any woman who, she feared, was 'going to be clever.' It had been very early instilled into her that it was man's province to be clever, and that it was much best for woman not to intrude into it.

The men with whom she had been principally brought into contact at the beginning of her reign had not been remarkable as a group for their mental cultivation. There seems to be no doubt at all that the 'man of the world' of fifty years ago was in every respect a more ignorant being than he would be if he flourished to-day. Not merely did he not know much, but it was a point of honour with him to conceal what little he did know. The wives and daughters of these noblemen surrounded the young Queen, and impressed upon her the idea of what English women ought to be. In the course of time, Prince Albert appeared upon the scene, with his head full of the precepts of Count Stockmar, his store of German culture, and his genuine taste for science and philosophy. The Queen was partially converted to the Prince Consort's views; not merely was she proud of his attainments, but she admitted to herself that it was proper that there should be cultivated and learned men, who should walk in line with the Prince. But, as regards women, she retained her preconceived ideal. She would certainly never have allowed that every action of theirs could be analysed under one of three categories, as it was said that Stockmar had persuaded Prince Albert to believe.

Much must, however, be left to conjecture when we speak of the formation of the Queen's character at that early date, as there are few survivors amongst us to consult, and as the memoir-writers of those years scarcely thought of preserving the intimate and homely details which would now be so invaluable. Old court circulars and lists of the *personnel* of the court indicate, however, that then, as now, the court consisted of eight ladies of the bedchamber, simply styled ladies-in-waiting, eight maids of honour, eight equerries, the Prince Consort's private secretary, and the privy purse. Other special posts were filled by other occupants, when they were required, at Windsor or in London. From 1854 onwards, for the next fifteen or twenty years, we meet with names such as those of Lady Canning, Lady Macdonald, Lady Jocelyn, the Duchess of Athole, and Lady Mount Edgcumbe. Each of these remarkable women left a vivid impress on the daily life of the Queen. The extraordinary courage and strength of purpose of Lady Canning, exhibited as they were through the Indian Mutiny and afterwards, are matter of history. In Lady Macdonald there existed a love of literature and language which Prince Albert greatly admired, and which he commended to the notice of the Queen. But it was Lady Jocelyn, brilliant and witty—the most beautiful woman of her day, and doomed to close her life as the most unhappy—who was more uniformly fortunate than any other of the Queen's early companions in sustaining that spirit of artless gaiety and sparkling good manners in which Her Majesty delighted.

The influence of the Duchess of Athole upon the Queen was unique. No one, perhaps, ever charmed her Royal mistress so completely. The Duchess was a romantic being, who seemed to be transferred to life straight from the pages of one of the Waverley novels. She was, before she came to Windsor, and whenever she was back at home in the north, the type of a Scottish chieftainess. Her purpose was inflexible, her sense of humour broad and full, her will that of a woman who was born to rule, and who knew it. Full of kindness to those who acknowledged her sway, but quick to resent and to resist the slightest encroachment, the smallest slight to her pride, the Duchess of Athole seemed created by nature to fail at court and to fling over the traces of its discipline. But

her brain was full of wild Celtic romance, and this was fortunately centred, with an intense devotion, upon the person of Queen Victoria. Whatever homage she would have demanded from others for herself, whatever claims her fierce pride made on the allegiance of her clan, the Duchess was only too happy to lavish on the Queen. She was not conventional, and she laid herself out to persuade the Queen to share her breezy love of out-door life. The result on the Queen was a further appreciation of scenery, and of the landscape-painters whom the Duchess would sometimes bring in her train from Dunkeld.

In slightly later times women scarcely less remarkable than these, and in some cases still more intimately bound up in the Queen's private life, took the place of the older ladies. Lady Mount Edgcumbe, whose musical talents were a ceaseless source of delight to the Queen, formed a link between the older generation and those who, like Lady Ely, with her tireless devotion, and Lady Churchill, whose life closed but a few days before that of her Royal mistress, succeeded them in their duties and their privileges. Although the gentlemen-in-waiting did not occupy so much of her time, there were several, such as the present Duke of Grafton, Lord de Roos, Lord Hertford, and General Hardinge, who were counted among the Queen's real friends for life.

The maids of honour were never reckoned in court esteem as quite so high in consideration as the ladies-in-waiting. Some among them, however, as particularly Miss Phipps, continued to serve the Queen as secretaries to the end; and two, Lady Biddulph and Lady Ponsonby, as wives of successive keepers of the privy purse, shared with their husbands the privilege of attending the Queen wherever she went. None of these whom we have mentioned could be called dull or commonplace women. Each had some peculiar strength or charm of temperament; and it might be supposed that each would exercise some direct influence upon the Queen's character. But it is more than doubtful whether they can be said to have done so. Queen Victoria was curiously independent of her attendant ladies. She valued them, she appreciated their qualities, she leaned on their devotion; but she was never under their influence. She accepted their services in a dispassionate, professional way, and she ever, by preserving a quiet tone of decorum,

checked any exaggerated expression of personal affection the moment that it was threatened.

The Queen, full of warmth and human tenderness as she was, and surrounded all her life by persons deeply devoted to her, to whom she was deeply attached, was singularly without what could truly be called friends. The atmosphere of her life was too much charged with formality to allow of what could deserve the name of a deep personal friendship between herself and any of her subjects. No one, it was made apparent, was ever quite necessary to her; the indispensable person did not exist. Lady Canning used to warn enthusiastic novices of the danger of cultivating any illusion on this point. She would say, 'You will be delighted with your waiting at Balmoral or at Osborne. You will see the Queen intimately, riding, dancing, playing, dining. You will think she cannot get on without you. And then you will come back one day to Windsor, and somebody else will take your place, and you will have become—a number on the list.' Undoubtedly, in her ripe wisdom, the Queen encouraged this. She desired above all things to keep the society immediately around her person on a serene and even footing. There must not be the least approach to favouritism; and she would check herself first of all if she discovered a tendency in her own manner to encourage one person at the expense of another. But, in truth, her engrained professional habit made her free of all her ladies.

It is matter of ancient history that in 1839 the Queen waged a determined battle with Sir Robert Peel on the subject of the appointment of her bedchamber women. He offered his resignation, and she accepted it without the least compunction. It is not so well known that she failed in her second and parallel controversy, about her private secretary. No Government would hear of creating any such appointment, and the post continued to be officially unrecognised until the very close of her reign. It was none the less powerful, however, for being unofficial. In Baron Stockmar's letters to the Prince Consort, he acutely points out how the Prince may best serve the Queen, by acting as her private secretary. He tried to do this, with the help of G. E. Anson; of course the result was that the unseen man, of professional knowledge and habits, became the moving spirit. It continued to be so after

the Prince's death. If anyone doubts this, let him turn to the Queen's letter on the disestablishment of the Irish Church, in the 'Life of Archbishop Tait.' Can anyone fail to detect, in the liberal accent with which the Queen deprecates the rejection of the Bill, that there is more of General Grey in this letter than the mere shaping of the draft?

It came about in this way, unofficially, and as it were, unconsciously, that after the death of the Prince Consort the Queen gradually found herself at the head of a little staff of confidential officers. These consisted originally of General Grey, and then of General Ponsonby, as private secretary, with Sir Charles Phipps originally, and then Sir Thomas Biddulph, as the keeper of the privy purse. Eventually there was an arrangement by which Sir Henry Ponsonby combined the two offices, with the aid of two assistants. Still later, there was a return to the original arrangement; and Sir Arthur Bigge was private secretary, and Sir Fleetwood Edwards keeper of the privy purse, to the end. This staff, never officially acknowledged in the fulness of its functions, had to exercise the most complete self-effacement, and became, in effect, an expansion of the Queen's personal power in action. The watchword of the lives of her private secretaries was devotion to the will of the Queen. The secret of the power they exercised was faithfully kept from the public, and will always be kept. These men gave their lives to her service, without demur or reserve, and it is as much to her honour as it is to theirs that she inspired such complete devotion in men of such remarkable gifts.

The duties of the private secretaries included not merely communication, on the Queen's behalf, with the principal Departments of the Government, but the reading through of all the despatches, and the digestion for the Queen's use of all documents—the keeping watch, in short, upon everything of public importance which went on in and out of Parliament, and the scheduling it so as to save the Queen's time as much as possible when it became necessary for her to form a decision. Not till many years have passed by will the real work of the private secretaries be fully known, but history is sure to confirm the verdict that, whatever their duties may ultimately prove to have been, they carried them out with complete self-effacement.

In this delicate and responsible position, it was the Queen's constant wish that the private secretaries should never allow their own political feelings to be discoverable. They had to consent to belong to no particular party, to suffer, in fact, political disfranchisement. This, with the utmost sagacity, they always contrived to do; and ministers of every complexion have acknowledged the impartiality of the private secretaries. Lord Beaconsfield said to a political friend, 'I believe that General Ponsonby used to be a Whig, but, whatever his politics may once have been, I can only say that I could not wish my case stated to the Queen better than the private secretary does it. Perhaps I am a gainer by his Whiggishness, as it makes him more scrupulously on his guard to be always absolutely fair and lucid.' The tributes of Mr Gladstone were not less explicit. It is greatly to the credit of the private secretaries, who came nearer to the mind of Her Majesty than any other persons, that they never forgot to efface their own views and wishes in her sovereign will. She exercised that will with complete independence; and, from the death of the Prince Consort onwards, if she ever found any of her gentlemen issuing an order without her cognisance, she did not fail to make her displeasure felt.

Throughout periods of crisis nothing could equal the firmness with which the Queen supported the decisions of her ministers. This was peculiarly the case during the South African War, when her loyalty to the Government never flagged for a moment. That she regretted that she had not seen the end of the war was true, but that she wished it to be prematurely stopped, or stopped by weak concessions, is absolutely untrue. A story has been circulated by some interested persons to the effect that, in her last words to the Prince of Wales, she ordered him to 'stop the war.' This is a sacrilegious falsehood, to which it is proper that the most direct denial should be given. Such inventions do real mischief, and distort the popular conception of the Queen's character. Having decided as head of the Army that war with a foreign nation was necessary, the Queen never drew back. She had a soldierly feeling which supported her throughout, and weak remorse was never one of her failings. The kindly and humane expressions which she used in individual cases could only by wilful violence be distorted into an appear-

ance of disloyal opposition to her ministers in regard to a national question of vital import.

At the same time, the Queen was less ready to yield to ministerial dictation than is commonly supposed. She did not admit it at the time, but she allowed it afterwards to be felt, that if she had made up her mind on a question of principle, she would not yield without a struggle. Of her relations with various Governments much has come to light which it would be otiose to repeat here. Less is known of her intercourse with Lord Clarendon, whom she liked, although she was a little intimidated by his sarcasm and his bright, free speech. She had a certain *nuance* of dislike in her relations with Lord Palmerston; she thought him a *roué*, and his jauntiness was not to her taste. The rebuff she once administered to him, as Foreign Secretary, is matter of history. Lord Granville was excessively fortunate in all his dealings with the Queen. A finished actor and a finished man of the world, he contrived in all conditions to maintain exactly the correct tone. The remarkable gifts of this astute statesman never appeared to such brilliant advantage as during his interviews with the Queen, whom he exhilarated with his gaiety and sprightly wit. Of Lord John Russell she said amusingly that he would be better company if he had a third subject; for he was interested in nothing except the Constitution of 1688 and—himself. She esteemed Lord Derby, but she considered him a little boisterous. On Lord Aberdeen she placed a deep reliance; he was easy and explanatory in his official dealings with her, and in his somewhat grim fashion he always contrived to make his interviews pleasant to her. For Lord Grey (then Lord Howick) she had an indulgent appreciation, although she once described him as 'the only person who has ever flatly contradicted me at my own table.'

None of these statesmen, however, approached the remarkable ascendancy which Disraeli exercised over the Queen. No one, it is certain, ever amused her so much as he did. After she had overcome the first instinctive apprehension of his eccentricity, she subsided into a rare confidence in his judgment. She grew to believe that on almost all subjects he knew best. With his insinuating graces, his iron hand under the velvet glove, his reckless disregard of court etiquette, Disraeli was almost the exact

opposite of Lord Granville; but from him the Queen bore what she certainly would have resented from almost anyone else. He was never in the least shy; he did not trouble to insinuate; he said what he meant in terms the most surprising, the most unconventional; and the Queen thought that she had never in her life seen so amusing a person. He gratified her by his bold assumptions of her knowledge, she excused his florid adulation on the ground that it was 'oriental,' and she was pleased with the audacious way in which he broke through the ice that surrounded her. He would ask across the dinner-table, 'Madam, did Lord Melbourne ever tell your Majesty that you were not to do' this or that? and the Queen would take it as the best of jokes. Those who were present at dinner when Disraeli suddenly proposed the Queen's health as Empress of India, with a little speech as flowery as the oration of a maharajah, used to describe the pretty smiling bow, half a curtsy, which the Queen made him as he sat down. She loved the East, with all its pageantry and all its trappings, and she accepted Disraeli as a picturesque image of it. It is still remembered how much more she used to smile in conversation with him than she did with any other of her ministers.

That the Queen preferred Scotland to any other country is well known. In the sincere and artless 'Journals,' extracts from which she was induced to publish, this delight in the Highlands glows on every page. It was always remarked by those around her that her spirits steadily rose as the time approached for her journey to Balmoral, and that when she actually started she was as eager as a child on a holiday. The total absence of restraint, and the comparative removal of responsibility, acted most pleasantly on her spirits, and to those whose duty it was to serve her she was never perhaps so completely charming, so easy to satisfy, so warmly genial, as when she was driving and sketching and drinking tea on the remote Aberdeenshire moors. In Scotland, too, she even laid aside something of her decisiveness. She would indulge, in little things, in the luxury of not quite knowing her own mind, and was even in some matters under the domination of favourite and trusted domestics. She had the peculiarity of never being sure which road it was

best to take, or what garment to wear; and her drives became, on this account, prolonged agonies of indecision.

Bound up with this love of the Highlands was the Queen's romantic passion for her Stuart ancestors, mainly seen through an atmosphere of the romances of Sir Walter Scott. It became difficult to decide whether she liked Aberdeenshire because it reminded her of the tartan heroes, or whether much wandering over the braes brought the lives of the Jacobites home to her. One of the Queen's strongest traits was her partiality for the Stuarts; she forgave them all their faults. She used to say, 'I am far more proud of my Stuart than of my Hanoverian ancestors'; and of the latter, indeed, she very seldom spoke. She once reproved one of her gentlemen rather sharply for condoning the acts of the Butcher. She drew herself up and remarked, 'I do not like to hear the Duke of Cumberland praised: he was a shocking man,' not wholly on account of his action after Culloden, but also because of her fondness for the romantic prince, whom she would never allow any one in her presence to style the Pretender. She cultivated a deep and almost superstitious admiration for Charles I, who was never anything less than 'the Royal Martyr' in her eyes. All the objects which had belonged to that family, which she could gather together, she preserved with the greatest veneration; and it is recalled that when she visited the late Lord Ashburnham's collection of Stuart relics, the Queen was quite overcome with emotion. No disparaging remarks were ever permitted in her presence, even with regard to James II. It is very amusing that she never seems to have been willing to admit that the success of either Pretender would have been fatal to herself. If some stickler for historical accuracy suggested the delicacy of the situation, the Queen would say: 'The Stuarts pretenders? Because of me? There is no question of *me*. You can't argue about that. But I'm talking of *them*.' She adored Mary Stuart, and had a proportionate dislike for Queen Elizabeth. Dean Stanley used to say that this last prejudice was unjust, because she was herself so very much like that sovereign in character. 'When she faces you down with her "It must be,"' he declared, 'I don't know whether it is Victoria or Elizabeth who is speaking!'

The Queen greatly enjoyed her visits to foreign countries, and particularly those to Italy. When she stayed in Florence, she was eager to see every beautiful corner of the city, and to visit all the interesting churches. The difficulty which attended the inspection of the miraculous picture in the Annunziata added a peculiar zest to the permission which she ultimately received. The Queen was indirectly, but not the less deeply, influenced by the beauty and antiquity of her surroundings in Italy. It was the home of the music that she loved best; it represented the romance of art to her. She was extraordinarily interested in the system of the Misericordia, and quite put out by the success of her ladies- and gentlemen-in-waiting, who brought back news of having met the processions on their merciful errand. At last, by dint of driving about and loitering in likely places, the long-wished-for meeting was effected. The Queen hastened home to report her good fortune to her ladies: 'And the poor man was really *dead*,' she exulted, 'not merely wounded, like yours!' She had tender scruples as to whether she ought to be drawn about the churches in her bath chair; 'I should hate them to think I was irreverent,' she said. She was indefatigable in her choice of fresh views to rest before and admire, when she camped out for tea in Italy or France. In old days, as in the Highlands, she would sketch during these expeditions; but of late she had not attempted this.

The Queen had a great affection for the Italian language, and spoke it easily, though not as she spoke French. She gave herself quaint practice in this accomplishment. Never did an organ-grinder make his appearance near Osborne but, if the carriage met him, it had to be stopped, while the Queen conversed in Italian with the grinning musician, and enquired after the health of his monkey. She liked to hear the sound of the language, even in its least classic form; and Neapolitan singers in the street were quite irresistible to her. Something about the whole character of the Celtic and Latin races was sympathetic to her; she felt at home with their turns of temperament. She desired, almost passionately, to be loved by the Irish; and when she went to Dublin in 1899 she believed that they did love her. She felt the stimulus of success in pleasing, but she acknowledged that the

work required of her was twice as great as it had been on her earlier visit. She did her very best to win the affection of the Irish, but the effort fatigued her much. She was carried through it all by her enjoyment of the wit and gaiety of the crowd. She kept on saying, 'How I delight in the Irish!'

In closing this brief study of one of the most remarkable personalities of the nineteenth century, a few words must not be omitted dealing with the Queen's attitude towards her own regal position. No one ever accepted her fate with a graver or more complete conviction. It is possible that if her signature had been required to a declaration, on paper, of her belief in the divine right of kings, she would have thought it prudent to refuse to sign; but in her own heart she never questioned that she was the anointed of the Lord, called by the most solemn warrant to rule a great nation in the fear of God. She was fond of the word 'loyalty,' but she used it in a sense less lax than that which it bears in the idle parlance of the day. When the Queen spoke of her subjects as 'loyal,' she meant it in the mediæval sense. The relation was not, in her eyes, voluntary or sentimental, but imperative. If she had been a wicked or a foolish woman, it would have been very sad; but the duty of obedience would, in her idea, have been the same. Subjects must be 'loyal'; if they loved their sovereign, so much the better for them and for her, but affection was not essential. In her phraseology this constantly peeped out—'I, the Queen,' '*my* people,' '*my* soldiers.' She regarded herself, professionally, as the pivot round which the whole machine of state revolves. This sense, this perhaps even chimerical conviction of her own indispensability, greatly helped to keep her on her lofty plane of daily, untiring duty. And gradually she hypnotised the public imagination, so that at last, in defiance of the theories of historic philosophers, the nation accepted the Queen's view of her own functions, and tacitly concluded with her that she ruled, a consecrated monarch, by Right Divine.

Art. II.—BRITISH AGRICULTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*. London: 1853–1900.
2. *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland*. Edinburgh: 1853–1900.
3. *English Agriculture in 1850–51*. By James Caird. London: Longmans, 1852.
4. *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, 1853–1900*.
5. *Report of the Agricultural Interests Commission, 1882*. (C. 3309.)
6. *Reports of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1894–7*.
7. *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century*. By Arthur L. Bowley, M.A., F.S.S. Cambridge: University Press, 1900.
8. *The Wages and Earnings of Agricultural Labourers*. Report to the Labour Department of the Board of Trade. By Wilson Fox. 1900. (C^d. 346.)

PART II.

IN making the statement with which the first part of this article concluded, to the effect that agricultural prosperity in Great Britain was at a higher level in the ten years beginning with 1853 than it has ever attained and maintained for an equally long period before or since, the prosperity of the first fourteen years of the century was not forgotten. But farmers in 1853 were in a much better position for making the most of their opportunities than their predecessors from 1801 to 1814. Excepting a few curious survivals, their fields were all enclosed; good roads and railways had vastly improved their marketing facilities; science and mechanical invention had placed the enrichment and perfected cultivation of the soil easily within their reach; and their live stock had become greatly superior to that of their grandfathers. Moreover, they were not subject to the heavy burden of the old Poor Law, or to the embarrassing troubles and disputes of the ancient tithing system. But there is more direct evidence of the correctness of the statement under discussion; for, where-

as complaints of agricultural distress were made to Parliament in 1814, and it was wide-spread in the following year, it was not until long after 1862 that the latest period of agricultural depression can be said to have really set in. It is obvious, then, that farmers must have made more money in 1853-62 than in 1801-14, or they would not have been able to stand up so long against a fall in the prices of farm produce.

There are no data for estimating with any approach to accuracy the area of land under crops in 1801; but, as a great expanse in England and Scotland alike had been reclaimed and enclosed by 1853, there must have been a large increase in the cultivated area, including pasture. Probably the area under corn had increased, although it is doubtful whether that of wheat alone had done so. Even in 1850, Caird admitted that there was no certainty in the estimates which he gave. As a matter of fact, it is now known that he was a long way out in his reckoning, as he set the area under crops, fallow, and grass in England at 27,000,000 acres, estimating that about half of it was in grass; whereas the Agricultural Returns, first issued in 1866, made the total only 22,236,737 acres, and in the meantime there must have been an increase in the cultivated area. Caird put the wheat area in 1850 at 3,416,750 acres for England, while Lawes, two years later, estimated it at 4,058,731 acres for the United Kingdom. In 1866 the official return was 3,126,431 acres for England and 3,661,351 for the whole kingdom. Caird set the average produce of wheat in England at $26\frac{1}{2}$ bushels per acre, or 11,317,984 quarters on his estimated area, and he discredited Young's estimate of about two million quarters more. Young certainly exaggerated the production in 1770. If he had been anywhere near the mark, his figures would have shown that much more land was under wheat in 1770 than in 1850, because it is certain that the yield per acre in Young's time was less than it was in Caird's day.

As already intimated, however, the superior resources of farmers in the decade beginning with 1853, as compared with the earlier period of prosperity at the beginning of the century, were not confined to the enclosure of fields. In the draining, tillage, and manuring of the land; in the harvesting, threshing, and marketing of their crops; in the quality of live stock and the means of fattening animals;

and in the directions which science was giving for their advantage, the contemporaries of Caird were far better off than those of Young.

Caird found very little draining with tiles being done in 1850 in some counties, except by advanced landowners, although Smith of Deanston's new system had been perfected by Parkes, with the help of the cylindrical pipes which Reed introduced in 1843, made by a machine invented by Scraggs. Tile drainage, however, was carried on extensively after the depression which Caird investigated had come to an end, the loan facilities provided for landowners by Sir Robert Peel in 1848 for the draining of their estates being used to a considerable extent, though the terms were not very easy, as borrowers were required to pay 6½ per cent. for twenty-two years, to cover capital and interest; and drains seldom last longer than that period in effective condition.

Steam was applied to the cultivation of land by John Usher of Edinburgh by means of a rotatory implement, in 1851 or 1852; Smith's steam cultivator did good work in 1856; and Fowler's steam plough, worked by a single engine and an anchor, gained the prize of 200*l.* offered by the Royal Agricultural Society in 1857. In the following year Fowler won the Society's prize of 500*l.* for an improved steam plough, and later he brought out his double-engine system for ploughs and cultivators, which has lasted, with some improvements, up to the present time. The reaping machine was first made effective enough to be used to an appreciable extent in 1852, when Crosskill introduced his improvement on Bell's reaper, invented in 1826; and, after 1860, Crosskill's three-horse machine, which could cut its own way into a field, as it was driven in front of the horses, came into extensive use. In 1872 Samuelson brought out his light and convenient one-horse reaper, and various machines by Hornsby and other makers came soon after into the field, to be followed, after a considerable interval, by the sheaf-binders which are now in general work. Steam had been applied to threshing machines in 1850 to a limited extent, and by 1858 several makers were competing in them. As for the ploughs, harrows, cultivators, and other implements worked by horses, they were improved with great rapidity during the period under notice; but the makers are too numerous to be named. Nor have

we space to notice the very numerous improvers of the several breeds of horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs.

During this period of prosperity, Liebig, Lawes and his colleague Gilbert, Boussingault, Henslow, Lindley, Buckland, Daubeny, Playfair, Johnston, Way, Ville, Mené, Hartig, and Voelcker were popularising science as applied to agriculture; and valuable articles appeared in the 'Journal' of the Royal Agricultural Society and the 'Transactions' of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland. Caird noticed the use of nitrate of soda as a novelty in 1850; but guano, dissolved bones, and superphosphate were becoming common manures; and broken bones had been applied to pastures in Cheshire with wonderful effect. The dairying branch of agriculture received the least attention; but in 1855 the Somerset system of Cheddar-cheese making was introduced into Scotland, marking the beginning of an important industry for that country.

With respect to the tenure of land, leases, though generally too short to afford security for steady improvement, were common in many counties at the beginning of the century, but fell almost entirely into disuse in England during the prolonged period of distress that followed the year 1815, so that Caird found them uncommon in 1850. Nineteen years' leases, however, had come into fashion in Scotland, and in England the leasing system was revived, especially on small estates, when farming became prosperous once more.

The great rise in rents which took place revived the demand for tenant-right, which Lord Portman had raised or represented in 1841, but without success. Mr Pusey, in 1847, followed Lord Portman's lead by introducing a bill giving tenants legal security for their improvements. It was referred to a Select Committee of the House of Commons, before which some very strong evidence in its favour was given. It was clearly shown that tenants were frequently rented on their own improvements, and that this was a source of much discouragement and a deterrent to high farming. The Committee, however, reported against compulsory legislation, and in 1848, when the bill was again brought forward, it was rejected. In 1850, Mr Pusey succeeded in passing his measure through the House of Commons, only to have it thrown out by the

Lords. The passing of the Landlord and Tenant Act in 1860, for the protection of Irish tenants, once more revived the question, which, however, got no further than the discussion stage outside Parliament for some years. In 1872, Mr James Howard and Mr C. S. Read introduced their compulsory Landlord and Tenant Bill for England, but did not persevere with it; and nothing was done in this direction until the Duke of Richmond's Agricultural Holdings Act was passed in 1875. The measure, as it was permissive in principle, was described as 'a homily to landlords'—a true description, as experience proved, for it had no direct operation. It led, however, in some cases, to private arrangements as to compensation for improvements between owners and occupiers of land. Measures somewhat more effective were to be brought into operation many years later.

Agricultural prosperity led to an aggregation of farms, as farmers possessing sufficient capital lost no opportunity of increasing the sizes of their holdings; and landlords were in favour of large farms, because the expense of keeping up buildings and managing estates was diminished by consolidation. Successful traders, too, or 'apron-string farmers,' as they were styled, bought or rented land on retiring from business; and their competition for farms helped to raise rents higher and higher. One of these men, Mr J. J. Mechi of Tiptree Hall, in spite of the many mistakes which he made, was one of the most active and useful of agricultural teachers. Most of the yeomen who had survived the period of depression succumbed to the temptation offered them by neighbouring landlords and rich townsmen who desired to become country squires, to sell their little estates at high prices. By selling they could obtain capital enough to rent large farms, and thus greatly increase their incomes.

Agricultural labourers had but a small share of the prosperity of this period; for, although their wages were raised, the dearness of food kept the purchasing power of their earnings from making any appreciable progress. The Law of Settlement still operated to keep labourers in low-wage districts from migrating to parts of the country in which they could earn more money, as the Union Chargeability Act was not passed until 1865. The period was one, however, in which great attention was paid to the

need of improved house accommodation for farm labourers. Francis, the seventh Duke of Bedford, and his successor, Duke Hastings, particularly distinguished themselves by the number and excellence of the cottages which they built on their estates; and many other large landowners spent great sums of money in the same way.

From official returns Mr Bowley brings out an average weekly sum of 11s. 7d. as the wages of ordinary labourers in England and Wales in 1860, which may be compared with Caird's 9s. 6d. for 1850. Mr Wilson Fox, in his 'Wages and Earnings of Agricultural Labourers,' gives a table of the average cash wages paid to day labourers on thirty-three farms in different parts of England and Wales from 1850 to 1899, not including any extras for piecework or harvesting. They come out lower, as a rule, than estimates for the whole country in corresponding years, but serve, none the less, for the purpose of comparison. In 1850-2 the yearly averages were 9s. 1½d. to 9s. 3d. per week; and in 1869-71 they were 11s. 10d. to 12s. The percentage of advance was considerable; but, bearing in mind the yearly averages of wheat, from 38s. 6d. to 40s. 9d. in the earlier period, and from 48s. 2d. to 56s. 8d. in the later one, together with the fact that meat had also become much dearer, it is obvious that any advance in the purchasing power of the men's wages was mainly due to the cheapening of groceries and clothing. In 1871 Mr Joseph Arch formed the Agricultural Labourers' Union, which in a few years spread to most parts of England. It was injudiciously conducted, abuse and misrepresentation of farmers and landowners being the staple of nearly all the speeches delivered to the men by their leaders. Thus a bad spirit was excited, and an attitude of hostility was assumed by the men towards even the best of employers. The farmers, in their turn, attempted to ride rough-shod over the Unionists, and in the eastern counties they combined in a great lock-out in 1874 which crippled the resources of the Union. By that time the average cash wages in Mr Wilson Fox's example farms had advanced to 13s. 5½d.; but whether this was due to the direct action of the combination or to the increasing migration of men to the towns, fostered by the discontent aroused by the Union, is doubtful. As times were becoming bad for farmers, it was only by reducing the number of men employed that they could afford to pay increased wages,

and the strikes and the lock-out taught them a lesson in the economy of labour. Wages did not advance further, and the Union lingered on for only a few years longer.

A more judicious and successful movement was that represented by the Farmers' Alliance, formed in 1879 for the purpose of promoting legislative action, in the interest chiefly of tenant-farmers, and particularly of obtaining full legal security for their improvements. The association was denounced by many landlords as 'setting class against class,' and accused of being a party organisation. But its programme of objects was admitted to be a good one, and nearly all its proposals, which anticipated some of the recommendations of the Royal Commission just noticed, have been at least partially carried out. Its scheme of tenant-right, however, was regarded as extreme even by the majority of farmers, and has not been entertained by Parliament.

Protection appeared to be, as it was described, 'as dead as Queen Anne' when agricultural prosperity, far greater than had been known by any living man, was enjoyed by landlords and tenant-farmers. But there were special reasons for the great rise in prices, apart from the increased supplies of gold already referred to. The harvest of 1853 was a poor one, and although nett imports of wheat, including flour, exceeded 6,000,000 quarters for the first time, the average price rose to 53s. 3d. per quarter, while other corn advanced proportionately. In 1854 the Russian War began, and wheat rose further to 72s. 5d., an average price which it had not touched in any year since 1819, while barley averaged 36s., and oats 27s. 5d. The harvest, too, was one of the best ever known, over 17,500,000 quarters of wheat having been grown in the United Kingdom on a little over 4,000,000 acres, according to Lawes's estimate. The next harvest was only a fair one; but wheat averaged 74s. 8d. in 1855, and when it dropped with peace in 1856, and again in 1857, barley advanced till it averaged 42s. 1d. per quarter, and oats stood at 25s. A magnificent harvest in 1857, a very good one in the next year, and a fair one in 1859 sent the price down to 43s. 9d.; but such crops brought good returns, and barley and oats still sold well. After 1859, it may be noticed, the wheat area in the United Kingdom fell below 4,000,000 acres, never to reach that figure again, although there was a

great recovery in corn prices in 1860, and the American Civil War, in 1861, brought the wheat average up to 55s. 4d. per quarter, followed by an advance of a penny in the following year.

This brings us to the end of the decade of high agricultural prosperity; but, although all kinds of corn fell greatly in value for three years, the greatest wheat crop on record was grown in 1863, the total being estimated at nearly 18,000,000 quarters, and the average per acre at 38½ bushels. Moreover, another splendid harvest was reaped in the following year, and a good one in 1865; so that, even with wheat at 40s. 2d. to 44s. 9d., there was not much to complain of, especially as meat and dairy produce advanced in value as corn went down. In those times a poor harvest insured good prices, as imports of corn remained at a comparatively low level, and two bad seasons, those of 1866 and 1867, restored the average rates to a high level in the two following years. Wheat was 64s. 5d. and 63s. 9d.; barley 40s. and 43s.; and oats averaged 26s. and 28s. 1d., prices only rarely surpassed all round in the heyday of Protection.

If it was chiefly during the period of the Crimean War and the prosperous years that ensued that farmers saved fortunes, it may at least be said that they held their own well for many years longer. The twelve harvests ending with that of 1865 probably made the best series ever known, and it was only the fall in prices for the last three years of the period which rendered the prosperity of corn-growers less remarkable than in the decade ending with 1863. But the 'sixties' were not to end without another great harvest, that of 1868, when prices, as already noticed, were high. In the 'seventies' the harvests were as poor, as a rule, as they had been rich in the preceding decade; but corn prices remained high up to 1875, while animal products, including wool, have rarely if ever been so dear before or since. Wool fell in value in that year, however, and the harvest was the fourth bad one that had been experienced since 1870. Therefore the period of prosperity, great at first, and moderate afterwards, may be said to have ended with 1874, after lasting for twenty-two years. A more or less serious drawback to the good times was the fluctuating prevalence of pleuro-pneumonia and foot-and-mouth disease; the former disease having been intro-

duced in this country in 1840, and the latter a year earlier. Worse while it lasted, but less impoverishing in the long run, was the most terrible of all cattle diseases, rinderpest, which visited the country in 1865, and was not stamped out until 1867. Many stock-owners were ruined by the plague, and multitudes sustained heavy losses. One good thing, however, came of the misfortune: the two other diseases just named were nearly got rid of along with rinderpest, and our veterinary authorities learned how to repress them. Two other outbreaks of rinderpest occurred subsequently, one in 1872 and the other in 1877; but the former was suppressed in three months, and the latter in six months.

The price of wheat only once after 1874 reached an annual average of 50s. per quarter, namely, in 1877, the first year of the Russo-Turkish War. By that time there were complaints of agricultural depression, which became pronounced in 1879, when the worst harvest of the century was reaped, and the average price of wheat, nevertheless, fell to 43s. 10d. per quarter. This was because imports were far heavier than they had ever been before. They had risen in the cereal year 1872-3 to 12,291,463 qrs, after deducting exports, having never previously exceeded 10,000,000 qrs; after that year the quantity never fell so low as 11,000,000 qrs, while it advanced to over 14,000,000 in 1877-8, and has since then increased, with fluctuations, till the present time. Imports of other kinds of corn together were more than doubled in the ten years ending with 1874. Some other varieties of farm produce received from foreign countries, however, did not steadily increase. For example, many more cattle and sheep were imported in the cattle-plague years, 1865 and 1866, than in 1874, and the imports of fresh beef were still insignificant, while those of salt beef showed no increase. Mutton was not enumerated separately; but bacon and hams doubled in quantity in the ten years ending with 1874, when they had increased more than twenty-fold since 1859, butter and cheese having increased four-fold. Still all animal products were high in price.

Caird's strong appeal for official agricultural statistics, made in 1851, had long to wait for a hearing. It is true that from 1853 to 1857 such statistics were collected in Scotland by the Highland Society for the Board of Trade;

but the scheme collapsed in the latter year, and it was not until 1866 that the Agricultural Returns of Great Britain appeared. These returns gave for the first time an approximately accurate account of the acreage of crops and the numbers of the several classes of live stock in the country. The area under wheat, which was known with a close approach to accuracy years before, had begun to decline, and was returned at 3,661,351 acres in 1866 for the United Kingdom, 3,351,394 acres of this total being credited to Great Britain. In 1874 the area in Great Britain was nearly 300,000 acres more, and it was not until five years later that a great decline took place. Other corn crops, taken together, held their ground. During the same period cattle had increased in Great Britain from under five millions to over six millions. The return of sheep in 1866 was obviously incomplete; but in the following year the number was a little under twenty-nine millions, and it was over thirty millions in 1874. Pigs had remained at less than 2½ millions. There was no return of horses in 1866. Up to 1874, then, the statistics of British agriculture indicated prosperity.

Except in 1878, the harvests of the rest of the 'seventies' were poor, and the price of wheat was under 47s. a quarter in all but one of those years. But other kinds of corn and animal products, excepting wool, continued to sell well till 1878, though with a downward tendency generally. The depression had begun; but it had not yet become severe. The disastrous harvest of 1879, already mentioned as the worst of the century—when a wet season spoilt a good deal of the little corn produced—together with a great fall in the prices of most farm products, brought about a sudden climax of misfortune. There were no official statistics of crop yields in those days; but Mr (afterwards Sir John) Lawes estimated the wheat average at only 15½ bushels per acre; and the average price was only 43s. 10d. per quarter. Then commenced the period of agricultural depression which has lasted, with some mitigation from partial adjustment of conditions in the latter part of it, down to the end of the century.

As in the time of prosperity at the beginning of the century, rents had risen enormously during the Crimean War and afterwards, and farmers had adopted an expensive style of living. Wages, too, had risen, wh

rent-charge was 11*l.* 15*s.* 1½*d.* above its par value of 100*l.*, and local burdens had begun to accumulate seriously. The assessment of 'lands' for income tax had risen between 1852-3, when the period of prosperity began, and 1879-80, when depression had set in seriously, from 41,086,269*l.* to 51,798,950*l.* in England and Wales, and from 5,499,404*l.* to 7,769,303*l.* in Scotland. The rise was 10,712,681*l.*, or over 26 per cent., in England and Wales ; and 2,269,899*l.*, or over 41 per cent., in Scotland.

That agricultural depression was publicly recognised, as well as felt by its victims, before 1879, is proved by the fact that a Royal Commission was appointed in August in that year, with the Duke of Richmond and Gordon as President, 'to enquire into the depressed condition of the agricultural interest, and the causes to which it is owing; whether those causes are of a permanent character, and how far they have been created or can be remedied by legislation.' The Commission sat until 1882, when the final report was published. A great amount of evidence was taken by the Commissioners themselves, and by Assistant Commissioners who travelled through different parts of Great Britain. The general conclusion reached was that in nearly every county of England and Scotland, and in some parts of Wales, 'distress of unprecedented severity' had been experienced by the agricultural community. All the witnesses, it was added, agreed in ascribing the depression mainly to a succession of unfavourable seasons, while foreign competition was named as next in importance among the causes of the misfortune. The land laws, the increase of local taxation, the heavy burden of the tithe rent-charge, increase in the cost of labour, cattle disease, and high railway charges and preference rates on imported products were also mentioned. The Commissioners made numerous recommendations, including the readjustment of local taxation, the improvement of cottage accommodation, the encouragement of agricultural education, the prohibition of the import of live stock from countries infected with cattle disease, the amendment and extension of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875, the reform of the laws affecting limited estates in land, the voluntary abolition of unduly restrictive cropping covenants in farm leases and agreements, the modification of the Law of Distress, the fixing of the tithe rent-charge and its payment by

landlords, equality in railway rates on home and foreign products, and the appointment of a Minister of Agriculture. Nearly all these recommendations have received the attention of Parliament, though the resultant legislation has not been in all cases effectual. The permissive Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875, for example, was superseded in 1883 by an extended and compulsory measure, a modification of the Law of Distress being among its provisions; but the expense involved in putting it in operation, with the uncertainty of arbitration and possible litigation as a sequel, prevented it from having a widespread effect, except indirectly. Besides, the period that has elapsed since it was passed has been one of retrenchment rather than of outlay on improvements among the great majority of farmers. Again, in spite of the apparently distinct prohibition of preference rates on imported produce in the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, such rates still continue, giving a most unfair advantage to foreign and colonial competitors over British and Irish farmers. On the other hand, the cattle-disease legislation has had a highly beneficial effect.

Depression deepened as the losses of successive years swallowed up the capital of farmers, and arrears of rent, many of them never to be paid, accumulated. For some time most landlords, hoping that the depression was only temporary, refused to allow permanent reductions in their rents, though many of them granted temporary remissions on a liberal scale year after year. Thus it happened that a great number of old tenants had to quit their farms, which could only be let to new men at a great reduction in rent. Thousands of farmers were ruined, and all but comparatively few were seriously crippled. The employment of labour was reduced as low as possible, land being laid down to grass extensively, or left to lay itself down with grass and weeds. Many farms were thrown on the owners' hands, and not a few became derelict for some years, as they were considered not to be worth the tithes and rates charged upon them. The migration of agricultural labourers to the towns between 1871 and 1881 was on a large scale, and the census of 1891 shows that it continued during the next ten years.

Almost everything was in combination to deepen the depression for some years after 1879. Foreign competi-

tion increased enormously. Net imports of wheat and flour, which had only once reached 10,000,000 quarters in any year before 1871, rose to nearly 16,500,000 in 1879-80, and to nearly 20,000,000 in 1882-3; and the average price of wheat fell from 56s. 9d. per quarter in 1877 to 22s. 10d. in 1894. The import of other kinds of corn, after being nearly doubled between 1869 and 1879, increased by about 50 per cent. more before the end of the century. Barley and oats both fell, like wheat, to the lowest prices of the century, namely, 21s. 11d. per quarter for barley in 1895, and 14s. 6d. for oats in the same year. After 1883 the average price of wheat was only twice over 35s.; that of barley only twice reached 29s.; and that of oats only eight times touched 18s. Imports of cattle had never amounted to 300,000 in any year previous to 1879, but exceeded 500,000 ten years later, and have rarely been under that quantity since; the maximum of 642,596 was, however, reached ten years before the century ended. By the year 1890 the receipts of fresh beef from foreign and colonial sources amounted to 1,854,593 cwts, or more than three times as much as in 1879, afterwards steadily increasing till they reached, in the last year of the century, 4,128,130 cwts. Fresh mutton was first separately enumerated in 1882, two years after the commencement of the Australasian export trade in that meat. The quantity then sent over was 180,847 cwts; and, by almost constant progression, it advanced to 3,446,022 in 1899, falling off to a small extent in 1900. In twenty years, ending with 1899, the total of pig's meat, including bacon and hams, rose from a little over 5,000,000 cwts to nearly 8,750,000 cwts, suffering a probably temporary decline in the following year. The total of dead meat, not including poultry, game, or rabbits, advanced from 6,892,238 cwts in 1879 to 17,911,923 cwts in 1900. Similarly, imports of butter and margarine together were more than doubled during the last twenty-one years of the century, while those of cheese increased by more than one-third.

The prices of fat cattle kept up well till 1885, and those of sheep till 1890, but fell afterwards, animals of inferior quality being specially affected by the competition of imported meat. There was a considerable recovery, however, in 1900. Dairy produce fluctuated in price, but usually sold at lower rates than had been obtained in the

prosperous times, milk having sunk very low, except in seasons of drought, towards the end of the century.

One of the great advantages of the most prosperous decade of British agriculture was the high price of wool that prevailed. After being very cheap, as then considered, from 1842 to 1851, an advance began in 1852, when the average price of Lincoln wool, for example, was 13½d. per lb. In the following year it rose to 16d., and in the next nine years it ranged from a fraction under that rate to 20½d. The highest average for eighty years up to the end of the century, however, was that of 1864, when it was 27½d. per lb. It was over 20d. in six of the next ten years, and did not fall below 15d. till after 1878. But a drop to 12½d. in 1879 added to the misfortunes of that disastrous year, and the average of Lincoln wool has never been as high since, the minimum of 7½d. having been reached in the last year of the century. Our net imports of sheep and lamb's wool in 1879 were 153,757,000 lb., and they reached the maximum of 394,342,000 lb. in 1898, falling to 332,857,000 lb. in 1900.

The first three harvests of the 'eighties' were poor, but all the rest were good or fair; while crops were better still, on the whole, in the 'nineties.' But, with prices as low as they were after 1883, it was difficult to make corn-growing yield a living profit, even in the best of seasons, and the acreage under corn continued to decline. The area under wheat, which had been over 4,000,000 acres in the United Kingdom down to 1859, was still over 3,500,000 acres in Great Britain alone in 1871-75; but by 1900 it had fallen to 1,845,042 acres. The area under corn of all kinds had decreased from over 9½ million to a little over 7½ million acres. During the same period permanent pasture had gained nearly four million acres. An increase of less than a million cattle, with a decrease of over two million sheep, showed that what had been lost in corn had not been gained in meat production. On the other hand, a great increase had taken place in the cultivation of fruit, both in the open and under glass.

With respect to the cost of labour, Mr Bowley's average for England and Wales in 1879-81, derived from returns not specified, was 13s. 9d., as compared with Caird's 9s. 6d. in 1851; and he gives 13s. 4d. for 1892-3, as the average brought out by the Royal Commission on Labour which

sat in those years. The sums represent only the nominal weekly wages of day labourers, without harvest and other extras or payments in kind. These extras commonly amount to from 2s. to 3s. a week, except where men are hired by the year or half-year; and, when payments in kind are added, the average weekly earnings, as shown in the Quarterly Review for April 1894, in some counties are 3s. to 4s. higher than the nominal weekly wages. Moreover, the earnings of horse-men, cattle-men, and shepherds are higher than those of day labourers. These considerations explain how farmers found the cost of labour a serious impediment to the cultivation of arable land, with corn selling at extremely low prices, although the average given above seems low enough. But, by increasing the area of grass land, and dispensing with work not absolutely necessary, labour bills were kept within moderate bounds. In the number of this Review mentioned above, a compilation from the Census returns showed that the number of males employed on the land fell from about 1,201,000 in 1871 to about 1,054,000 in 1891, the decrease being over 12 per cent. During the same period the employment of women in farm work had diminished by more than one half, while the regular work of children of tender age had been abolished by the Education Acts. The evidence taken by the Royal Commission on Labour proved that the condition of the agricultural labourers had greatly improved since the time when bread and other kinds of food were dear; also that, in spite of migration, there were enough men in nearly all counties to meet the reduced demands of farmers. In the last two or three years of the century, however, there were complaints of scarcity of labour in many agricultural districts.

One of the notable movements of the last quarter of the century was that which was concerned with the provision of allotments and small holdings for agricultural labourers and other working men. The Allotments and Small Holdings Acts, the first of which was passed in 1887, though not directly operative to a wide extent, were conducive to the increased supply of small parcels of land, which had long been provided on most of the great estates in the country. There are now plenty of allotments for all who desire them in nearly all parts of England, and in some districts more than are required. In Scotland, partly

because wages are comparatively high, and partly because most of the workmen live in the houses of the farmers or in bothies on the farms, the demand for allotments appears to be small. The Small Holdings Act of 1892 has proved almost a failure, as agricultural depression has discouraged men from taking upon themselves the responsibility of purchasing land mainly with borrowed capital.

In consequence of the continuance of agricultural depression, another Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the subject in the autumn of 1893. The evidence brought before this Commission by individual witnesses and by the Assistant Commissioners was noticed in some detail in this Review for April 1895, and only a few of the most important points need now be mentioned. Rents were reported to have fallen since 1879 in various proportions, ranging from 5 to 30 per cent. in Lancashire and 10 to 25 per cent. in Staffordshire, up to from 10 to 100 per cent. in Cornwall, and from 25 to 100 per cent. in Hants and Essex. The 100 per cent. reductions, of course, referred to cases in which farms were let rent-free, the tenants paying only rates and the equivalent of the tithe rent-charge. The latter charge, by an Act passed in 1891, had been fixed upon the owners of land. The assessment of 'lands' to income tax under Schedule A is generally said to represent the fall in rents as less than it really has been; but it showed a fall, between 1879-80—when the highest point was attained—and 1893-4, of 22·7 per cent. in England and Wales, and 19·5 per cent. in Scotland. The decrease in Great Britain comes out at 13,250,524*l.*, or 22·2 per cent. Allowing for the decrease in the number of years' purchase, from thirty years in 1875 to eighteen years in 1894, the Commissioners showed, in their report, the reduction in the capital value of land in Great Britain amounted to 834,833,718*l.*, or 50 per cent. A further decline brought the decreases in the assessments in 1898-9 to 28·2 per cent. in England and Wales, and 23·2 in Scotland. As to the value of farm produce, a tabulated and detailed calculation given in this Review in April 1895 made the decrease in the value of food sold off farms in the United Kingdom in 1894, compared with that of 1874, nearly 88,000,000*l.* The area of land thrown on the landlords' hands in some counties was shown by the evidence to be very extensive; and in some of the corn-growing divisions

of the country derelict farms were numerous. Thousands of farmers had been ruined, and hundreds of landlords impoverished. The evidence, as summed up by the Commissioners, indicated price-falls in the past twenty years of 50 per cent. for wheat, 40 per cent. for the three principal cereals together, 24 to 40 (according to quality) for beef, 20 to 30 for mutton, 50 for wool, nearly 30 for dairy produce, and 20 to 30 for potatoes. The falls were attributed by most witnesses to foreign competition. In consequence of liberal grants in aid of local taxation from the Imperial Exchequer, it was shown that rates had been diminished. The tithe rent-charge had fallen with the prices of corn, but was still high enough to keep some heavy corn-land out of cultivation. Fourteen of the sixteen Commissioners signed a voluminous report, from which nine of them dissented on certain points in a minority report, while two others declined to sign either of these reports, and gave separate deliveries of their own views. The majority recommended various amendments and additions to the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883, remissions of tithe rent-charge within a certain limit, the amendment of the Railway and Canal Traffic Acts, compensation for damage by game, the prohibition of the colouring of margarine in imitation of butter, and of the sale of imported goods as British, with a few other changes. They had previously issued an interim report suggesting a measure of relief to farmers from local taxes. Since they sat, an Act to give relief in respect of rates, a new Food and Drugs Act, which does not prohibit the colouring of margarine, and a new Agricultural Holdings Act have been passed.

Agricultural improvement had made great advances during the period of prosperity; it was checked, though not stopped, by the depression after 1879. There is no doubt that a great deal of land was allowed to deteriorate in condition; but after rents had been reduced and the poorest land had been laid down in grass, some recovery in the farming of the country became noticeable. The improvement in the dairy branch of agriculture was particularly striking. The British Dairy Farmers' Association was founded in 1876, and has done much by its annual shows and conferences to promote the movement which a few pioneers had already commenced. Subsequently, this

Association established the British Dairy Institute, while the Bath and West of England Society started a travelling dairy school and a cheese school, and the County Councils and Agricultural Colleges set up dairy schools and classes. There has thus been a remarkable extension of technical instruction in this branch of agriculture. The invention of the centrifugal cream separator in 1877 and the introduction of the butter-worker revolutionised the butter-making industry, while the general use of the thermometer in churning and the improvement of all the implements and appliances of the dairy had a marked effect.

Indications are not lacking to show that agricultural education, which made giant strides in the last thirty years of the century, has done much to mitigate the depression in agriculture, by teaching farmers, and particularly those who have lately entered into business, how to make the best of their resources. In 1868 a grant was given by Parliament to the chair of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh, and in the following year the Senior Examinations of the Royal Agricultural Society were started; while in 1870 the Science and Art Department added the Principles of Agriculture to the subjects for which grants were made to elementary schools, and, later on, established classes for the training of the teachers in those schools. In 1874 the Agricultural School at Aspatria was founded by local gentlemen; in 1877 the Royal Agricultural Society began to carry out field and stock-feeding experiments, similar to those of Sir John Lawes and Sir J. H. Gilbert, on a farm at Woburn granted by the Duke of Bedford; and in 1880 the Downton Agricultural College was started by Professor Wrightson as a private venture. In 1884 the University College of North Wales, which has an Agricultural Division, was founded; and since that year seven similar institutions, now ranking with the North Wales College as collegiate centres of agricultural instruction, have been established in South Wales, Yorkshire, Durham, Kent, Nottingham, Reading, and Cambridge. In England we have also the Agricultural College at Uckfield, Sussex, the Colonial College at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk, the Agricultural and Horticultural School in Cheshire, the Eastern Counties Dairy Institute, the Midland Dairy Institute, the Harris Institute at Preston, and schools of less importance in which agri-

cultural instruction is systematically given. In Scotland besides the Agricultural Division of Edinburgh University, there is the West of Scotland Agricultural College, formed in 1900 out of the Glasgow Technical College; and the Kilmarnock Dairy School, founded some years ago, which is now affiliated to the West of Scotland College. Finally, during the last decade of the century, the County Councils have made a great advance in the organisation of classes, lectures, and experiments in relation to agriculture, as well as to other branches of technical education.

The present Board of Agriculture, which, in 1889, took the place of the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council, established in 1883, administers the funds granted by Parliament for the assistance of agricultural colleges and similar centres of instruction, and for agricultural research and experiments. Such experiments are carried on by all, or nearly all, the agricultural colleges or divisions of colleges, some of which have farms of their own for the purpose.

The instruction given to lads and young men, who have since become landlords, land agents, or farmers, has had a great effect in rendering practice more scientific. A similar influence has been exercised by the field and stock-feeding experiments carried out in various parts of the country, and the reports upon them, as well as by articles in agricultural papers and periodicals, and the numerous manuals on agriculture and kindred subjects published during the last twenty years. Among the latter must be named the books and reports published by Miss Ormerod, giving the results of her valuable investigations in reference to injurious insects and the best methods of destroying them. Anything new in varieties of plants grown on farms, in combinations of manures, in economy of stock-feeding, in the destruction of animal or vegetable pests, or in mechanical invention, becomes speedily known to all reading farmers in these times of wide-spread information. Spraying for the prevention of potato disease, introduced only a few years ago, has lately been extensively practised; and the still later plan of spraying for the destruction of charlock (wild mustard) has been carried out in many parts of the country. The spraying of fruit trees for the destruction of injurious insects, too, has recently become general among advanced fruit-growers.

It is impracticable to trace in detail the progress of mechanical invention and improvement during the last quarter of the century. The self-binding reaping machine, invented in the United States in 1870, but not introduced into this country until some years later, has revolutionised the harvesting system of the country; and, among other novelties, machines for planting and raising potatoes may also be specially mentioned, with the chilled-breast digging ploughs, which have now come into very extensive use. It cannot be said that steam cultivation has made much advance, although steam diggers have been introduced since the ploughs and cultivators came into operation. Apart from the great cost of the tackle required for steam-cultivation, the quantity of horse-labour which it saves is not sufficient to render it economical, except on very large farms, or under the hiring system.

There has been no abatement of the progress made in improving the breeds of live stock since the agricultural depression began. Indeed, since corn-growing came to be, at the best, barely profitable, and occasionally a source of loss, more attention than ever has been given to the animals of the farm. Among the movements of the last quarter of the century in this direction, the most important has been the development of the old English draught-horse, now known as the Shire, which, mainly through the efforts of the Shire Horse Society, has become the most popular of the heavy breeds in England. The improvement of the Suffolk sheep in recent years has also been remarkable. Well-bred animals of all kinds have maintained high prices; and the fattening of the early-maturing cattle and sheep produced in recent times, with the help of cheap feeding-stuffs, has been directly profitable when markets were brisk—a result which could hardly have been attained when animals were kept to double or treble the age at which they are now sent to the butcher.

It has already been stated that various circumstances, including good seasons, the reduction of rents, and the adoption of scientific methods, combined to mitigate agricultural depression during the closing years of the century; but it has been the most prolonged, if not the most intense, depression ever suffered by landowners and farmers. Opinions differ as to the probability of a permanent revival of genuine prosperity for corn-growers. Statistics indicate,

however, that, sooner or later, the demands of the world's increasing population must outgrow the supplies of corn obtained from quarters in which it can be cheaply produced; the increasing demand, and consequently rising prices, will render profitable the cultivation of new land requiring costly irrigation or distant from markets or ports, and justify large outlay in renovating land already in use; and corn-growing in the United Kingdom will probably become moderately remunerative once more. In the meantime, there is every reason to believe that, so far as this country is concerned, the production of the best animals and their products, and of fruit and culinary vegetables of the highest quality, taking one year with another, will continue to yield a living profit. For these purposes the United Kingdom has natural advantages which are unequalled, on the whole, by those of any other part of the world. Not the least of those advantages are the skill and energy of our breeders and farmers, who have fought a prolonged battle against adversity with true British courage and persistency. But while they will continue to rely mainly upon their ability to help themselves, they have a right to demand from Parliament the removal of all impediments to a fair struggle with a world of competitors. No circumstances in the history of British agriculture in the nineteenth century are more striking than the sins of commission and omission for which the Legislature has been responsible, and it is to be hoped that more wisdom will be shown by the rulers of the country in the century now begun. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of doing all that can be done to render our agriculture permanently prosperous. Not only is it one of the greatest sources of our national wealth, but it is also the industry which maintains the very life-blood of the nation, supplying from its healthy rearing-grounds the void caused by the detrimental influences of town-life, and providing the best recruits for the Army and the Navy.

Art. III.—ANCIENT AND MODERN CRITICISM.

1. *A History of Æsthetic*. By Bernard Bosanquet. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1892.
2. *L'Anarchie Littéraire*. Par Charles Recolin. Paris: Perrin, 1898.
3. *A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe*. By George Saintsbury. Vol. I. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1900.
4. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Three Literary Letters*. By W. Rhys Roberts. Cambridge University Press, 1901.

Is it possible for society in its collective capacity to exercise a reasoned judgment in matters of art and taste? Fifty years ago the answer to this question would unhesitatingly have been in the affirmative. For two centuries the sovereign centre of the community, wherever it lay, had succeeded, by whatever means, in stamping its own character on the art and literature of the time. After the Restoration of the Monarchy the controlling influence proceeded from the Court; after the Revolution of 1688 taste was directed by an alliance between the ruling statesmen and the critics of the coffee-houses; from the middle of the eighteenth century till the first Reform Bill, and for some years later, the body of opinion formed in the preceding generations, though it was being rapidly decomposed, maintained its authority in the drawing-rooms of 'society' and in the leading literary reviews, and therefore formed a contributory factor in artistic production. In all these epochs it is possible for the historian to recover, through the national art, an image of the character of contemporary social taste.

But in our day this authoritative direction no longer exists. The public, an innumerable multitude of individuals, with contradictory instincts capable of being æsthetically pleased, craves omnivorously for novelties, which are no less capriciously provided for it by the artist. Its taste resembles the course of one of those great Indian rivers which, after being swelled not only with the rainfall of the mountains but with the mud and sand of the plain, often freakishly shifts its bed and, sweeping away, to the despair of the engineer, villages and capitals, bridges and temples, finds a passage to the sea by some unexpected

channel. In such a state of things criticism has naturally disappeared. A book, for example, may in one season be sold in tens of thousands and be forgotten in the next; and so impossible is it to forecast the currents of public opinion that the most sagacious of publishers, when they cast their bread upon the waters, never feel sure that, even after many days, they will find it again. As for the professional critic, he is so overwhelmed with the quantity of the material which he is called upon in some way to classify, that he has no time to decide, on principle, whether its quality is good or bad.

This phenomenon is not peculiar to England. The lively and ingenious French writer, whose book is mentioned at the head of our article, gives the following account of literary taste within the rule of the French Academy :—

‘Take the works which have succeeded in the last ten years, and may therefore to some extent be classified: you will have before you in a heap some fifty volumes, which will represent currents of the most opposite ideas, the most various forms of composition and style, without the possibility of deciding which of these currents and which of these forms is dominant in the preference of the public. Every kind of taste is satisfied. . . . What you will find in each of the classes you examine will be essays, sketches, experiments, exhibiting every kind of idea, turning in every direction, even reactionary ones, harking back to distant centuries, reviving old fashions, even while affecting to despise them. And in this chaos what is there that predominates, or that carries conviction? The public takes all, swallows all, approves of all, indifferently. Nothing shows this better than the rage for foreign writers. In ten years public taste has shared its admiration between Tolstoï, Ibsen, d’Annunzio, Fogazzaro. Now Tolstoï is an ascetic socialist; Ibsen a misanthrope, whose individualism runs into madness; d’Annunzio an artistic free-thinker; Fogazzaro a convinced believer. But what do these essential differences signify to people who, after applauding with the same enthusiasm the blackguardisms of the “Théâtre Libre” and the mysteries of “L’Œuvre,” are prepared to return with equal enthusiasm to the romantic plumes of Cyrano de Bergerac? Eclecticism, perhaps you say. No! Anarchy of taste, that takes its own fickleness for a supreme distinction, and its want of discernment for superiority of mind.’

In such a society what is to be done by those who seek

to promote the cause of artistic law and order? M. Recolin clearly thinks, however politely he may veil his belief, that the evil is beyond the reach of remedy. He gives it up, like the boatman in Virgil,

Qui adverso vix flumine lembum
Remigiis subigit, si brachia forte remisit,
Atque illum in præceps prono rapit alveus amni :

and perhaps, in view of the extent to which France has broken with her old traditions and abandoned her ancestral modes of belief, his surrender is not without excuse. But we, who have preserved the continuity of our history and institutions, who have seen the structure of national taste built up laboriously by the criticism of men like Addison, and Burke, and Reynolds, and Scott (for Scott, as we are sometimes apt to forget, was a critic as well as a poet and novelist), cannot succumb to the forces of anarchy without disgrace. The farther our race extends its material empire, the more are we bound to proclaim the social necessity of cultivating what is noble and beautiful in the sphere of imagination. We must continue to row against the stream of bad taste.

Peculiar honour is, therefore, due to those who, like the authors of the two most important books upon our list, attempt to direct the attention of the more thoughtful portion of the public to the fundamental problems of art and taste. Each of these works is the complement of the other. Mr Bosanquet, whose name is well known in the world of philosophy, approaches his subject *a priori*. His 'History' deals with the philosophy of the Beautiful, which he assumes to be the object of fine art. Mr Saintsbury, who is equally eminent in the department of criticism, reasons on the other hand *a posteriori* :

'The Criticism, or modified Rhetoric, of which this book attempts to give a history, is pretty much the same thing as the reasoned exercise of literary taste—the attempt by the examination of literature to find out what it is that makes literature pleasant, and therefore good—the discovery, classification, and, as far as possible, tracing to their sources, of the qualities of poetry and prose, of style and metre, the classification of literary kinds, the examination and "proving," as arms are proved, of literary means and weapons, not neglecting the observation of literary fashions and the like.'

Now if either of these purposes be accomplished, much will have been done towards furnishing a satisfactory answer to the question with which we started. If Mr Bosanquet is able, by tracing the æsthetic consciousness of mankind from early times, to show us that the artist has always had before him, though under changing aspects, the same ideal of the Beautiful, then this ideal must necessarily become a law to the modern artist. If, again, Mr Saintsbury can prove that in all ages the critic, when analysing the laws of beautiful expression, has found himself confronted by the same kind of problems, then it is plain that the mind can be educated to judge correctly of the merits of a work of art. We shall presently show that neither the philosopher nor the critic helps us by arriving at a practical and positive conclusion upon these points. None the less valuable are their labours in respect of the method they have each pursued, for, in treating their subject historically, they have brought together, by clear arrangement and sound reasoning, a mass of material which allows the reader to survey questions naturally difficult and obscure in the light of a lucid order.

Curiously enough, Mr Bosanquet and Mr Saintsbury, though they approach the subject from opposite sides, meet upon a common ground. Each is writing the history of something which, when strictly viewed, is confessed to be exclusively modern. Mr Bosanquet, while he defines *Æsthetic* to be the philosophy of the Beautiful, allows that the term '*Æsthetic*' is not used in its modern sense before the latter half of the eighteenth century; and Mr Saintsbury, who occupies himself with the history of Criticism, shows over and over again that what he himself means by that term is '*Literary Criticism*,' which, as he justly says, was a mode of judgment alien to the thought and institutions of the ancient world. Both writers agree in thinking that expression in art is an end in itself, and that æsthetic judgments are to be completely separated from moral judgments—a principle utterly opposed to the ideas of philosophers like Plato and Aristotle. Hence, as they treat the subject historically, it is necessary for them to preserve its unity by assuming that, on the one hand, the world's ideas of the Beautiful, and, on the other, the world's conceptions of Art, proceeding from a starting-point which has practically ceased to exist, have been

advancing continuously up to the point which they themselves occupy, and which may be regarded, for all intents and purposes, as the absolute truth.

This intense conviction of the finality of their own perceptions has its advantage in the confidence with which our authors bring abstract ideas into form and order, but it suffers from a certain tacit disdain which they exhibit both for the general reader and for the ancient critic. Mr Bosanquet in particular shows himself careless of the comfort of his readers. He is a disciple of Hegel, and writes as if no one beyond the little circle of Hegelians were worthy of much consideration. He takes no trouble to reduce the terms of German metaphysic to a style suitable for history, and he leaves his readers to make what they can of such expressions as 'content,' 'sense perception,' 'formative art,' 'world-process'; while in the definition of Beauty—viz. 'that which has characteristic or individual expressiveness for sense perception or imagination, subject to the conditions of general or abstract expressiveness in the same medium'—he can scarcely be said to use the English language at all. It is a pity that, in this respect, Mr Bosanquet, who, when he chooses to popularise his ideas, can write plainly and vigorously, did not follow the example of a teacher whom he devotedly admires—Mr Ruskin.

Translated into the vulgar tongue, his theory may, we think, be condensed as follows. In the philosophic history of Beauty, the first stage of æsthetic perception is reflected in the Greek mind and in Greek art, the essence of the Greek idea of Beauty being 'unity in variety,' or the proportioned relation of parts to a whole. As the Greek intelligence, with its instinct of beauty derived from polytheistic belief, was inclined to merge the human soul itself in material Nature, the object of fine art was popularly defined to be imitation: in other words the Greeks imitated things in themselves, without any *arrière pensée* as to their ulterior spiritual meaning; and for the same reason the æsthetic perception, which formed the base of imitation, was in the Greek mind inextricably mixed up with the idea of morality. The second stage of perception was reached when, in the fulness of Greek philosophy, a sharp separation began to be recognised between nature and the soul of man, and when, by a

corresponding movement, the idea of the imitation of nature by art was gradually expanded into the idea of symbolic representation of things invisible. But monotheistic Æsthetic was, according to Mr Bosanquet, still imperfect, because it was too metaphysical, and implied that there was a world quite separate from the soul, into which this could make voyages outside itself. The third and final stage, or Æsthetic proper, was not reached till the time of Kant, who regarded the images of beautiful things in the mind, rising there without the aid or control of reason, as symbols of the law and order of the universe; so that, in Kant's philosophy, the object of fine art, which had already passed from imitation to symbolism, was now realised in self-expression. In order to relieve Kant's theory of its subjective individualism, the idea of Æsthetic was completed by Hegel, who gave it a kind of local habitation in his theory of the successive evolution of the fine arts, corresponding with the different stages of human consciousness and civilisation.

Mr Bosanquet pursues the proof of this thesis along two historic roads, one revealing the changes in the idea of Beauty as analysed by philosophers, the other its outward manifestation in works of fine art. His method in the former line seems to us much more satisfactory than in the latter. No doubt the difficulty of following the continuous track of general ideas about beautiful things is immense: Mr Bosanquet himself allows that the term 'Beauty' has never been satisfactorily defined. But on the assumption that by the words *τὸ καλόν*, *pulchritudo*, *le Beau*, *die Schönheit*, and *the Beautiful* the ancients and moderns alike mean those images of unseen things which the mind can form, and which give it simply spiritual pleasure, it is undoubtedly the case that from the time of Plato, who was the first to write philosophically about Beauty, men's ideas on the subject have been constantly altering. For example, it is evident that the ideas of the Platonist Plotinus about Beauty are much larger, more tolerant, and, so to say, more 'modern,' in their attitude towards external nature, human society, and the imitations of such things in art, than were those of his master Plato. Mr Bosanquet says that this is due to enlarging views in the human mind, produced by great social and political changes. We think he is right: at any rate his account

of the causes at work in the civilised world during the Alexandrian-Roman period of art is very well expressed.

'First among these ranks a further phase of the influence which we observed in the New Comedy, a prevailing moral earnestness and sense of duty and of humanity. Strange attributes, it will be said, by which to characterise a decadence of culture! But, as we have seen, the reflective sentiment of morality was especially characteristic of this age, in which the individual was lonely in a crowd, and had to shape his life by his own common sense. And the atmosphere of serious purpose and good-will which belongs to the Roman poets is a strong instance of the power which the natural progress of mankind possesses to place the later and lower genius ethically in advance of the greater and earlier; while in so far as didactic moralising or critical theology intrude into art, we have exemplified that division of the mind against itself which marks the comparatively modern spirit of the time under discussion. Roman "urbanity"—the very word is significant—and Roman moralising satire are not the natural geniality of Homer or the semi-political orthodoxy of Aristophanes. They are, on the contrary, the product of reflection and purely theoretical idea, and are thus analogous in some degree to the ethical protest and sentiment of Euripides. But they are more tinged than his with worldly wisdom, and arise, not only out of a prolonged education, but out of a mature experience of government and toleration among many creeds and civilisations.'

During the whole of what may be called the Greek or Græco-Roman period of civilisation, it is open to Mr Bosanquet to pursue his theory with confidence. But at the close of this epoch he is brought to the brink of an apparently impassable gulf, for, as he himself admits, between Plotinus and Kant æsthetic philosophy disappears. He is perplexed how to adapt his reasoning to these facts, and his treatment of the problem becomes hesitating. Sometimes he seems to fall back on the theory of Augustus Schlegel, which supposes an abruptly new departure of the human spirit from the beginning of the Christian era, and which is illustrated by such antithetic phrases as 'Christian and Pagan,' 'ancient and modern,' 'classic and romantic': at other times he seems to regard the Middle Ages as a period of spiritual gestation and instinctive artistic production, during which it would be unreasonable to look for a conscious philosophy of the

Beautiful. But the former of these hypotheses is invalidated by the fact that the few mediæval writers who discourse on abstract Beauty—Scotus Erigena and Thomas Aquinas for example—treat the subject very much on the same lines as Plotinus; while, as to the second suggestion, the critics who in the eighteenth century write on formal Beauty—Raphael Mengs, Winckelmann, Burke, and Reynolds—take no account of those symbolic ideas of external nature which, according to Mr Bosanquet's theory, had been sinking into the consciousness of mankind, and had found outward expression in mediæval art. In other words, the practice of a symbolical poet like Dante, or of a painter like Orcagna, had not affected the course of philosophic criticism based on the imitative principle of Greek poetry and painting.

Still more impossible does it seem to verify the theory by following it along the highway of the fine arts. Let it be granted that the stock example of the character of Greek art, the sculptures of Pheidias, illustrate forcibly the truth that the essence of formal Beauty in the Greek mind was unity in variety; and let it further be granted that the poetry of Dante is evidence that the mind of the artist had passed in the Middle Ages from the pure imitation to the symbolic representation of nature; we do not see how these two facts throw any light on the continuous expansion of the idea of Beauty, and still less how Mr Bosanquet proposes to use the practice of Dante and Shakespeare (the only two Christian artists to whom he makes any detailed reference) for the illustration of post-Kantian *Æsthetic*. We are met by the further difficulty that, at the very outset of speculation along this path, Plato, who reasoned elaborately on the nature of Beauty, ruthlessly condemned all the fine arts, because they had imitation for their object; while on the contrary, Aristotle, who accepted imitation as the end of fine art, nowhere asserts that the object of imitation is Beauty.

Hence, though Mr Bosanquet brings us, at the middle of his volume, to the promised land of modern *Æsthetic*, we think we can be hardly said to have reached it by either of his two historic roads. Between Greek and German speculation on the subject of the Beautiful there is a great gulf fixed. It is therefore not very surprising to find that the most advanced æsthetic philosophers in Germany think

very little of those whom Mr Bosanquet regards as their predecessors.

'The Aristotelian principle of Imitation,' says Hartmann, 'and the Platonic abstract idealism are rightly held to be of no further moment for æsthetic theory; while Aristotle's "Poetic," owing to Lessing's glorification of it, has still an undeserved reputation, and Plato's obscure indications of æsthetic views are obviously not worth the emphasis that is laid on them.'

Nothing in fact need be considered by the German philosopher before the genesis of the modern æsthetic philosophy of Kant. And this is undoubtedly the case—for the German philosopher. But on the other hand German philosophy throws no ray of light, as Mr Bosanquet had led us to hope that it would, on the practice of fine art. If we wish to be informed of 'the six orders of formal beauty—unconscious formal beauty or the sensuously pleasant; the mathematically and the dynamically pleasing; the passively teleological (as shown for example in decorative beauty); the vital, bearing of course a substantial relation to some of the mathematical and dynamical forms; and last of the "formal" orders, the regular or normal type in any species'—we shall find plenty of metaphysical speculation of this kind from the days of Schiller and Schelling down to those of Hartmann. But if we ask what light all this reasoning throws on the beautiful things of poetry, painting, and sculpture, we shall ask in vain. German æsthetic theory reminds us of the debates of the fallen angels in Pandemonium:—

'Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fixt fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.'

We set out on our enquiry, hoping by the *a priori* road to arrive at some conclusion which would show us whether a concrete work of art was or was not beautiful. But when we ask for artistic bread, Mr Bosanquet tells us we must be contented with the stone of æsthetic theory. Moreover:

'If we turn from the critical and reflective appreciation of beauty to the realm of beautiful production, it is idle to deny

thing like theory the art of composition, of arranging words effectively, should be directed to *spoken* words, and to spoken words more particularly under the all-important conditions of the public meeting and the law court—by no means neglecting the art of persuasion, as practicable in the Porch, or the Garden, or the private supper-room.’

This is excellent. But why then should not the performances of the ancient critics—for what is said of Athens is true on a more extended scale of Rome—be judged by the end they had in view? Yet Mr Saintsbury not only insists on bringing every one of them to the bar of ‘literary criticism’—where books are judged for the entertainment merely of the *reader*, and generally by a completely abstract measure of what is right or wrong in style—but also considers that the absence of literary criticism from their judgments implies a positive defect. The consequence is, we think, that his own estimate of the scope and character of ancient criticism is not unfrequently mistaken, both where he praises and where he blames. We will give some examples of what we mean.

His general account of Aristotle as a critic is most appreciative and discerning, but he says:

‘On the one hand he looks too much at the actual occupants of his book-case, without considering whether there may not be another book-case filled with other things, as good but different. On the other he is too prone, not merely to generalise from his facts as if they were the only possible facts, but to “overstep the genus” a little in his generalisation, and to merge Poetics in Ethics.’

Now it is surely no fault of Aristotle that he did not use the comparative method in criticism. What other ‘book-case’ was there with which he could compare the contents of his own? Writing for Greeks on the subject of Greek oratory and poetry, he was quite entitled to draw general conclusions on this subject. If ‘literary critics’ in after times took his conclusions and applied them, as though possessing an absolute authority, to works of imagination produced in a totally different order of society, Aristotle is not to blame. And as to the second objection, Aristotle no doubt does not respect the modern German canon of criticism, whereby morality is altogether excluded from æsthetic judgment. But then he treats

man always as a 'political being,' and, viewing him in his social capacity and his social actions, is fully justified, when judging of orators and poets, in taking into account those moral sentiments which affect all the conditions of active life. On the contrary, Kant and the German philosophers, who analyse man in the abstract, take him out of that social sphere in which all his æsthetic powers are really exercised, and hence eliminate one of the conditions of life in judging of art.

Mr Saintsbury again blames Aristotle for undervaluing the importance of style, and compares him in this respect disadvantageously with Longinus. The passage in the 'Rhetoric' on which he grounds his opinion is: Τὸ περὶ τὴν λέξιν ὄψε προσήλθεν καὶ δοκεῖ φορτικὸν εἶναι, καλῶς ὑπολαμβάνόμενον. In Mr Saintsbury's paraphrase this is supposed to mean: 'Style is a modern thing and, rightly considered, something *ad captandum*.' But our author here completely misinterprets Aristotle's meaning. Dr Welldon rightly translates the whole passage:

'But up to the present time, no scientific treatise upon declamation has been composed, for it was not till a late date that the art of style itself made any progress, and declamation (ὑποκριτικὴ) is still popularly considered, and indeed rightly supposed, to be something vulgar.' (Aristotle, 'Rhetoric,' III, i.)

Clearly this does not involve a disparagement of λέξις but of ὑποκριτικὴ.

Cicero, in Mr Saintsbury's hands, fares, however, much worse than Aristotle. We are told:

'He seems to have thought Oratory the roof and crown of things literary, the queen of literary kinds, to which all others were ancillary, pedagogic, mere exercising grounds and sources of convenient ornament. No one so thinking could make any great proficiency in literary criticism, and Cicero did not make any such.'

Considering that the business of Cicero in the 'De Oratore' and the 'Brutus' was to discuss oratory and orators, it is difficult to see why he should be blamed for abstaining from criticism on literature generally. But Mr Saintsbury is determined to prove that he was wanting in literary taste, and he does so in a manner which we think he will see, on reflection, is unfair, namely by misrepresent-

thing like theory the art of composition, of arrangement. Quintus, effectively, should be directed to *spoken* words, words more particularly under the all-important literary criticism the public meeting and the law court—by no means, came before the art of persuasion, as practicable in the age of Latin, and Garden, or the private supper-room. Virgil, of Horace,

This is excellent. But why then did and he did know performances of the ancient critics—this mighty poet, who Athens is true on a more external than this, who the sustained grasp of judged by the end they had in view to both? The manuscript not only insists on bringing even *memata, ut scribis, ita sunt*: of 'literary criticism'—where *amen artis*." The earlier entertainment merely of this sentence nonsense. . . . completely abstract measure have been a *non* somewhere, style—but also consider that Cicero, as if he had been criticism from their judgment, thought Lucretius rough. The consequence is, very unlikely. The natural the scope and character (as till recently it used always to frequently mistaken which emendation, and which alone, blames. We will without prejudice on the score of

His general should expect it to run: "The poems appreciative and not very full of brilliancy in genius,

'On the one of his book-c be another different. realise from but to "to merge

No use 'bo con of is. Mr Saintsbury's belief in the absolute finality of literary criticism' causes him to impute to such ancient criticism as seem to approach more nearly to this modern a character which they do not really possess. The brilliant example of literary criticism among the

Greeks is, in his opinion, the *Περὶ Τῆς* ascribed to Longinus. Of this work he says:

‘This brings us to his greatest claim of all—that is to say, his attitude towards his subject as a whole. Although he nowhere says as much in so many words, no one can read his book with attention—above all, no one can read it again and again critically—without seeing that to him literature was not a schedule of forms, departments, kinds, with candidates presenting themselves for the critic to admit them to one or the other, on and during their good behaviour, but a body of matter to be examined according to its fruits, according to its provision of the literary pleasure.’

In another place he speaks almost rhapsodically of Longinus’ saying, that ‘beautiful words are in deed and in fact the very light of the spirit,’ which Mr Saintsbury calls ‘the Declaration of Independence and the “Let there be Light” at once of Literary Criticism.’

Here we think the praise of this author and the implied depreciation of his predecessors are alike disproportionate. We concur, indeed, in all that Mr Saintsbury says of the excessive dryness of the Greek technical treatises on rhetoric, but we do not think that this necessarily shows the insensibility of the Greek critics in general to the beauty of literary form. It would, indeed, have been strange if the countrymen of Sophocles had been unable to judge critically of the merits of the ‘*Œdipus Coloneus*’; and we know in fact that judges representative of the audience were appointed to decide the prizes in the dramatic exhibitions at the Dionysia. These judges, though they may have often judged wrongly, must have been capable of the same kind of literary judgment as ourselves. On the other hand, while we do not yield to Mr Saintsbury in our admiration for the critical acumen and enthusiasm of the author of the *Περὶ Τῆς*, we are by no means of opinion that his criticism differs in *kind* from that of other Greek writers on rhetoric. His treatise is addressed to his friend Terentianus, professedly in consequence of his dissatisfaction with what Cæcilius, the writer of an earlier work on rhetoric, had said on the subject of the Sublime; and if we had Cæcilius’ criticism we should doubtless find that it had suggested many of the thoughts as well as the illustrations of the *Περὶ Τῆς*. In his arrangement the writer

follows the philosophic and scholastic method of Aristotle, inquiring into the sources of the Sublime, the figures by which it may be expressed, and the kind of diction required to produce the effect in the imagination of an audience. Oratory is always in his thought; what distinguishes him—setting aside his genius—from other writers on rhetoric is the accidental fact that his whole attention is turned to a single oratorical quality: he considers how the audience may be moved to Rapture, whereas previous sophists had occupied themselves with the larger and more technical enquiry—what were the various intellectual methods of Persuasion. It is just the same with regard to diction. The author of the *Περὶ Ῥήσεως* is no more inclined than Aristotle to regard words—as we think Mr Saintsbury is rather disposed to do—as an end in themselves: they are considered by him merely with a view to the required sublime effect; and we cannot see what essential difference Mr Saintsbury could find between his principles and those of Quintilian, as embodied in the following passage, which is an interesting illustration of Longinus' saying that 'beautiful words are the light of the spirit':—

'I would have you, therefore, to be careful about your words, but anxious about your matter. As a rule, the best words are wedded to the thought itself, and reveal themselves by their own light: but we are in the habit of hunting for them, as if they hid themselves out of sight and withdrew into remote corners. Hence we never suppose that they are inherent in our subject, but we look for them in strange places, and, when we have found them, torture them out of their natural meaning. Eloquence must be animated by a nobler spirit; if her whole body is vigorous, she can dispense with polishing her nails and curling her hair.' (Quintilian, 'Inst. Orat.,' viii, Pro.)

An equally exaggerated estimate is formed by Mr Saintsbury of the critical importance of Dante's treatise 'De Vulgari Eloquentia,' of which we are told:

'Once more we find Dante, in opposition to the Master, in opposition to all ancient critics except Longinus, and partly even to him, recognising the ultimate and real test of literary excellence as lying in the expression, not in the meaning. This would in itself be a thing so great that no greater has met or will meet us throughout this history. Even yet the truth

which Longinus caught but as in a Pisgah-sight, which Dante himself rather felt and illustrated throughout, than consciously or deliberately championed in any particular place—the truth that the criticism of literature is first of all the criticism of expression as regards the writer, of impression as regards the reader—is far from being universally recognised, is far even from being a prevailing or a popular doctrine. By many it is regarded as an unquestionable heresy, by others as a questionable half-truth. But that Dante did feel, if he hardly saw it, that he was penetrated by it, that his criticism in the “*De Vulgari Eloquentia*” turns on it—for these things I hope to have shown some cause.

What then is the treatise ‘*De Vulgari Eloquentia*’? It was Dante’s last work, written, therefore, after the ‘*Vita Nuova*’ and the ‘*Divina Commedia*,’ evidently with the intention of explaining and defending the practice of those who wrote poetry in Italian, and especially in the form of the *canzone*. Dante for this purpose examines all the spoken dialects of Italy, with a view to determine whether any single dialect is qualified for poetical use; and he finally comes to the conclusion that the ‘illustrious vulgar tongue’ is something distinct from them all, being indeed a literary mode of speech formed by the practice of the best poets, to whom he constantly refers as the sole authorities for fixing the standard. After arriving at this point, he goes on to consider in the scholastic manner—just as Dionysius of Halicarnassus or Quintilian might have done—what poetry is; what subjects can be properly treated in the vulgar tongue; and what are the constituents of the higher style.

How does this prove that ‘the ultimate and real test of literary excellence lies in the expression, and not in the meaning’? We should have thought that, if there was ever a critic who would have insisted first on the necessity of meaning, it was the poet who, at the opening of the ‘*Paradiso*,’ calls on Apollo for inspiration, in order that he might come to the tree loved by the god, to crown himself, as he says, ‘with those leaves whereof my *matter* and thou will make me worthy.’ The mere fact that in the ‘*De Vulgari Eloquentia*’ Dante dwells much on words and metres simply shows that he was dealing with a new language, and that, like Chaucer in similar circumstances, he was endeavouring to refine it on fixed principles. Indeed,

if we substitute minstrelsy for oratory—and it is to be remembered that, in Dante's time, almost all poetry was composed with a view to being sung—we shall see in the 'De Vulgari Eloquentia' a treatise on poetical rhetoric with as definite and practical an end as any authoritative Greek text-book compiled for the purpose of teaching men how to speak in the Ecclesia or the law courts.

On the whole, we do not think that Mr Saintsbury is any more successful in tracing historically an unbroken critical progress from ancient times, up to an absolute standard of literary criticism, than Mr Bosanquet is in showing that the simple Greek idea of artistic beauty, unity in variety, has been gradually expanding into the complex modern idea of characteristic self-expression. Indeed we cannot understand why, on their own principles, either of these writers should have been so anxious to prove a continuity in the history of fine art. Mr Bosanquet, as we have seen, believes that the practice of art is vanishing out of the civilised world; while the following passage seems to indicate that, in the sphere of criticism, Mr Saintsbury is quite content with the results and prospects of the tradition of *laissez faire* :—

'I should be sorry to end not merely a chapter but a Book, not merely a Book but a volume, without a caveat against possible misconstruction of the words "fault," "error," "sin," "mischief," "misfortune," and the like, which have just been used, not merely in this context, but throughout the volume itself. There have been, I believe, persons unfortunate enough to be dissatisfied with the moral and physical government of the universe—persons who have sadly pronounced it "a crank machine" in many ways. These things are not my trade. But, in matters literary, I must plead guilty to being something of an optimist. Not that I think all literature good—that is not precisely the conclusion to which a thirty years' practice of criticism brings one. . . . The point on which I am contented to be called a critical Pangloss is this, that I have hardly the slightest desire to alter—if I could do so by the greatest of all miracles, that of retroactive change—the literary course of the world.'

We do not abandon the hope that Mr Saintsbury will see, on reflection, that in this passage he is refusing to meet the real question with which, as a critic, he is confronted. The question is not as to the government of the

universe, which is beyond our power, nor as to the course of literature in the past, which is unalterable, but as to a state of things which is largely dependent on the exercise of our own will and energy, in a society where every free man is able to exert some influence. No one has had a larger experience of practical criticism than Mr Saintsbury: he knows very well that the description which M. Recolin gives of the public taste is true. Does he then think it the duty of a critic, when he sees what he considers to be a 'sin' or a 'fault' or an 'error' in a book, to expose it in the light of fixed principles? or should the critic, with an Epicurean indifference, be content merely to set forth the motives of his author without pronouncing whether these are good or bad? The latter is the course adopted by M. Recolin. He endeavours to disguise from himself the consequences of the existing anarchy by faintly trusting 'the larger hope.'

'I am completely reassured,' he says, 'by a page of M. Doumic, who reminds us in one of his studies that the first years of the seventeenth century presented the same feverish symptoms as those which we experience to-day. Obscurity, affectation, a rage for Spanish and Italian literature, bad taste triumphing in the theatre with Hardy, in poetry with Scarron, a mixture of cynical eroticism and pious effusions among the poets themselves, artistic cliques, the centres of a debauched bohemianism, each with its Verlaine or its Bruant—such are the fruits of anarchy—so like those of our own epoch—to be observed in the dawn of the "Grand Siècle," the most reasonable, the most glorious, of all centuries.'

Mr Saintsbury is not likely to be deluded by such an argument as this. He is too well acquainted with the course of literary history not to recognise the essential difference between the anarchy of the *blasé* self-conscious society of the twentieth century and the chaotic conflict of opinion in the first years of the seventeenth; while the French mind was still agitated by the recollections of civil war, and distracted between the antagonistic ideals of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Middle Ages; before the Monarchy had centralised in itself all the political powers of the nation; before the Academy had been founded to control with its logic the tendencies of the national thought and language. He knows that the taste of Hardy had as

little to do with the production of the '*Discours des Trois Unités*' as the buffoonery of Scarron with the '*Art Poétique*.' Does he not then think that he is bound, as an independent critic, to make a stand against the anarchical tendencies which threaten all the laws of beautiful expression?

Of the many excellencies in his book, the chief, in our opinion, is the clear arrangement of its materials; whereby we are enabled to see how similar in all ages of the world have been the problems of expression in speech and writing; and since we have criticised the absolute point of view from which Mr Saintsbury forms his judgments, we think that it will be fair in conclusion to state our own opinion as to the use and value of the historical study of ancient criticism.

First of all, ancient criticism furnishes a continuous protest against the modern heresy that art is to be pursued for art's sake; that expression can be judged apart from thought and meaning; that it is in fact an end in itself. This doctrine, though it was first enunciated in France, has its main roots in the reasoning of the Germans, formulated at a time when Germany could not yet be called a nation, and when her philosophers were in consequence naturally disposed to consider man solely in his abstract human capacity. But among the Greeks and Romans, whose thought was of an essentially civil order, there was no disposition to judge of man or his institutions apart from the purpose for which they were designed; all art is therefore criticised by the Ancients—as it was by Plato—with a view to instruction; or—as it was by Strabo and Plutarch—with the idea of combining amusement with instruction; or—as it was by Aristotle—in relation to the social pleasure which it produced. No doubt most of the critical treatises that have come down from ancient to modern times are, in consequence of their strict adherence to their particular end, very dry and uninteresting to us; but on the other hand they are, for the same reason, never wanting in thought; and, if viewed historically, the clearness of their method and arrangement may serve as a valuable barrier against the floods of rhapsodical nonsense which in our day are too often dignified by the name of criticism. Down to the very close of the classical era the professional critics or teachers of rhetoric never lost sight of the practical ends for which society

exists, or of the nature of the internal structure by which it is sustained: hence arose their syllogistic method of reasoning, which passed on from them to the mediæval schoolmen, and which found its most striking embodiment alike in the poetry and in the philosophy of Dante.

We observe, therefore, with much satisfaction, that the whole subject of Greek criticism is being taken in hand by so sound and thorough a scholar as Mr Rhys Roberts, and we heartily welcome the instalment of his work that has recently appeared in his excellent edition of 'The Three Literary Letters of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.' Dionysius is an admirable critic, manly, searching, sane, yet capable (as his appreciation of Demosthenes shows) of genuine enthusiasm. He approaches, perhaps, more nearly than any ancient writer to Mr Saintsbury's ideal of 'literary criticism,' and we are glad to see that the latter speaks of him with fitting respect; indeed, we are not ourselves disposed to admit that there is so wide an interval in critical genius between him and the author of *Περὶ Τέχνης* as Mr Saintsbury maintains. In any case a better example of the value of criticism, based on definite principles and directed towards a definite end, than the works of Dionysius, cannot be found.

Secondly, ancient criticism furnishes us, both unconsciously by the light of history, and by the reasoning of some of the most illustrious critics, with a clue to the cause of decay in artistic expression, namely the poverty and triviality of social aims. Mr Saintsbury gives an admirably generalised view of the character of school rhetoric in the Alexandrian ages:—

'As the practical importance of oratory declined, the technical and "sporting" interest of Rhetoric got more and more the upper hand. Rhetoricians specialised their terminology, multiplied their classifications, and drew their rules ever finer and finer, just as croquet players narrow their hoops and bulge out their balls, just as whist-players split and wire-draw the broad general principles of the play of Deschapelles and Clay into "American leads," and an endless reverberation of "calls" and "echoes." We possess a very large, and a more curious than interesting, collection of the technical writings of this half craft, half sport, and a collection rather less in proportion, but a little more interesting, of examples of the finished handiwork or game.'

little to do with the production of the fall of the Roman Empire, as the buffoonery of the poet was given with a view to the Does he not then think that such objects, such as are illustrative, to make a stand in different sections in the treatise which threaten all the time? 'How to praise Cities,' 'How

Of the many excellent pieces, 'How to praise Gulfs'; or our opinion, is the effect of custom supposed to be addressed whereby we are enabled to see the world have been proved, proving 'That Troy was and writing; and the Sublime so rare in our time?' point of view from the answer which, in spite of Mr Saintsbury's, we think it necessary, we believe to be the true one. our own opinion, we learn (the fact being, as in King

First of all, taken for granted), divers explanations protest against the fact. Democracy was a protest against aristocracy was not. But Longinus did sued for art, getting and money-seeking, pleasure from thought, he thought. Plain living and itself. The returned to if the heights were to be France, has a noble conclusion, if perhaps only a formulated. Had Longinus had our illegitimate pre-called a of experience, he would have known sequence of the wind of the spirit admits of no such abstract. Ages of liberty and ages of servitude, Rome, ages of simplicity, ages of faith and ages of there we give us the sublime if the right man is there: apart, as if he is not. But our critic had not the full all before him, and we could not expect the adequate by

Strabo. Instance can Mr Saintsbury give of a sublime moment, a sublime oration, produced in an age of servitude? Greek poetry and Greek oratory were the reflection of the free life and action of the Greek city-states. no the poet or the orator could turn his imagination to the ideas of religion and policy, the materials for his expression were ready to hand; when liberty disappeared, and the public mind was perforce occupied with petty concerns, what Mr Saintsbury calls the 'sport' of rhetoric naturally began to take the place of the great art of expression. Surely the evidence that the poet is here also the *propter hoc* is conclusive; and Dionysius says the same thing in another way:

'In the times before our own [we use Mr Roberts's transla-

tion], the ancient and philosophic rhetoric was flouted, grossly outraged and brought lower and lower. Its decline and gradual decay began with the death of Alexander of Macedon, and in our own generation it reached the verge of final extinction. Another rhetoric stole into its place—one intolerably ostentatious, shameless and dissolute, and without part in philosophy or any other liberal discipline. Craftily it deluded the ignorant multitude. Not only did it live in greater affluence and luxury and style than its predecessor, but it attached to itself those offices and those foremost public positions which should have been held by the philosophic rhetoric. Very vulgar it was and offensive, and in the end it reduced Hellas to the same plight as the household of miserable prodigals."

Now if this be so, we, in the third place, obtain from ancient criticism a sound measure for determining to what extent moral considerations should be allowed to enter into our judgments of fine art. We acquiesce in the justice of all that Mr Saintsbury says about the mistakes made by the great majority of Greek critics, in letting their moral prepossessions pervert their conceptions of the true functions of artistic imitation. Plato's condemnation of poetry, on moral and philosophical grounds, and Plutarch's pedagogic comments on the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey,' are instructive examples of the mischief caused by regarding moral instruction as the final cause of art. But Aristotle arrived at a sounder conclusion; he held that, as imitation was the outward object of art, so the effect of pleasure produced in the mind was the inward end of fine art, and the test of its value. Hence his criticism was based entirely on æsthetic principles. Nevertheless he was far from agreeing with the modern view, that moral considerations are to be excluded from æsthetic judgments.

'In his praise as little as in his blame,' says Mr Butcher, here, as always, a lucid interpreter of Aristotle's meaning, 'does Aristotle look to the moral content of a poem. . . . Not that Aristotle would set aside, as a matter of indifference, the moral content of a poem or the moral character of the author. Nay, they are all-important factors in producing the total impression which has to be made upon the hearer. Tragedy being the imitation of life, of human welfare and human misery, the pleasure it communicates could not conceivably be derived from a poem which misinterprets human destiny and holds up low ideals of life and conduct.'

We wish that Mr Butcher had taken his stand rather more firmly on this ground in his view of the moral aspect of Aristotle's critical principles. He is inclined to defer to Mr Bosanquet's ruling, and to think that, here and there, the philosopher's criticism, being unduly swayed by the general Greek prepossession, cannot be defended. His conclusion is mainly grounded on a passage in the second chapter of the 'Poetics,' in which poetry is spoken of as *μίμησις σπουδαίων*, which Mr Butcher says (taken in connexion with the instruction to imitate *χρηστὰ ἦθη*) must mean 'the imitation of good characters.' But, granting this, we think that the expression can hardly be taken to mean that the end of poetry is to imitate good characters *in themselves*; for then, in the first place, Aristotle would have had to blame Homer for introducing into the 'Iliad' the character of Thersites; and, in the second place, his doctrine would have been inconsistent with the principle he himself lays down, viz., 'The action in poetry is not employed for the imitation of the characters; but the characters are necessarily included in the action' (*οὐκ οὖν ὅπως τὰ ἦθη μιμήσωνται πράττονσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἦθη συμπαράλαμβάνουσι διὰ τὰς πράξεις*). We fully admit that Aristotle is sometimes apparently inconsistent with himself on this subject, as for example in his account of the structure of a Perfect Tragedy, in which he seems to fix his attention on Character in the abstract. But we think that this inconsistency must not be pressed against him too strongly. We should rather bear in mind his central conception of the nature of poetic imitation, namely, the representation of an organic ideal whole, which in the drama implies the representation of an *action* out of which the characters spring as a necessary consequence. Tragedy, Aristotle says in his definition, is the imitation of great and serious action (*τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας*); and such action must necessarily involve the predominant representation of 'serious,' and even of 'good,' characters, since on the whole the good in nature prevails over the evil. Aristotle's reasoning therefore proscribes the imitation of bad characters, *except in so far as the nature of the action renders it necessary* (*ὁρθὴ δ' ἐπιμίμησις ἀλογία καὶ μοχθηρία, ὅταν μὴ ἀνάγκης οὕσης μηδὲν χρήσῃται τῷ ἀλόγῳ, ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης τῷ Αἰγέῳ, ἢ τῇ πονηρίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἐν Ὀρέστη τοῦ Μενελάου*). On this principle he would no doubt have condemned the repre-

sentation of the character of Barabas in Marlowe's 'Jew of Malta,' and of that of Aaron in 'Titus Andronicus,' in both of which gigantic evil seems to be imitated merely for the sake of adding force to the dramatic representation. But he would not have disapproved of the part of Iago in 'Othello'; nor do we think that he would have acquiesced in Mr Butcher's conclusion that 'Satan, though he were never "less than archangel ruined," is not, under Aristotelian rules, a fitting character for an epic poem.'

It appears to us, on the contrary, that Aristotle would have recognised that, in 'Paradise Lost,' the poet was imitating an organic idea of nature, and that to the action of his poem the person of Satan was absolutely necessary. He would therefore have given it the praise which it undoubtedly deserves. The questions which he would have asked himself in judging any poetic imitation would have been, on the æsthetic side, whether the poem possessed a proper beginning, middle, and end; and on the moral side, whether this ideal imitation of Nature was calculated to produce sane and healthy pleasure of a kind which would be approved by a good citizen. There is no absolute æsthetic or literary standard by which a critic can determine whether a poem is good or bad in itself, nor can we in this matter go beyond the critical method of Aristotle. Let the modern critic, in appreciating a work of imagination, ask himself how far it answers to the idea of nature, viewed in the light of his own conscience and of the historic conscience of the society to which he belongs, and then see how far it is expressed in conformity with the laws proper to art. If he performs his functions in this spirit of reasoning independence, without fear or favour, he will be doing his part in the conflict with that literary anarchy which M. Recolin has described.

Art. IV.—PASTEUR AND HIS DISCOVERIES.

1. *La vie de Pasteur*. Par René Vallery-Radot. Paris : Hachette, 1900.
2. *Pasteur*. By Percy Frankland and Mrs. Percy Frankland. (Century Science Series.) London : Cassell, 1898.
3. *The Soluble Ferments and Fermentation*. By J. Reynolds Green. (Cambridge Natural Science Manuals.) Cambridge University Press, 1899.
4. *Micro-organisms and Fermentation*. By Alfred Jørgensen. Translated by A. K. Miller and A. E. Lennholm. Third Edition. London : Macmillan, 1900.

As one walks down the Rue des Tanneurs, in the small provincial town of Dôle, where the main line from Paris to Pontarlier sends off a branch north-east towards Besançon, a small tablet set in the *façade* of a humble dwelling catches the eye. It bears the following inscription in gilt letters : 'Ici est né Louis Pasteur le 27 décembre 1822.'

Pasteur came of the people. In the heraldic meaning of the term, he was emphatically not 'born.' His forbears were shepherds, peasants, tillers of the earth, millers, and latterly, tanners. But he came from amongst the best peasantry in Europe, that peasantry which is still the backbone of the great French nation. The admirable care with which records are preserved in France has enabled Pasteur's son-in-law and latest biographer to trace the family name in the parish archives back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, at which period numerous Pastors were living in the villages round about the Priory of Mouthe, 'en pleine Franche-Comté.'

The first to emerge clearly from the confused cluster of possible ancestors is a certain Denis Pasteur, who became miller to the Comte d'Udresier, after whom he doubtless named his son Claude, born in 1683. Claude in his turn became a miller, and died in the year 1746. Of his eight children, the youngest, Claude-Etienne, was the great-grandfather of Louis Pasteur. The inhabitants of Franche-Comté were, in large part, serfs—'gens de mainmorte,' as they termed them then. Claude-Etienne, being a serf, at the age of thirty wished to enfranchise himself; and this he did in 1763, by the special grace of 'Messire

Philippe - Marie - Francois, Comte d'Udressier, Seigneur d'Écleux, Cramans, Lemuy, et autres lieux,' and on the payment of four *louis-d'or*. He subsequently married and had children. His third son, Jean-Henri, who for a time carried on his father's trade of tanner at Besançon, seems to have disappeared at the age of twenty-seven, leaving a small boy, Jean-Joseph Pasteur, born in 1791, who was brought up by his grandmother and his father's sister.

Caught in the close meshes of Napoleon's conscription, Jean-Joseph served in the Spanish campaign of 1812-13, as a private in the third regiment of infantry, called 'le brave parmi les braves.' In course of time he was promoted to be sergeant-major, and in March 1814 received the Cross of the Legion of Honour. Two months later the abdication had taken place; and the regiment was at Douai, reorganising under the name of 'Régiment Dauphin.' Here was no place for Jean-Joseph, devoted to the Imperial Eagle and unmoved by the Fleur-de-lys. He received his discharge, and made his way across country to his father's town, Besançon. At Besançon he took up his father's trade and became a tanner; and, after one feverish flush during the Hundred Days, and one contest, in which he came off victor, with the Royalist authorities, who would take his sword to arm the town police, he settled down into a quiet, law-abiding citizen, more occupied with domestic anxieties than with the fate of empires.

Hard by the tannery ran a stream, called La Furieuse, though it rarely justified its name. Across the stream dwelt a gardener named Roqui; amongst the gardener's daughters one Jeanne-Étiennette attracted the attention of, and was attracted by, this old campaigner of twenty-five years. The curious persistence of a family in one place, combined with the careful preservation of parish records, enables M. Vallery-Radot to trace the family Roqui back to the year 1555. We must content ourselves with Jeanne-Étiennette, who in 1815 married Jean-Joseph. Shortly afterwards the young couple moved to Dôle and set up house in the Rue des Tanneurs.

Louis Pasteur's father was a somewhat slow, reflective man; a little melancholic, not communicative; a man who lived an inner life, nourished doubtless on the memories of the part he had played on a larger stage than a tannery affords. His mother, on the other hand, was active in

business matters, hard-working, a woman of imagination, prompt in enthusiasm.

Before Louis Pasteur was two years old, his parents moved first to Marnoz and then to a tannery situated at the entrance to the village of Arbois; and it was Arbois that Pasteur regarded as his home, returning in later life year after year for the scanty absence from his laboratory that he annually allowed himself. Trained at the village school, he repeated with his father every evening the task of the day. He showed considerable talent, and his eagerness to learn was fostered by the interest taken in him by M. Romanet, principal of the College of Arbois. At sixteen he had exhausted the educational resources of the village; and, after much heart-searching and anxious deliberation, it was decided to send the young student to Paris to continue his studies at the Lycée Saint-Louis. It was a disastrous experiment. Removed so far from all he knew and loved, Louis suffered from an incurable home-sickness, which affected his health. His father hearing this came unannounced to Paris, and with the simple words 'Je viens te chercher' took him home. Here for a time he amused himself by sketching the portraits of neighbours and relatives, but his desire to learn was unquenched, and within a short time he entered as a student at the Royal College of Franche-Comté at Besançon. This picturesque town, situated only thirty miles from Arbois, was within easy reach of his home; and, above all, on market days his father came thither to sell his leather.

At eighteen Pasteur received the degree of Bachelier ès lettres, and almost immediately was occupied in teaching others; but Paris, although once abandoned, was again asserting its powers of attraction, and by the autumn of 1842 he was once more following the courses at the Lycée Saint-Louis. He also attended the brilliant lectures of Dumas at the Sorbonne, and vividly describes the scene: 'An audience of seven or eight hundred listeners, the too frequent applause, everything just like a theatre.' At the end of his first year in Paris he achieved his great ambition, and succeeded in entering the École Normale, and entering it with credit.

For the last year or two Pasteur had been studying mathematics and physics; at the École Normale he especi-

ally devoted himself to chemistry. Under the teaching of Dumas and of Balard his enthusiasm redoubled, and he passed his final examinations with distinction. Balard was indeed a true friend. Shortly after the end of his career at the École Normale, the Minister of Public Instruction nominated Pasteur to a small post as teacher of physics at the Lycée of Tournon. But banishment from Paris meant banishment from a laboratory. Balard intervened, interviewed the Minister, and ended by attaching Pasteur to his staff of assistants.

It must always be remembered that Pasteur was trained as a chemist, *was* in fact a chemist. In after life he attacked problems proper to the biologist, the physiologist, the physician, the manufacturer; but he brought to bear on these problems, not the intellect of one trained in the traditions of natural science, medicine, or commerce, but the untrammelled intelligence of a richly-endowed mind, 'organised common-sense' of the highest order. After the legal, there is perhaps no learned profession so dominated by tradition, by what our fathers have taught us, as the medical; and the advances in preventive medicine which will ever be connected with Pasteur's name owe at least something to the fact that he was unfettered by any traditions of professional training or etiquette. Passing from the diseases of the lowest of the fungi, to those of a caterpillar, a fowl, a sheep, until he reached those of man himself, it must be acknowledged that he approached the art of healing along an entirely new path.

His first researches were purely chemical, 'On the capacity for saturation of arsenious acid,' 'Studies on the arsenates of potassium, soda, and ammonia'; but he had been early attracted to the remarkable observations of Mitscherlich and others on the optical properties of the crystals of tartaric acid and its salts. Ordinary tartaric acid crystals, when dissolved in water, turn the plane of polarised light to the right; but another kind of tartaric acid, called by Gay-Lussac racemic acid, and by Berzelius paratartaric acid—as M. Vallery-Radot remarks, the name does not matter, and each is equally terrifying to the lay mind—leaves it unaffected. In spite of the different actions of the solutions of these two acids on light, Mitscherlich held their chemical composition to be absolutely identical.

This set Pasteur thinking. He repeated the experi-

ments. On examining the crystals of sodium-ammonium salt of racemic acid, he noticed that certain facets giving a degree of asymmetry were always found on the crystals of the optically active salts and acids. On examining the crystals of the racemic acid, he did not find, as he had expected, perfect symmetry, but he saw that, whilst some of the crystals showed these facets to the right, others showed them to the left. In fact, sodium-ammonium racemate consisted of a mixture of right-handed and left-handed crystals, which neutralised one another as regards the polarisation of light, and were thus optically inactive. With infinite patience Pasteur picked out the right- from the left-handed crystals, and investigated the action of their solutions on polarised light. As he expected, the one sort turned the plane of polarisation to the left, the other to the right. A mixture of equal weights of the two kinds of crystals remained optically inactive. 'Tout est trouvé,' he exclaimed; and rushing from the laboratory, embraced the first man he came across. 'C'était un peu comme Archimède,' as his biographer gravely remarks.

His work immediately attracted attention. Biot, who had devoted a long and strenuous life to the problems of polarisation, was at first sceptical, but after a careful investigation was convinced. Pasteur began to be talked about in the circle of the Institute.

In the midst of these researches, Pasteur's mother died suddenly, and her son, overwhelmed with grief, remained for weeks almost silent and unable to work. Shortly after this we find the old longing revived; and Pasteur sought at any cost some post near Arbois, somewhere not quite out of the reach of those he loved. Besançon was refused him, but at the beginning of 1849 he replaced M. Persoz as Professor of Chemistry at Strasbourg.

The newly appointed Rector of the Academy of Strasbourg, M. Laurent, had already gained the respect and the affection of the professoriate. He and his family were the centre of the intellectual life of the town. Within a few weeks of his arrival, Pasteur addressed to the Rector a letter, setting forth in simple detail his worldly position and asking the hand of his daughter Marie in marriage. The wedding took place on the 29th May, 1850; and there is a tradition that Pasteur, immersed in some chemical experiment, had to be fetched from the laboratory to take

his part in the ceremony at the church. Never was a union more happy; from the first, Madame Pasteur—animated by the spirit of the Academy of Science, which always prints 'Science' with a capital letter—not only admitted, but approved the principle that nothing should interfere with the laboratory; whilst, on his side, Pasteur always flew to his wife to confide in her, first of all, any new discovery, any new advance he had made in his researches. During the five years passed at Strasbourg, Pasteur continued to work on the border-line between chemistry and physics. His work on the polarisation of light of the tartaric acid crystals led him into the question of the arrangement of the atoms within the molecule. 'Il éclaircira tout ce qu'il touche,' exclaimed the once sceptical but now convinced Biot; and it is hardly too much to say that his researches were the starting point of the new department of physics which, under the name of stereo-chemistry, has attained vast developments during the last quarter of the past century. These researches were rewarded by the French Government, which in 1853 conferred on him the ribbon of the Legion of Honour; and received the recognition of our own Royal Society, which awarded him in 1856 the Rumford medal.

It was whilst working at his beloved tartrates that he made an observation which first directed his attention towards the problems of fermentation. A German firm of manufacturing chemists, of whom there were many in the neighbourhood of Strasbourg, noticed that impure commercial tartrates of lime, when in contact with organic matter, fermented if the weather were warm. Pasteur tested this, and found that when racemic acid is fermented under ordinary conditions, it is only the right-handed variety that is affected; and he suggests that this is probably the best way in which to prepare the left-handed acid.

Before dealing with Pasteur's work on fermentation, it is well to recall how the matter stood when he began to study it. From the earliest period fermentation had attracted the attention of mankind, but the first record of an attempted explanation is that of Basilius Valentinus, a Benedictine monk and alchemist, who lived at Erfurt during the latter half of the fifteenth century. He was, perhaps, more of a pharmacologist than a chemist; but we

owe to him the introduction of hydrochloric acid, which he made from oil of vitriol and salt. In his view, alcohol existed in the wort before fermentation began; and fermentation was a process of purification of this alcohol, in which the yeast played the part of the impurities. About a century later van Helmont, a well-to-do physician of Vilvorde, near Brussels, a kind of regenerate Paracelsus, noted that when fermentation occurs, 'gas' is set free. It was van Helmont indeed who invented the word 'gas.' Of the half-dozen words invented by man—not derived but created—'gas' is the one which has most surely come to stay. Curiously enough, van Helmont's predecessor, Paracelsus, also invented two words which have, without the permanency of 'gas,' passed into current though somewhat infrequent use. They are 'gnome' and 'sylph,' the latter perhaps best known as recalling the outline of Mrs Crummles in her palmier days. By his new term 'gas,' van Helmont did not mean an air or vapour, still less did he mean an illuminant. He understood by this term carbon dioxide, and he points out that, when sugary solutions ferment, this gas is given off.

About 1700 Stahl, returning to a view put forward by Willis in 1659, propounded the first physical view of fermentation. The ferment was to their minds a body with a certain internal motion which it transmitted to the fermentable matter. Stahl extended this view to the processes of putrefaction and decay. One hundred years later Gay-Lussac taught that the fermentation was set up by the presence of oxygen. The yeast-cells had been seen and described by Leeuwenhoek as far back as 1675, but they seem to have attracted little attention; and it was not until Schwann published his researches, the earliest of which is dated 1837, and until Cagniard de Latour, about the same date, put forward his vitalistic theory—the theory which attributes fermentation to the action of living organisms—that they were recognised as playing an important part in fermentations. Even then they were not allowed to hold the field. Liebig brought the weight of his great authority to oppose the vitalistic theory. In his view, the ferment was an unstable organic compound easily decomposed, which in decomposing shook apart the molecules of the fermenting material. This theory and that of Berzelius, who regarded fermentation as a contact

action due to some 'catalytic' force, divided between them the allegiance of the chemical world when, in the year 1854, Pasteur was nominated Professor and Dean of the new Faculty of Science at Lille.

Here, in the centre of the beet-root industry, Pasteur had ample opportunity to study the preparation of alcohol. The father of one of his students owned a distillery, and suffered occasional loss from the fermentations turning sour owing to the formation of lactic acid. He was willing to place material at the disposal of the Professor; and Pasteur made endless experiments, microscopic researches, notes, and at length had the satisfaction of isolating the organism which produces the lactic acid fermentation, and of proving that that, and that alone, was capable of setting up this particular form of fermentation. Whilst in the middle of his investigations on milk and the cause of its turning sour, Pasteur was summoned to return to Paris, and installed as scientific Director at his old college, the École Normale.

This was in 1857. The second Empire was at its zenith, and the Government had little money to spend on science. Pasteur had to instal his laboratory in a garret, without even a boy to aid him. In this garret he completed his work on alcohol fermentation, proved it to be 'un acte corrélatif d'un phénomène vital, d'une organisation de globules.' During this work he noted a fact hitherto overlooked. It was that the alcoholic fermentation is accompanied by the formation of small quantities of glycerine and of succinic acid, which had up till that date escaped the notice of chemists.

During the seven years which followed, Pasteur was ceaselessly engaged in investigations on fermentation and on all those processes for which micro-organisms are responsible. Whilst researching on the cause of butyric acid formation, he discovered the remarkable fact that the *Bacillus butyricus*, which causes the unpleasant flavour in rancid butter, will not grow in the presence of free oxygen. Until this discovery it had been accepted as an axiom that all living beings, plants as well as animals, require free oxygen for the manifestation of their energies. Here, however, was a bacillus which not only did without oxygen but was injured by its presence. This observation, it is needless to remark, excited much adverse criticism in the

scientific world; but, as usual, Pasteur was in the right. From the conditions under which they grow he suggested the name 'anaërobic' for such bacteria as *B. butyricus*; and later observers have shown that many pathogenic micro-organisms are anaërobic. At the present day bacilli are usually divided into two groups, those which grow in the presence of free oxygen (aërobic), and those which will not grow in the presence of oxygen (anaërobic).

Naturally the question of spontaneous generation occupied much of Pasteur's time. The view, that in certain circumstances living matter originates from non-living, lasted from the classical times until towards the end of the last century. The size of the animal so produced varied, however, inversely with the growth of our era. Van Helmont in the seventeenth century had a recipe for producing mice. Place a piece of linen somewhat soiled in a vessel, add some grains of corn, flavour with a piece of cheese, and in twenty-one days the mice will be there, fully adult and of both sexes.

About the time that van Helmont died there was coming to the front in Florence a young Italian poet, born at Arezzo—in whose cathedral he now lies buried—who had a singular turn for investigating the secret workings of organic nature. Francesco Redi—his name is immortalised in the little larva Redia—was courtier, poet, doctor, above all zoologist; and he belonged to that comparatively small section of teetotallers who have enthusiastically sung the merits of wine.* By a series of accurate experiments, such as nowadays are performed by every cook, Redi proved conclusively that meat did not spontaneously produce flies. Shortly afterwards Valisnieri of Padua demonstrated that fruit did not of itself give rise to grubs. In fact, unless an insect deposited its egg in the fruit, there were no grubs.

The use of the microscope, however, lent a fresh vigour to the believers in spontaneous generation; and, forced to relinquish the mouse and the insect, they still found satis-

* A volume of Redi's poems, entitled 'Bacco in Toscana,' was published in 1804. Longfellow says of him :—

'Even Redi, when he chanted
Bacchus in the Tuscan valleys,
Never drank the wine he vaunted
In his dithyrambic sallies.'

faction in germs. In the middle of the eighteenth century the doctrine was firmly upheld by an English priest, one Needham, whose experiments, in spite of the keen, and as we now know, unanswerable criticisms of the Abbé Spallanzani, were so convincing that he was early elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. From his time till late in the last century, the question of the spontaneous origin of microscopic life has from time to time troubled the mind of man. Pasteur, Tyndall, and others have at length laid that ghost. It would take too much space to discuss all the experiments made to solve this question. Pasteur's work did not escape the liveliest criticism; and eventually, in order to settle the matter, he appealed to the Academy of Sciences to appoint a Commission to report on the experiments of himself and his opponents. It is needless to say that when the Committee met and inspected the experiments of Pasteur, and listened to the excuses of his critics, they pronounced absolutely in favour of Pasteur.

In 1862 Pasteur succeeded Senarmont as a member of the Academy of Sciences; and, it is interesting to note, he was presented by the mineralogical section. During this year he had interested himself in the manufacture of vinegar, which is extensively carried on in and around Orleans. He investigated the action of the *Mycoderma aceti*, the mould whose activity converts alcohol into acetic acid; and he taught the manufacturers the importance of pure cultures, showing them how, by a careful manipulation of the temperature, and by artificially sowing the fungus which effects the chemical change, the product they sought could be produced in a week or ten days, instead of requiring two or three months. This problem naturally led on to the acetous fermentation of wine, the cause of great loss to French wine exporters. Pasteur was able to demonstrate that the sourness of wine is caused by various foreign organisms, each of which causes a peculiar flavour to appear in the wine it attacks. The bouquet of wine is notoriously a delicate object, easily disturbed; and the question arose how to check the growth of the organisms without interfering with the bouquet. Pasteur solved it as he solved similar problems with regard to milk. He was able to show that after wine is properly oxygenated, if it be heated to a temperature of some 55° to 60° C. the acid-forming micro-

organisms are destroyed, whilst the bouquet is unaffected. Perhaps one of Pasteur's greatest triumphs was his success in demonstrating this to a representative assemblage of wine-tasters, notoriously a very opinionative class of people.

Pasteur's researches on micro-organisms further had a profound influence on operative surgery. To the presence of bacteria is due many of the dangers which used to follow on operations. If precautions are taken to exclude the harmful germs much suffering and danger are avoided. It was about this date, namely, in the spring of 1865, that Dr (now Lord) Lister, who nobly acknowledged the debt he owed to Pasteur, performed his first operations under anti-septic treatment at the Glasgow Infirmary. This date marks an epoch in the history of human suffering.

The chemist Dumas was about this time a member of the French Senate, and in 1865 was charged with the duty of reporting on the petition of some three thousand five hundred 'propriétaires des Départements séricicoles' on an epidemic which had for some years been destroying the silkworms of southern France. Dumas was a native of Alais, a town of the Département Gard, situated in the centre of the silkworm industry, where also the distinguished zoologist Quatrefages was born. Anything that affected Alais affected Dumas; and the epidemic was destroying the prosperity of his native town. The disease was indeed becoming serious. Already in 1849 the silkworms were sickening. The stage at which the symptoms appeared varied; sometimes the eggs were sterile; at other times the silkworms hatched out but to die. If they survived they became shiny; black spots showed themselves; the worms moved with difficulty, refused to eat, and perished; or, if they lived long enough to pupate, the pupa perished or the moth emerged in an enfeebled state and promptly died.

Efforts had been made to improve the stock by importing eggs from Spain and Portugal, but the Peninsula was soon affected. Eggs were then fetched from Turkey, Greece, and the adjacent islands. These countries too becoming infected, the French cultivators sent further afield and brought eggs from Syria and the Caucasus. Even this resource failed them, and in 1864 every silk-producing country in the world was infected, with the solitary ex-

ception of Japan. The loss to commerce was prodigious. In a normal year the value of the cocoons produced in southern France is, roughly speaking, about 4,000,000*l.*; in the years 1863 and 1864 it had fallen below 1,000,000*l.*

When Dumas first asked Pasteur to investigate the disease which was ruining large tracts of the south of France, the latter not unnaturally hesitated. 'Considérez, je vous prie, que je n'ai jamais touché un ver à soie. Si j'avais une partie de vos connaissances sur le sujet, je n'hésiterais pas'—he wrote to his friend; but in spite of his hesitation, he left for Alais and at once commenced a campaign which lasted during the summers of the next five years. Almost immediately on his arrival he detected in the sick silkworms the corpuscles of *Cornalia* and *Filippi* which we now call the *Micrococcus ovatus*. These micrococci are comparatively large and very bright; they occur in the tissues and blood of the silkworm, and are found even in the eggs of the moth. They cause the disease known as Pébrine. The occurrence of the micrococci in the eggs was one of the most important new facts observed by Pasteur. It was the first recorded instance of a parasitic organism being conveyed from one generation to another by the egg; and, although quite recently the germ of the Texas fever (allied to the malarial organism) has been shown to pass from one brood to another through the egg of the tick which conveys it, it is satisfactory to record that the cases in which this occurs are restricted in number and comparatively rare. The ease with which *Micrococcus ovatus* could be detected suggested a remedy. A child, when trained, can readily identify the organism. Healthy moths produce sound eggs and healthy larvæ; diseased moths produce diseased progeny. At the present day, throughout the silkworm districts of the south of France, as soon as the moth has deposited her eggs on the piece of linen provided for that purpose, she is pinned up with the cloth; and during the ensuing autumn and winter the women and children are occupied in microscopically examining the body of the moth, crushed in a little water, for traces of the micrococcus. Should any be found, the eggs on the corresponding piece of linen are at once destroyed. Pasteur also showed that the infected stock spread the disease by distributing the micrococci on the mulberry

leaves, whence they enter the silkworm by the mouth; and that the sick inoculate the healthy by crawling over them and piercing the skin with their pointed claws. He therefore emphasised the importance of segregating the sound caterpillars.

The above account conveys no impression of the difficulties under which Pasteur worked. His researches were not only new to himself but to the world. Processes which at the present day are carried out by every medical student had to be devised for the first time. He had to combat the criticism of scientific men and to overcome the almost invincible ignorance of the agriculturist, an ignorance which at one time advocated the desperate remedy of asperging with absinthe the leaves of the mulberry on which the silkworms fed.

Perhaps Pasteur's greatest difficulty was the fact that the silkworms did not suffer from Pébrine alone; and it was some time before he recognised that he had to deal not with one disease but with two. The second disease, known as the 'Flacherie,' is a disease of the digestive system caused by overcrowding and insanitary conditions in the silkworm nurseries. Like Pébrine, it is caused by a micrococcus, *M. bombycis*. It was whilst investigating this creature that Pasteur discovered that, although the germ itself cannot survive a lengthy period of desiccation, it does in certain circumstances form spores which can survive conditions fatal to the mature organism. This is the first case recorded of a pathogenic organism producing spores, the existence of which has explained so many problems in the spread of disease.

During the period from 1865 to 1870 Pasteur was by no means occupied solely by the silkworm epidemic. In many respects it was a sad epoch in his life. Only nine days after his first arrival at Alais he was summoned to Arbois to see his dying father, but arrived too late. In the autumn of the same year he lost his little daughter, Camille, the second who had died. In 1868 he himself was prostrated by a stroke of paralysis, and, although he slowly recovered, it left traces for the remainder of his life.

Few distinguished men of science are left to pursue their investigations undisturbed; and Pasteur was no exception. He had much to do with promoting the publication of the works of Lavoisier, for whose researches

he had the profoundest respect. He actively intervened in the elections of the Academy of Science, which appears to consume an infinity of time. He made some preliminary investigations into cholera, an outbreak of which towards the end of the year 1865 carried off two hundred victims a day in Paris. He spent a week at Compiègne as the guest of Louis Napoleon, and in a series of *séances* explained the methods and results of his labours. He wrote on the work of Claude Bernard; he drew up schemes for certain reforms in the University; he gave advice on the higher education of the country, and tried to stem the troubles of the École Normale. In fact he drew lavishly upon his reserve of health and energy until the breakdown of 1868 was inevitable.

After a tedious recovery he recommenced his work. The success of his methods had been acknowledged by the Austrian Government, which conferred on him in 1868 the prize of five thousand florins offered to anyone who should succeed in discovering the best means of dealing with Pébrine. The same year the University of Bonn conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine; and in 1869 he was elected a foreign member of the Royal Society. As was to be expected, detractors were not wanting; but these were silenced by the campaign undertaken in 1869 by Pasteur on foreign soil. The Master of the Imperial Household, Marshal Vaillant, who devoted his declining years to scientific experiments, had repeated in his apartments in the Tuileries the observations of Pasteur on the silkworm disease, and had verified the accuracy of his conclusions. He suggested to the Emperor that the Villa Vicentina, a property belonging to the Prince Imperial, should be placed at Pasteur's disposal for further research. This villa, situated a few miles from Trieste, belonged at one time to the Princess Élise, one of the sisters of Napoleon I, who had lived quietly there after the fall of the first Empire. On her death it passed to her daughter the Princess Baciocchi, and she in turn bequeathed it to the Prince Imperial. It had been a great centre of the silkworm industry; but for some years no cocoons had been produced, owing to the ravages of the disease.

By short stages, owing to his precarious health, Pasteur made his way to Illyria, taking with him some sound

silk-moth eggs, and during the winter not only confirmed his previous researches, but re-established the industry on such a scale that in the following spring the sale of cocoons from this estate alone reached the figure of 26,940 francs. During this winter he dictated to his wife the classic book in which he recorded the results of his last five years' work. Pasteur returned to Paris through Munich, where he had the pleasure of meeting Liebig, one of the most determined of his adversaries. Although he was unable to induce the German savant to discuss scientific affairs, he always dwelt with pleasure on the courtesy and cordiality with which he was received.

On his return the Emperor nominated him a Senator for life; but, before the gazette appeared in which the nomination would have been recorded, war was declared. From his birth Pasteur had been an ardent patriot, and during the progress of the war he suffered acutely. So much did he feel the reverses of his country, and what he regarded as the undue harshness of the victors, that he felt constrained to return the diploma of Doctor of Medicine which two years before he had accepted from the University of Bonn. He did so in a letter which contained some expressions of feeling with regard to the head of the invading army. These had better have been omitted, but were perhaps pardonable under the circumstances; they in no way excuse the terms of reply which Dr Naumann, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Bonn, permitted himself to use—terms which would be discreditable in an ill-bred street *gamin*.

From 1871 to 1876, the year in which he published his '*Études sur la Bière*,' Pasteur was again largely occupied with the study of fermentation. Part of his object was undoubtedly to place the French brewers on an equality with the German; and in this he certainly had a large measure of success. To one who knew Paris under the second Empire and who revisits it under the third Republic, one of the first changes observable in the life of the *café* is the enormous consumption of 'bocks.' Pasteur's work, however, went far beyond the establishment of a national industry. He started investigations which have changed brewing from an art into a science; and his most fitting memorial in this respect is the bust which decorates the *hall* of the Carlsberg Institution at Copenhagen, an insti-

tution devoted to the study of all problems of fermentation. In his 'Études,' Pasteur laid great stress on the fact that every fermentation is brought about by micro-organisms, and he dwells at length on the marked influence which certain bacteria exercise on the nature of the fermentations, and on the character of the beer produced. He did not however see, what Hansen demonstrated in 1883, that many of the commonest diseases of beer are caused by certain species of yeast-cell differing specifically from those which cause its normal fermentation. Indeed, he paid but small attention to species, regarding it as waste of time, as it undoubtedly often is, to trouble about names and synonyms.

As Professor Jørgensen and Dr Green show in the two works whose titles appear at the beginning of this article, we have learnt much about brewing during the last five-and-twenty years. The nucleus of the yeast-cell has been made visible by appropriate staining; some thirty different species of yeast-cell have been described, and their properties as ferments have been investigated; Buchner, by grinding up the yeast-cells, has produced an extract, called zymase, capable of converting sugar into alcohol; the fact has been established that it is not so much bacteria as other fungi, allied and often congeneric with the yeast-cell, which produce disease in beer; still, allowing a full measure of credit to later workers, we may look back to Pasteur's researches in the early seventies as establishing for the first time a scientific basis for brewing.

The same remarks are applicable to Pasteur's work on the diseases due to specific organisms in the region of preventive medicine. We have built and are building a lordly edifice, but he drew the plan and even laid the foundations. More than two centuries ago Robert Boyle—'the Father of Chemistry and Brother of the Earl of Cork'—had said that he who could solve the nature of fermentations would be without doubt more capable than others of explaining certain phenomena of disease. Towards the end of his 'Études sur la Bière' Pasteur wrote: 'The ætiology of contagious diseases is on the eve of having unexpected light shed upon it.' He was already thinking of his investigations into the cause and prevention of contagious disease.

There is a certain malady known, when it attacks

cattle and sheep, as 'charbon' or 'sang de rate,' and when it attacks man, as 'wool-sorters' disease.' The term Anthrax covers the disease in both beast and man; and anthrax is produced by a bacterium known as *Bacillus anthracis*, which had been recognised and was accused of causing the disease before Pasteur began to interest himself in such matters. It annually carried off twenty per cent. of the sheep in the agricultural district of La Beauce; and in Auvergne some ten to fifteen per cent. In certain localities the loss was greater, amounting at times to an annual death-rate of fifty per cent. The disease was by no means confined to France; it was spread over Europe. In the government of Novgorod it was responsible for over fifty-six thousand deaths in three years. In Egypt it was regarded as the direct descendant of the plagues of Pharaoh. It ravaged the large sheep farms of the Argentine Republic.

The bacillus which causes this disease, and which at times by inhalation effects a lodgment in the bodies of those engaged in handling wool and hides, was already known when Pasteur took up the study of pathogenic germs. About the same time it was also attracting the attention of the young German physician Dr Koch, who subsequently became a severe critic of some of Pasteur's work; but in this article we are dealing with Pasteur, and limitations of space compel us to leave unnoticed the brilliant work of many investigators who have made the latter end of the nineteenth century one of the greatest epochs in medical history.

Pasteur and his assistants made many fascinating studies on the behaviour and life-history of the *Bacillus anthracis*. He found it very susceptible to slight variations of temperature. The few degrees by which the temperature of a bird's blood exceeds that of a mammal were sufficient to prove fatal to the bacillus; but by an ingenious experiment he showed that if the temperature of a bird be artificially lowered it becomes susceptible to the disease, though it readily recovers if the artificial surroundings be removed. Pasteur further noted that the bacillus was not equally fatal in all animals, and that it changed its character when passed through the body of certain classes of animals. It was, however, not in studying the *Bacillus anthracis* that he made the far-reaching

discovery of the attenuated virus. This he first noted when at work on chicken-cholera, a disease very fatal in poultry yards; and he made the important discovery by one of those happy accidents which only occur to those who possess the genius for observation. During his numerous experiments he one day chanced to inoculate some fowls with a forgotten culture some weeks old. To his surprise the chickens, though made ill, did not succumb; in fact they rapidly recovered. He immediately tried what the effect would be if these same fowls were inoculated with fresh cultures of a kind so powerful as to be undoubtedly fatal to a healthy bird which had never suffered from the disease. To his delight the inoculated fowls resisted the poison and proved in fact immune. This simple experiment is the basis of the world-wide prophylactic measures which are now being carried on against almost all forms of bacterial disease; and, although Pasteur's explanation of the weakening of the virus—which he attributed to oxygenation—has been shown to be erroneous, he must still be regarded as the originator of methods for the production of immunity by means of artificially attenuated organisms.

If the virus of chicken-cholera can be attenuated, and when attenuated produces immunity from later attacks, the same is probably true of other germs which can be cultivated outside the body. Arguing in this fashion Pasteur returned to his study of anthrax. Here he also succeeded, and in the spring of 1881 he demonstrated the value of his treatment. Out of a flock of fifty sheep one half were inoculated, the other half were not; the whole flock was then infected with the disease. In less than a month the uninoculated were dead of *charbon*, the inoculated were perfectly healthy. The telegram announcing the result to Pasteur, anxiously waiting in his laboratory at Paris, ended with the words 'Succès épatant!'

So striking a demonstration naturally had a profound effect. It inspired confidence in the treatment. Since the date of this experiment some millions of sheep have been inoculated against anthrax, and several hundred thousand oxen; and it has been calculated that, within the succeeding twelve years, seven million francs were saved by this means alone to French agriculture. Perhaps the convincing nature of Pasteur's work in this connexion is best shown by the fact that the insurance companies of France

insist on inoculation before they will insure sheep and cattle.

We have left ourselves but little space to dwell on the work which occupied the greater part of the last twelve years of Pasteur's life. Already, in the midst of his work on anthrax, he was thinking of rabies; and in 1881 he proved that it was conveyed through the saliva of the mad dog, and that it could be communicated to rabbits. Saliva, however, was not in every case to be depended on. In some cases it failed to convey the disease. Experiment showed that the poison was concentrated in the brain. To this day no one has succeeded in finding the organism—if it be an organism—which causes rabies. Hence it cannot be cultivated on gelatine in test-tubes, and no modified culture of bacteria can be produced, as is now done in the case of diphtheria and other diseases. Other means had to be devised. After countless experiments it became evident that, if the spinal cord of a hydrophobic rabbit be kept dry at a temperature of 25° C. for a couple of weeks, the strength of the virus has so far vanished that, if an emulsion of the cord be injected, it produces no rabies but has only a slight vaccinating effect. If two days later an emulsion of a twelve-days-old spinal cord be injected, the vaccinating effect is stronger; but the body, already inured to slight doses of the poison, remains unaffected. Thus, by gradually increasing the strength of the dose, a virus may at length be injected which would infallibly produce rabies but for the previous inoculations. When an animal is bitten by a mad dog, the poison transmitted takes some time to develop—some weeks at least, and often many months. If now the artificially introduced virus 'gets the start,' so to speak, of the naturally introduced poison, by the time the latter is at its height the animal has become gradually immunified to the specific poison and suffers little harm. The arsenic-eaters of the Tyrol afford an analogous case. They consume amounts of arsenic which would infallibly produce peripheral neuritis in men unaccustomed to such a diet.

It needed no small courage on Pasteur's part to inoculate his fellow-creatures against hydrophobia. In 1885 a boy some nine years old, from Meissengott in Alsace, was brought by his mother to the laboratory suffering from fourteen wounds inflicted by a mad dog. After long con-

sultations with his assistants and the most anxious deliberations, he consented to the inoculation of the boy. The next fortnight was a time of intense anxiety, but all went well. His second patient is commemorated by the bronze statue which ornaments the front of the Pasteur Institute in Paris. It represents the struggle between a peasant boy armed only with his sabot, and a mad dog; the boy was terribly bitten, but the treatment saved his life. It is not easy to arrive at an accurate estimate of the death-rate caused by rabies; but the most careful and moderate estimates show that, before this treatment was in use, some fifteen to twenty out of every hundred persons bitten by mad dogs died a most painful and horrible death. During the last fourteen years, over 23,000 persons known to have been bitten by rabid dogs have been inoculated at the Pasteur Institute; and their average mortality has been 0·4 per cent. In 1899, the latest year for which statistics are available, 1614 cases were treated, with a mortality of 0·25 per cent. Of these 1506 were French and 108 were foreigners. Of the 108 foreigners, 12 came from Great Britain and 62 from British India. It is little short of a national disgrace that we should still be dependent on French aid to succour those amongst us who are so unfortunate as to be bitten by a mad dog; but the nation which gave the use of anæsthetics to the world, and which first showed the value of antiseptics, is largely dependent to-day on foreign aid in dealing with great outbreaks of all sorts of diseases within its borders. The German Koch and the Russian Haffkine are called in to cope with the cholera in India; we fall back upon the Swiss Yersin and the Japanese Kitasato to elucidate the true nature of plague, and to devise methods for combating its ravages. When rinderpest breaks out in South Africa it is again to Koch that we turn. The unsatisfactory position of Great Britain in these matters is to some extent due to a small but active section of society whose affection for their lap-dogs has overpowered their sense of duty to their neighbours. It is, however, we fear, still more due to the unintelligent treatment of men of science by the Government of the country, and to the want of appreciation of the value of science shown by society at large. If, to balance the list given a few lines above, we recall the work of our country-

man, Major Ross, on the malarial parasite, it serves only to remind us of the difficulties placed in the way of his research by the officials of the service to which he belonged and the slightness of the recognition which he has received from the Government.

In 1874 the French National Assembly voted Pasteur, as some recognition of his work on sericulture, a pension of 12,000 francs a year; nine years later this was increased to 25,000 francs, and it was further agreed that the pension should be continued to his wife and children. In 1881 he was nominated to represent France at the International Medical Congress which met that year in London. The reception accorded him when, with his host, Sir James Paget, he mounted the platform in St James's Hall, overwhelmed him. 'C'est sans doute le prince de Galles qui arrive,' he remarked to his host, never dreaming that such acclamations could be meant for him. The following year he succeeded to Littré's fauteuil at the Academy. In 1888 the President of the Republic opened the Pasteur Institute, which had been erected and endowed by a public subscription from all countries and from all classes; and there in 1892 he received a distinguished collection of scientific men, who had come from all parts of the world to congratulate him on his seventieth birthday.

Three years later his health began rapidly to fail. Two strokes of paralysis followed one another at a short interval, and on the 28th of September, 1895, he died. He lies buried in the Institute he loved so well. A nobler monument, or one more worthy of him who lies therein, has never been erected by man. The benefits which his simple, strenuous, hard-working, noble life conferred on humanity cannot be estimated. They help us, however, to realise the truth of the old Arabian proverb, 'The ink of science is more precious than the blood of the martyrs.'

M. Vallery-Radot has given what will probably prove to be the definitive Life of Pasteur. He has written at length and he has written well. That he is not a man of strict scientific training in no way detracts from the merit of the work; rather, in many respects, this makes the book more readable. The pupils of Pasteur, who are now carrying on his work, have, out of the abundance of their knowledge, helped in the more technical portions of the book; whilst M. Vallery-Radot, from his intimacy and relationship with

the subject of his biography, has been able to supply those personal details which form so essential and so interesting a part of every good biography.

For one who knew Pasteur only during the last decade of his life, to attempt any account of his character may savour of impertinence. Still it is impossible to close this article without some tribute to his simple dignity of manner, and above all to his infinite kindness. No man has done more to lessen suffering in this world, both in man and the lower animals; and probably but few have felt so much sympathy with suffering in others. As a boy—and French country boys are not more thoughtful about the suffering of animals than those of other races—he refused to go shooting. ‘La vue d’une alouette blessée lui faisait mal.’ As an old man, it was a touching sight to see him amongst the sufferers under treatment at the Institut Pasteur, patting the little children on the head, heartening up the timid and giving *sous* to the brave, infinitely tender to the frightened mothers. Another dominating trait in his character was his unflinching desire for truth; to ‘prove all things’ and to ‘hold fast that which is good’ was the motto of his working life. His success was in no small measure due to the rigorous tests he applied at all stages of his investigations; it was also due to the untiring assiduity with which he worked, never sparing himself, never in any way thinking of himself. But above all it was due to the intense thought he bestowed upon his researches. Concentrating his intellect upon the problem in question he thought out all possible solutions, and was prepared for all possible eventualities. It was this power of thought, coupled with a matchless gift of observation and experiment, that enabled him to leave a name which cannot be forgotten whilst civilisation endures.

ART. V.—NAVY BOILERS.

1. *Water-Tube Boilers.* By J. A. Normand. London: The Bedford Press, 1895.
2. *Marine Boilers: their Construction and Working.* By L. E. Bertin, Chief Constructor of the French Navy. Translated and edited by L. G. Robertson. With Preface by Sir W. White. London: John Murray, 1898.
3. *On the Boiler Arrangements of certain recent Cruisers.* By F. T. Marshall. London: The Institution of Naval Architects, 1899.
4. *Memorandum respecting Water-Tube Boilers in H.M.'s Ships.* (Cd. 250.) London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1900.
5. *Les Nouveaux Générateurs Belleville.* By M. Godard. Paris: Imprimerie Chaix, 1900.
6. *Interim Report of the Committee appointed . . . to consider . . . modern types of Boilers for naval purposes.* (Cd. 503.) 1901.

OUR purpose in writing this article is to give a concise account of the problems which concern Navy boilers, with particular reference to the water-tube types. The subject is one of national importance, yet few outside professional circles have any clear knowledge of the subject. It is regarded as one which wholly concerns experts, who are also known to be divided in opinion concerning the choice of the most suitable boiler, or boilers, for the service of the British Navy. Hence a feeling of uneasiness has arisen—a fear that when the supreme hour of national trial arrives the Navy boilers may break down, and leave cruisers, battleships, torpedo-boats, and destroyers, at the mercy of a more alert foe.

The real truth cannot be gathered from conflicting statements made in Parliament and in the Press, for these are too often of an entirely irresponsible and hearsay character. The literature of water-tube boilers is in its infancy, and information about them is mostly scattered in the pages of technical journals. For this reason the treatise of M. L. E. Bertin, who is an expert of much experience, must remain the standard work for several years to come. It embodies substantially all the information which is available on this subject down to the present time. The original work was published in Paris in 1896.

It was at once cordially welcomed by the English technical press, partly because it was the only book in which water-tube boilers were treated in an exhaustive manner, but chiefly on account of the author's extensive experience as Director of Naval Construction and head of the Technical Department in the French Navy. The information published was entirely practical, and much of it was new, while the opinions expressed were absolutely without bias. In the hands of Mr Robertson, who is not merely a translator, but also an engineer of wide experience, the work has been improved in some respects. The original text has been adhered to, except that certain sections, in which the ground was already covered by standard English works, have been abridged. But other sections of special importance have been extended and brought up to date; metric figures converted into English; and a full index added, so that for the English reader the translation is handier than the original. There is no water-tube boiler of importance which is not illustrated and described in its pages. The accounts given are, moreover, not merely descriptive, for the scientific facts which underlie the practical problems involved are clearly explained. In the preparation of this article we have also availed ourselves of data supplied by most of the leading firms of boiler-makers, and of numerous technical articles in the engineering journals.

The boiler question has arisen in consequence of the enormous steam pressure at which modern engines have to be worked to propel battleships at high speeds. During a quarter of a century the pressures in steam boilers have been increased from 25 lb. per square inch to 250 lb. An incident easily recalled by those in middle life is the terrible explosion of the boilers of the *Thunderer* in 1876, by which forty men lost their lives and over seventy were injured. The working pressure on those boilers was only 30 lb. on the square inch. This fact indicates how radically the question has changed within a generation.

In offering a non-technical explanation of the difficulties which surround this problem, it is necessary to refer briefly to what has happened in the Navy in regard to the types which are either obsolete or rapidly becoming so. We know, apart from mathematical demonstration that a plane surface is less adapted

withstand pressure. Now all the early boilers of the Thunderer class had flat surfaces, which sufficiently accounts for their weakness. They were termed 'box-boilers,' and were, in fact, huge square boxes; and, though their broad areas were reinforced with bolts and stays, they could not be worked to more than from 25 lb. to 30 lb. to the inch. This is the reason why they were superseded—when the necessity for higher power arose—by cylindrical boilers, in which pressures leaped at once to 55 and 60 lb. These were, and are still, called 'Scotch' boilers, because the type was first introduced on the Clyde. The necessity for still higher engine-power grew rapidly as battleships became loaded with armour; and then the limitations to the thickness and size in which boiler-plates could be manufactured—imposed by the use of wrought iron—threatened to arrest further growth. It was difficult with this material to obtain with safety pressures of more than 60 to 80 lb. to the square inch. But the inventions of Bessemer and Siemens appeared most opportunely; and these, besides affording a material from thirty to forty per cent. stronger than iron, permitted the casting and rolling of plates much thicker and larger than the iron-mills were able to produce. Thus the Scotch boiler took on a new lease of life. Nevertheless, though larger and thicker plates were rolled, pressures increased in an even greater ratio, until they have now attained in liners 190 and 200 lb. to the square inch, which appears to mark the last stage at which, for various practical reasons, it is possible to employ the Scotch boiler. These pressures, however, are not high enough for the expansion engines of heavily laden armoured ships or swift torpedo-boats, for which steam at 250 lb. per inch is demanded, and in certain cases used, while the enormous dead-weight of the boilers themselves is a very serious drawback. The weight of the Scotch boiler has always been so grave an objection to its employment on torpedo-boats, that, until the advent of the water-tube boiler, the locomotive type was used.

The power of the Scotch boiler has been increased, not only by making its plates thicker, and its dimensions larger, but also by sending an artificial current of air into the furnace. In other words, instead of depending on natural draught induced by a chimney, an excess of air is forced into the furnaces under pressure—'forced

draught'; or an excess is drawn through them by inducing a powerful current in the chimney—'induced draught.' The result is that a larger quantity of oxygen enters, the rate of combustion is quickened, a greater degree of heat is generated, and a larger volume of water evaporated. In the merchant service forced draught on the 'closed ashpit' system of Mr Howden has proved a great success, the fans forcing the air directly into the ashpit. Forced draught on the 'closed stokehold' system has been a fruitful source of trouble in the Navy. It never ought to have been applied to the Scotch boiler, though it is applicable to torpedo-boats under certain conditions. It means that the stokehold is hermetically sealed, save for the air which is forced into it by means of a fan; and the result is that tubes leak, burn out rapidly, and have a short life. The story of its employment since its introduction in the British Navy, on the *Conqueror* and *Satellite* in 1882, down to the present time, has been one of incessant trouble and disappointment.

Hitherto we have avoided giving an account of the tubes, which are a most vital element. Statements respecting these are apt to be vague and puzzling to the lay reader. All boilers have tubes. The box-boilers had them in common with their successors the cylindrical boilers. In the latter they occupy a secondary place, but in the water-tube types they are the most essential and fundamental features. To understand the important function which these fulfil, we may take the familiar illustration of the domestic kettle. Water boils in this at 212° Fahr., and it is efficient for its purpose. But a boiler designed like a kettle would be useless for the rapid generation of steam, because the heating surface is not large enough. The term 'heating surface' denotes the whole area which is exposed to fire and incandescent gases on one side, and to water on the other. The chief problem, therefore, in the design of a highly efficient boiler, is how to increase this surface without countervailing disadvantages. It is effected by the insertion of a large number of small tubes, the collective area of which is much greater than that of the boiler itself. No boilers are now constructed without tubes of some kind; and on their number, size, and method of distribution, the principal differences in boiler types depend. Without tubes, of which there are two hundred

and upwards in locomotive and marine boilers, steam would not be generated with sufficient rapidity to maintain the requisite speed and power. But the difference between the tubular boiler of the locomotive or the Scotch type, and the water-tube boiler, is that, while each has hundreds of tubes, *fire* and hot gases pass through the tubes of the former, while *water* circulates through those of the latter. Having disposed of these cardinal facts, we propose now to explain briefly the essential differences in

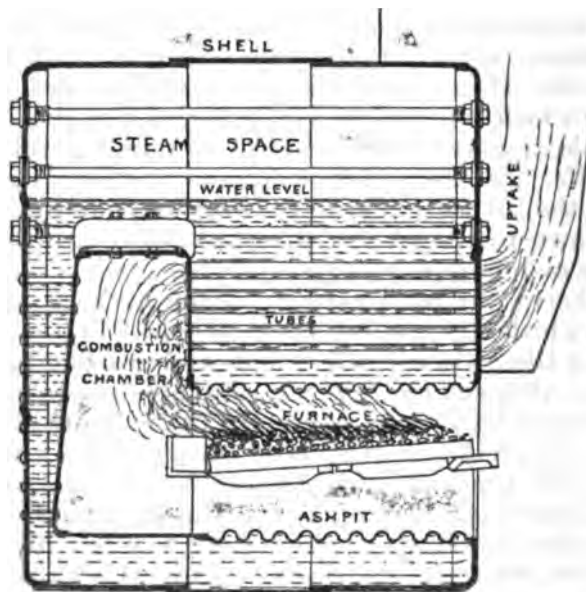


Fig. 1.—Vertical section, taken lengthwise, of the 'Scotch' or Cylindrical Return-tube Boiler.

the internal arrangements of the Scotch tubular boiler and the water-tube boilers.

The Scotch boiler, when viewed from outside, shows little to indicate its construction. It may be likened to a huge drum lying on its side. A large cylindrical casing, or 'shell,' of from 10 to 14 feet in diameter, with flat ends, built of thick steel plates strongly held together with rivets, encloses several cylindrical furnaces, ranging in number from two to eight, which are surrounded by the water contained in the outer shell. The furnace-doors are in one of the flat ends of the drum. A

hood, or 'uptake,' of sheet iron conveys the waste gases from the furnaces to the chimney. The outlines of these parts, with sundry cocks and gauges, are all that is visible. But enclosed within the shell, and lying thickly over the furnaces, are several tiers of tubes, three inches in diameter, or thereabouts, to the number of some hundreds; and the flame and hot gases have to return from the hinder end of the furnace through these tubes towards the chimney.* It is clear that, as water covers all the tubes, the greater portion of the furnace heat must be surrendered up to it, with consequent rapid generation of steam, which collects in the space above the water level, in the upper portion of the boiler casing or shell, whence it is delivered to the engines.

Now it follows that a large volume of water must be constantly maintained in a boiler of this class—sufficient in fact to cover the tubes to a depth of several inches, to prevent them from becoming burnt—and this is in addition to the weight of material in the boiler itself, which is of large dimensions, with thick plates to withstand the high pressure, as previously noted. Since several such boilers have to be fitted in a warship, their total dead-weight becomes a very serious addition to an already heavily armoured craft, and a fatal objection to their employment in torpedo-boats and destroyers. Further, while the cylindrical shell is subject to an enormous aggregate pressure acting internally, and tending to burst it, the furnaces are strained by pressures acting on their exterior surfaces, tending to crumple them and cause collapse. Thus, besides its enormous weight, a danger of rupture exists in the Scotch boiler. The tubes also, being fitted by a joint at each end into plates at the ends of the cylindrical shell, give no little trouble. The boiler is subject to incessant changes of temperature, due to the impact of cold air on highly heated surfaces, whenever the furnace doors are opened for stoking; and since it is

* There is a form of boiler used specially in the Navy, known as the Admiralty type, in which the height of the cylindrical shell is lessened, and its length increased, by a modified arrangement of the tubes. These, instead of being returned over the top, are carried on in continuation of the furnaces, but with a large space—the combustion chamber—intervening. This permits the boilers to be placed in the contracted space beneath an armoured deck; but the arrangement involves several serious drawbacks, which it is impossible to describe here.

difficult to maintain circulation under hard firing, temporary absence of water from some areas occurs. The result is that tubes become loose and leaky, and burn out at their ends—evils which are much exaggerated by the use of forced draught in the closed stokehold. Several drawbacks, therefore, contribute to render this a very undesirable type for Navy purposes, notwithstanding that it answers admirably in unarmoured vessels of the mercantile marine, and light swift liners, which work with absolute regularity from port to port.

In the water-tube boiler also several hundreds of tubes are present; but as the water is contained only in these tubes its weight is greatly reduced. The flame surrounds the tubes which enclose the water and the steam generated therefrom; and this is a vital difference. It means that, while in the Scotch boiler, as in the locomotive type, the water and steam which surround the tubes have to be inclosed in a heavy casing or 'shell,' strong enough to resist very high pressure, in the water-tube types the only parts which are subject to pressure are the tubes and the small steam-vessel or collector. Now everyone knows that a small cylinder is stronger than one of large diameter; and it is mathematically demonstrable that the strength of cylinders—thickness being equal—is exactly proportional to diameter. The advantage thus gained by using small tubes is such that while 200 lb. pressure is the highest attainable in Scotch boilers—for which steel plates $1\frac{3}{8}$ or $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and of the highest tenacity, have to be used—water-tubes from 2 to 4 inches in diameter are worked to 300 lb. with absolute safety, though but a quarter of an inch thick or thereabouts. They can, in fact, be worked safely at far higher pressure; but the intense heat of steam at high pressures is found to abrade the working faces of cylinders, pistons, rods, and packings with which it comes into contact. We are therefore now in the rather curious position of possessing a class of boiler which is capable of being worked to pressures much higher than we are able at present to utilise in our engines, while experts are still undecided with regard to the selection of the best possible type, since each one seems to have some imperfection from which others are free.

The fact is that an entirely new class of conditions has arisen. If the evils inherent in the Scotch boiler have

been avoided, new evils are now presented, due in the main to the important difference between boiling water in a *large volume* in the Scotch type, and in *small columns* in the water-tube types. The trouble in these is mainly caused by the burning of tubes. In cylindrical boilers, worked under natural draught, there is less risk of burning than in water-tube boilers, because the former contain a large volume of comparatively inert water, while in the latter a large number of columns of liquid, of small diameter and great length, are subjected to exceedingly rapid evaporation. The ebullition that goes on in a kettle or in a test-tube affords no adequate measure of the intense energy developed in a tubular boiler, evaporating water with a furnace temperature of 2000° Fahr., and with a steam pressure of from 200 to 250 lb. per square inch, at a temperature of fully 400° Fahr. The action is more like that of gunpowder than of common steam; and unless measures are taken to ensure a commensurate circulation of fresh cooler water the tubes inevitably become burnt, and water is driven along with the steam through the pipes into the engines—a result called ‘priming.’

We may now observe the principal elements of design in the water-tube boilers, confining our observations to those types which are most commonly employed in the Navy. They may be classed under two principal heads: those in which the tubes approach a horizontal position, and those in which they approach a vertical. The first, as a rule, are suitable for ordinary service, the second for ‘express’ or forced steaming. In the first the tubes are relatively large, nearly horizontal, and in groups or sets; and the contents are delivered directly into a steam drum or collector, or into a ‘header,’ or into a flat water-chamber, and thence into the drum. In the second the tubes are small and nearly vertical, and each delivers independently into the steam collector, without the medium of a chamber, or header. To mention familiar types, the first class includes the Belleville, the second the Yarrow and the Thornycroft. The outlines of the casings of the first are approximately rectangular, those of the second triangular. These differences are illustrated in the drawings which accompany this article, each of which represents a particular type of boiler cut vertically along its centre plane, that is, through the course of the tubes.

The Belleville boiler, for the right to use which the British Government has paid heavy royalties,* has a history extending over forty years, during which period its form has undergone various changes. It has been employed in other navies besides the French and the British, and is now more extensively used at sea than any other type. It belongs to that class in which the contents of the tubes

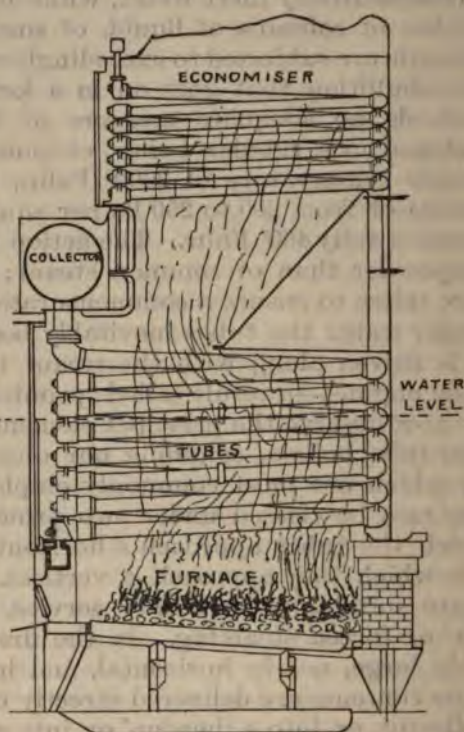


Fig. 2.—The Belleville Boiler, with Economiser.

are delivered directly into the steam collector, with the result that the steam generated in the lower parts has to pursue a zigzag ascending course through all the tubes above before it is able to make its way into the collector. This tends to impede circulation, and is not conducive to

* On February 22nd last, Mr Arnold-Forster stated that the number of Belleville boilers then supplied to the Royal Navy was 534, while the total number ordered to be supplied was 1005. The amount of royalties paid up to that time was 141,470*l*.

rapid steaming. Looking at the illustration, we see one series of these zigzag tubes, each being jointed to its fellows at the ends. The entire vertical series constitutes an 'element.' Thus our illustration shows a single element, comprising seven tubes sloping in one direction and seven in the opposite direction, united by 'junction-boxes' at the ends, so forming one continuous passage. From seven to nine such 'elements,' each separate and distinct, but enclosed in a common casing, form the boiler.

In the early Belleville boilers, and at the time when they were adopted for our Navy, the heat from the furnace escaped too quickly into the funnel, which resulted in a great loss of efficiency. An apparatus was therefore added in 1896, for the purpose of utilising this waste heat, in the shape of an 'economiser,' composed of a large nest of tubes—a second group of Belleville elements—around which the waste gases circulate, heating the feed water in its passage through those tubes previous to its delivery into the boiler. This apparatus fulfils a double purpose: it economises the escaping heat, and by raising the initial temperature of the water fed into the boilers, saves a corresponding quantity of fuel. This, though an excellent device in itself, has the effect of increasing the height and weight of the boiler, so that two of the advantages supposed to be derived from the adoption of this particular type are partially sacrificed.

We can only describe very briefly other boilers of the horizontal type, and must refer for full particulars to M. Bertin's treatise. The d'Allest boiler is an old one, dating from about 1870, though it was not adopted until after 1891 in an improved form in the French Navy, in which it is now fitted on more than a dozen ships of war. The Babcock and Wilcox is an excellent boiler of long standing, its history dating from 1867. It differs from the d'Allest and others in the replacement of flat water-spaces by sinuous 'headers,' which dispose the tubes in alternate rows, so that the heat has to pursue a wavy course between them in its passage from the furnace. The upper tubes are also smaller than the lower ones, a device which conduces to economy in the absorption and transference of heat.

The fitting of 'headers' is a detail of much practical value. To be brief, it means that, instead of superimposed tubes forming a continuous length, as in the Belleville, or all terminating in a large flat chamber, as in the d'Allest,

the tubes are divided into vertical sets, or 'elements,' each of which is connected with a common box, the 'header.' The result of this isolation of the 'elements' is that the circulation is less impeded, and there is less risk of the tubes being burnt; for the particles of steam which are formed in the bottom tubes escape at once, instead of having to force their way through the water in all those above, in their course to the steam collector. An additional advantage is that it is easier to repair such a



Fig. 3.—Babcock and Wilcox Boiler.

boiler—for which spare 'elements,' comprising tubes already fixed in their 'headers,' are taken to sea—than those of other types.

The Niclausse, a successful boiler of the horizontal class, is fitted with headers instead of flat spaces, which resemble those of the Babcock and Wilcox type in their sinuous disposition, but the headers are placed at the front only—a plan which leaves the tubes free to expand lengthwise. The feature by which this boiler is chiefly distinguished is the separation of the descending currents of water from the ascending volumes of steam, by means of par

in the headers, and by the insertion of an inner or water-circulating tube within the outer or boiling tube (see Fig. 5).

The German boiler—the Dürr (Fig. 6)—in which the

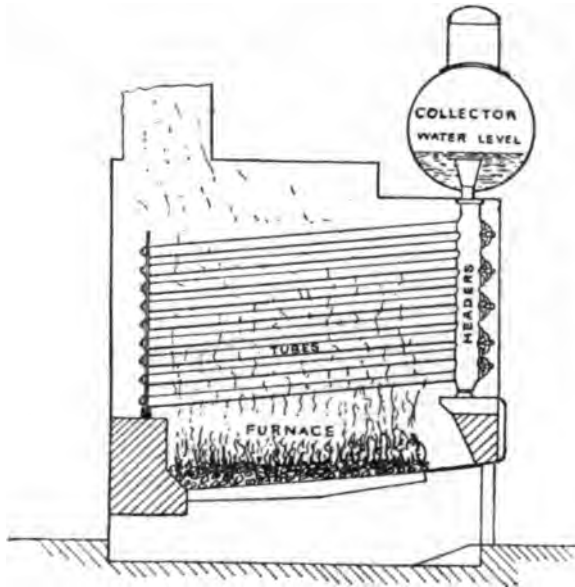


Fig. 4.—The Niclausse Boiler.

double tubes are also employed, differs from the Niclausse in the retention of flat water-spaces, instead of the separation into headers, as well as in certain details of fitting the tubes; but the result is substantially the same. The course

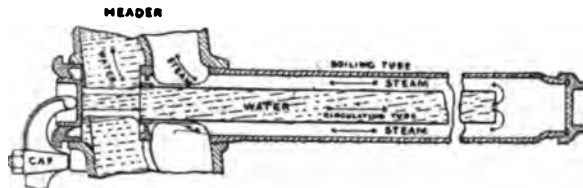


Fig. 5.—Circulation in a Compound Tube in the Niclausse Boiler.

of the water and steam can be traced in the illustration by the arrows. The water descends from the collector or 'upper boiler' into the front portion of the flat water-chamber, and thence into the inner tubes; returning

through the outer or boiling tubes, where it is converted into steam, which, mingled with water, ascends into the collector, being divided from the front chamber by a partition. The steam passes from the collector through a steam drier or 'superheater' on its way to the engines. This boiler is at present in use on German cruisers.

The boilers which belong to the horizontal type are all more or less suitable for continuous service on battle-ships and cruisers. The Express type of boilers—with

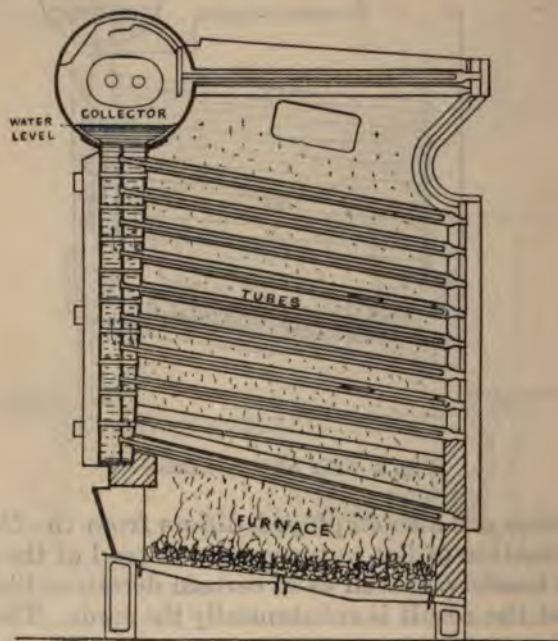


Fig. 6.—Dürr Boiler.

tubes approaching the vertical*—was adopted in the first place, and still is retained almost exclusively, for torpedo-boats and destroyers. The prototype of these boilers was the Du Temple, designed originally for driving the propeller of a flying machine, and improved by M. Normand, M. Guyot, and others: its earlier examples were marked by an excessive curvature of the tubes, with the idea of increasing the heating surface and affording freedom for ex-

* It forms the 'accelerated circulation' class in M. Bertin's classification.

pansion. In the Du Temple-Normand design the waving of the tubes is greatly diminished. In the Du Temple-Guyot it is entirely abandoned, the tubes passing from the water chambers to the steam drum in a single curve.

There are few chapters in the history of mechanical engineering more interesting than the story of the development of the Thornycroft and Yarrow boilers, both of which belong to the vertical type. There are certain resemblances, but more important differences, between the two. Both are of triangular outline, having water chambers at the lower corners, and a steam drum or collector at the apex. But



Fig. 7.—The Thornycroft Boiler.

while the Thornycroft tubes are curved, those of the Yarrow are straight. The Thornycroft tubes are brought into the steam drum above the water level, being also arched over the fire grate; and they are so disposed that the gases must pass along the whole course of the tubes before escaping. Though the straight tubes of the Yarrow boiler do not offer so large an amount of heating surface as that furnished by curved tubes, they are more easily cleaned internally, and are more readily replaced. The Yarrow boiler, moreover, has no return or circulating tubes, and yet the circulation is maintained perfectly. The explanation is that the tubes which are nearest to, and those which are

farthest from, the fire form efficient circulating elements, due to the differences in weight of the columns of mixed steam and water in the first, and of solid water in the second. Yet in the majority of boilers of this class, the down-coming or return tubes form an essential element in the circulation. The Blechynden boiler resembles the Yarrow in having tubes which are nearly but not quite straight, being slightly bent to permit of expansion ; and it has no external return-tubes.

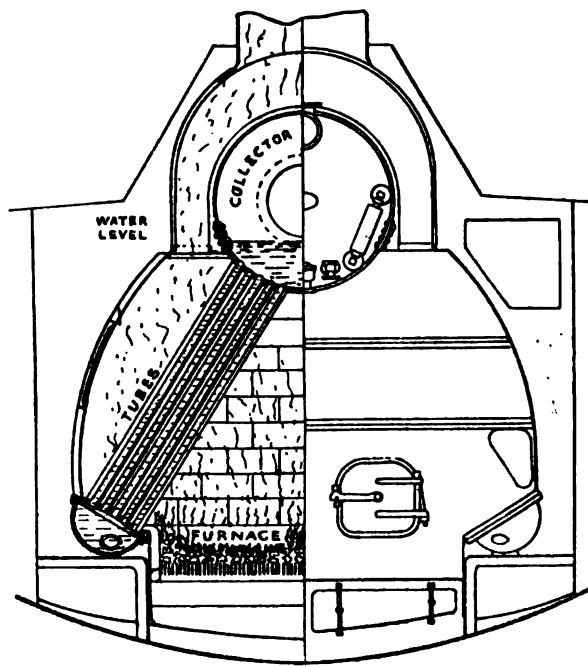


Fig.-8.—The Yarrow Boiler.

This brief account of the elements involved in the principal Navy types of water-tube boilers should deter one from hasty conclusions ; and if we consider further what requirements have to be fulfilled at sea, where every distinct class of vessel steams under different conditions, the folly of a dogmatic attitude will be yet more apparent.

The principal requirements that must be fulfilled by an efficient Navy boiler are as follows : occupation of the minimum of space, reduction of weight as far as practicable,

capacity for rapid generation of steam, and endurance under hard firing. The less frequently repairs are needed the better; but the construction should be such that, when these are inevitable, they may be accomplished with the least possible expenditure of time and labour. In what degree do the leading types of water-tube boilers fulfil these exacting and in some cases contradictory conditions?

No type is capable of fulfilling all these requirements absolutely, and therefore none is suitable for all-round service in battleships, cruisers, and torpedo-boats. If the condition of endurance is satisfied, capacity for express steaming must be to a greater or less extent sacrificed. A familiar case for comparison is that between boilers worked in the mercantile service and those in the Royal Navy. The broad distinction between a commercial vessel and a battleship is that in the first a regular rate of speed is the chief requisite, in the second adaptability alike to slow steaming for long voyages, and to hard steaming for short periods. Durability, an essential condition in a liner, is of less value in a battleship than capacity for severe duty during brief periods, which may be of priceless value at critical moments. In the first case, facility for effecting rapid repairs is of less importance than it is in the second. The requisites of a torpedo-boat, again, differ from those of a battleship, for high speed is the cardinal consideration in the former, while durability is of secondary importance, and is in fact sacrificed in many cases. The tubes in torpedo-boat boilers are so small and their arrangements are such that it is difficult to locate any defect or to renew them while at sea; but the power generated is so enormous in proportion to the fuel consumed and the weight of the boilers that this cardinal advantage compensates for rapid wear and tear. Here it is neither a question of uniform speed and permanent service, as on a liner, nor of occasional forcing, as on a battleship, but of how to attain the highest speed with the greatest possible reduction in weight.

With regard to questions of space occupied, weight, and other matters, we cannot go beyond general statements. M. Bertin has been at great pains to compile tables of data by which comparisons can be made between boilers of various types with regard to weight of water in the boilers, weight of the boilers themselves, floor space occupied, &c. The net results in regard to the total weight, including water,

are stated by M. Bertin (p. 339) : in cylindrical boilers of the Admiralty type, 1·124 tons per square foot of grate area, against only 0·539 tons in the Belleville, 0·466 in the Niclausse, and 0·453 in the Thornycroft. According to Mr Marshall's experiments,

'on a given weight the Belleville type will develop, with natural draught and for long periods, approximately the same power that the cylindrical [i.e. Scotch] type will develop for short periods of a few hours under extreme forced draught. Also, on the same weight, the Yarrow type will develop 14 per cent. more than the Belleville for long periods, and 78 per cent. more for short periods. Again, comparing the Yarrow with the cylindrical, it is seen that it will develop 50 per cent. more power for long periods, and 65 per cent. more for short periods, on a given weight.'

In time of war, the water-tube boilers, in which steam can be produced from cold water in half an hour, have a great advantage over the Scotch boilers, for which from four to six hours of firing are required to produce the same result. Battleships fitted with Scotch boilers are kept in readiness for steaming at a few minutes' notice by the constant banking up of the fires ; but this involves consumption of coal and constant attendance of stokers, while with water-tube boilers no such necessity exists.

The problem of getting the largest possible quantity of heat out of the combustion of the coal burnt on the furnace grates, includes, first, the quantity of coal which can be consumed in a given area in a given time, and next, the highest utilisation of the products of combustion in their passage among the tubes. The first is a question of the volume of air supplied by natural or by forced draught ; the second depends on the way in which the flame and gases are conducted from the fire grate. An abundant supply of air for combustion is secured by the use of forced draught, while the burning of the gaseous products is effected by delaying their passage among the tubes. Some boilers are better fitted to fulfil these conditions than others. In both respects they are found to differ very widely. Numerous devices for prolonging the contact of flame with tubes are embodied in the principal boilers.

But that a boiler should be capable of raising plenty of steam in a short space of time is still only one condition

among others. Many boilers which have done this have proved unsuccessful, by reason of the difficulty of effecting renewals and repairs, and of cleaning. The best boiler, from this point of view, is that which requires the minimum of repair; and next, that which can be repaired most rapidly. A statement, therefore, respecting the total life of a boiler is of little or no value apart from this question of the frequency and extent of repairs, and the facility for making them. All boilers have some portions renewed once or oftener during their lifetime. Practically all trouble which arises under this head in the new type of boiler lies in the tubes, the reasons for which do not require much explanation. If we revert to our familiar illustration of the kettle, everyone knows that as long as its heating surface is protected by a full supply of water it will not burn; but that if the water runs short for a few minutes only, the kettle will be ruined. The same thing occurs in water-tube boilers; but the mischief is intensified by reason of the much higher temperature of the boiler furnace. A brief space of time, a few seconds only, during which tubes and tube joints are left dry, will play havoc with them. The conditions are worse at sea than on land, because the rolling of the ship throws the water out of its normal level. There are, however, other causes more important than the rolling of a ship, and applying to boilers on land no less than to those at sea—causes which are dependent mainly on design. Chief among these is the circulation of water and steam, that is, the maintenance of these in regular movement throughout the tubes, the ready disengagement of the steam from the water as soon as generated, and its rapid removal from the heating surface to the collector or drum in the upper part of the boiler.

From this point of view the various dispositions of the tubes in water-tube boilers—regarded as two great groups corresponding with the approximately vertical or approximately horizontal position of the tubes—are by no means arbitrary. Everyone who has seen liquid boiled in a long test tube has observed that the bubbles of steam roll up from the lower end with great vigour, forcing their way through the cooler water at the upper end. The same kind of movement goes on, but more intensely, in each tube of a boiler. If, therefore, the disengagement of the bubbles from the 'heating surface' is hindered, there is a corre-

sponding risk of burning the tube. A nearly horizontal position is not so favourable to their disengagement as a nearly vertical one. On the other hand, the large tubes of the horizontal types of Navy boilers are better adapted to steady working than the small ones of the vertical type, in which the action is more vigorous. Sluggish circulation is obviated in boilers of the Niclausse type by making the tubes double (Fig. 5). The generated steam cannot get back into the circulating tube, but is compelled to pass away outside of it, whence it is directed by the partition in the header upwards to the collecting drum. This is one of the features to which this boiler largely owes its success, since, unlike some others in which the tubes are also nearly horizontal, it stands hard firing admirably. The Dürr boiler (Fig. 6) is similarly designed.

To consider next the question of facility of repair. Though the burning of tubes can never be wholly prevented, and though it is constantly occurring in Scotch as well as in water-tube boilers, yet the issues greatly differ in the two. In the first-named type, the ends are readily plugged; and even though several tubes are thus thrown out of service, the steaming powers of the boiler are scarcely affected, because hundreds are left intact. But in the second, a leaky tube is a serious affair, because it is likely to throw the entire boiler completely out of service for several hours. This contrast arises from the difference between fire-tubes and water-tubes. A fire-tube from which the fire is excluded does not suffer from the surrounding water; but a water-tube which leaks and becomes dry is soon destroyed by the surrounding fire. Each fire-tube, moreover, is self-contained in a comparatively short length; but the water-tube is part of a system or an element, and is in connexion with every other tube in that element through the end-boxes, with which they have common connexion. Now it is essential at sea that any leaky tube shall receive immediate repair. But an element cannot be replaced so readily as a plug can be driven; and delay in time of actual warfare might leave a ship at the mercy of an enemy. A plug can be driven, but an element cannot be replaced, without drawing the fires. From this point of view the question of the rapid renewal of damaged tubes is scarcely second to any in importance. No boiler offers better facilities for repairs than the Niclausse, the tubes of

which are fitted with ends of a slightly conical shape (see Fig. 5). In other boilers, tubes are either fitted into a smoothly bored hole, when the insertion of a special tool, which stretches and slightly increases the size of the tube, suffices to make a tight joint; or they are screwed into holes in the end plates or into junction-boxes. These apparently slight differences involve the result that, while the removal and renewal of a tube in other boilers is often a work of hours, during which the mechanism is thrown out of work, in the Niclausse the renewal can be effected in a few minutes. In the Dürr, also, the tubes are neither screwed nor expanded, but pressed into the plates, and their farther ends are free to expand lengthwise under a rise of temperature.

Having stated the conditions for Navy service, and the degree in which these are fulfilled by the principal types of boilers, let us now see what other countries are doing in this matter. It is well to remember, when the return to the Scotch boiler in our Navy is being advocated, that this type is not favourably regarded by foreign Governments; and we feel strongly that the question for solution is not the rehabilitation of a boiler that has given much trouble when worked at high pressure with forced draught, but the selection of the best type or types of water-tube boilers. In the matter of high pressures these have more than fulfilled the requirements demanded, for, as already remarked, they are not worked to their fullest capacity; and the steam-pressure has often to be reduced on its way to the engines. The solution of the other difficulties is only a question of time and technical skill. Incidentally, too, the troubles of the Scotch boilers are seldom heard of in the press, while those of the water-tube types are magnified until many people entertain the belief that these are utter failures. To such we offer the following facts relating to the employment of boilers of this kind in Navy service.

We have already said that the Belleville boiler is employed at sea more extensively than any other. Forty ships in the French Navy, from the *Voltigeur* despatch boat of 1000 HP., built in 1879, to the fine cruisers *Sully*, *Amiral-Aube*, and *Marseillaise*, each of 20,500 HP., have been, or are to be, fitted with this type. In our own Navy these boilers were first placed on the *Sharpshooter*, *Powerful*, and *Terrible*, in 1893. At present sixty-one vessels, built,

building, or projected, are so fitted, including fourteen armour-clads and cruisers, four of which are of 30,000 HP. each. In the Russian Navy, thirty-one ships, ranging up to 16,300 HP., have or will have these boilers. Ten ships in the Japanese Navy have Belleville boilers, including the Shikishima, a recent armour-clad of 14,500 HP., and the Adzuma, a fine cruiser of 17,000 HP. The Austrian Navy includes five ships so fitted, or being fitted; the Chilian Government has four, the Italian two. In the mercantile marine, the Messageries Maritimes has twenty-one vessels fitted with Belleville boilers, dating from the Ortegal in 1884, most of which range from 6000 to 7200 HP. On land, the boiler is used in a modified type in hundreds of factories. The total power of the Belleville boilers which have been fitted to sea-going ships, chiefly in war navies, amounts to the immense aggregate of 1,854,720 HP. In this grand total the British Navy stands highest, followed by the French, then by the Russian and the Japanese. The boiler is suitable for high powers, and for maintaining a good continuous rate of speed. It is readily repaired, and steam can be raised quickly. On the other hand, it has proved costly; its economiser tubes and some other accessories are complicated, and add considerably to weight; and it is not adapted for forcing.

Niclausse boilers are fitted in sixteen French warships, built or building, including seven ironclads, ranging from 20,500 to 11,500 HP., the largest being the Gloire, Condé, Gueydon, and Kléber. The Spanish and German Navies have each two vessels fitted with these boilers. The Sea-gull is the only example in the British Navy. Two Russian vessels of 20,000 and 15,000 HP. respectively, which are being built by Cramp and Sons of Philadelphia, will be fitted with Niclausse boilers. In the Italian Navy the Regina Margherita and the Giuseppe Garibaldi, the former of 19,000 HP., the latter of 13,500, have these boilers. Thirty-five of the Parisian river steamboats are also fitted with Niclausse boilers.

Some of the most successful water-tube boilers in the marine service are built by firms whose experience of land types has been most extensive. A notable illustration is the Babcock and Wilcox firm. For over thirty years their boilers have been used on land; and now several United States battleships which are building will be fitted with

them. The Chicago, the Annapolis, and the Marietta, already so equipped, have given satisfaction after more than a year's cruising. Our torpedo-gunboat Sheldrake, with Babcock and Wilcox boilers, was commissioned in February 1899, and has been subjected to nine runs of 1000 miles each, under all possible conditions, with very satisfactory results. In all, nearly one hundred vessels have been already fitted with Babcock and Wilcox boilers; and this is one of the types on which the Boiler Committee will report.*

The Dürr boiler is fitted in three German battleships, the Baden, Bayern, and Sachsen, each of 6000 HP., in two protected cruisers, the Vineta and Victoria Louise, each of 10,000 HP., and will be put in the Prinz Heinrich, of 15,000 HP., now building.

The Du Temple-Guyot boilers are fitted in two large French cruisers, in the English torpedo-destroyer Spanker, as well as in several French destroyers, in fifteen French torpedo-boats, and eleven Russian, besides several scores of small boats for coast defence.

One of the earliest vessels fitted with Yarrow boilers was a torpedo-boat built in 1891 for the Argentine Government. These boilers, though of express type, have been fitted in cruisers up to 10,000 HP., and in armourclads, including the Portuguese Don Carlos of 18,700 HP. and four small Swedish battleships; also in three armourclads built by Armstrong, Whitworth, and Co., in two by the Austrian Government, and an immense number of torpedo-boats and destroyers. Express boilers, in general, are not suitable for cruisers, but the Yarrow type furnishes an exception to the rule. The Dutch Government has adopted these after lengthy trials, to the exclusion of all others. They are fitted in eight Dutch cruisers and battleships, ranging from 10,000 HP. down to 6000 HP. Howden's system of forced draught is fitted in these cruisers, as well as in the United States Navy. The value of this system, persistently ignored by the Admiralty, may be gauged by the fact that since its inception in 1884, it has been applied to boilers having an aggregate of 2,600,000 HP.

* On February 18th last, Mr Arnold-Forster stated that Babcock and Wilcox boilers were being fitted to the Challenger, the Espiègle, and the Odin; and Niclausse boilers in the Suffolk and the Merlin. These were specially for comparison with ships of the same class fitted with Bellevilles.

The Thornycroft boiler is fitted in many torpedo-boats and destroyers, for our own and foreign Governments. It was placed in the *Speedy*, a torpedo-cruiser of 4500 HP., in 1893, and is found in Danish and British third-class cruisers, and in Austrian and German vessels, including the *Aegir* and *Hagen*, of 5000 HP. each. It is adopted in part in other battleships, and in the *Niobe* cruiser, of 8000 HP., and will be put into the United States battleships *Ohio* and *Missouri*, of 15,000 and 16,000 HP. respectively. A list of water-tube boilers fitted in battleships and cruisers in foreign navies can be consulted in the 'Memorandum respecting Water Tube Boilers in H.M. Ships'; but this does not include small vessels, such as despatch boats.

A few words may be offered in conclusion, respecting the choice of the Belleville boiler, and the present re-opening of the entire question of cylindrical versus Belleville, Niclausse, Babcock and Wilcox, and other types, on the lines laid down by Lord Goschen, and reported in the 'Times' of August 8th, 1900. When the Admiralty adopted the Belleville, they accepted a well tried type, which was already in use in other navies, as it still is, to a greater extent than its rivals. But they made a mistake in adopting it to the exclusion of all other types, assuming without sufficient data that it would remain unrivalled for an indefinite period. It was a case of putting all the eggs into one basket, with the result that the whole question has now to be re-opened. Other Governments have adopted the wiser policy, which would recommend itself to the private individual, of testing the merits of the various competitors. England is the only country, with the exception of Holland, which is committed to a single type of boiler for her heavy ships. In other navies several types, such as the Belleville, the Niclausse, the Babcock and Wilcox, the Lagrafel d'Allest, are simultaneously employed.

Another judicious method adopted abroad is that of placing a certain number of water-tube boilers and boilers of the Scotch type in the same vessel, for comparative trials. Three United States cruisers are thus fitted, and eleven German, including the *Fürst Bismarck*. In Germany, the *Dürr* boiler, the Belleville, and Niclausse, are fitted on three sister ships, the *Victoria Louise*, the *Hertha*, and the *Freya*, each of 10,000 HP. In the French Navy, the cruisers

Bugeaud, Chasseloup-Laubat, and the Friant, of 9000 tons, are fitted with Belleville, Lagrafel d'Allest, and Niclausse types respectively. Further, when the Annapolis and the Marietta in the American Navy were both fitted with Babcock boilers, instead of trusting to a trial trip of a few hours' duration only, the vessels were sent for lengthy trips round the Pacific coast, the Horn, and the West Indies, to be tried under all conditions of service. In the British Navy, on the contrary, before the Powerful and the Terrible were subjected to any extended trials, the Belleville type was generally adopted; and this in spite of the fact that other boilers had already achieved a high reputation abroad. Vessels should have been fitted with various kinds of boilers, and sent on lengthy cruises, and the results carefully collated by practical men. Precious time has now been lost, with the result that we have not yet got beyond the experimental stage. This state of indecision in regard to the most vital element in the Navy, on the efficiency of which our commerce and our very existence depend, is a parlous condition for the greatest engineering nation in the world to be in.

It is worth while to observe that, almost alone among the nations, the United States has held aloof from Belleville boilers. A recent report of Admiral Melville to the Naval Bureau of Washington states that these boilers have been opposed 'wholly on a close examination of the design,' the screwed method of jointing of the tubes being particularly objectionable. The Engineer-in-chief congratulates his Bureau that they were not encumbered with Belleville boilers during the last war, since they require a specially trained force for their safe operation. In this, as in other matters, the views of American engineers are to be regarded with respect. Six types of water-tube boilers are now on trial in the United States Navy, the Babcock and Wilcox taking the lead ('Memorandum,' p. 39); but the nation is not committed to any one—a fact which makes the short-sightedness of our Admiralty in committing the country to one type all the more flagrant.

Much prejudice has entered into the controversy regarding water-tube boilers, and for this reason the Government did wisely in excluding from the Committee those who were personally interested in this branch of manufac-

ture. There are many large establishments in the three kingdoms which have extensive and costly plant laid down for the construction of boilers of cylindrical types, which will be of little use if the water-tube type becomes common; and these firms have vested interests in the retention of present designs. Yet the water-tube boilers are the type of the future; and the survival of the fittest is now being worked out. Out of hundreds of designs, those really successful can be counted on the fingers, while in regard to those specially adapted for service in navies, the choice now lies between about seven or eight only, and these are narrowed down to three or four for use in the largest vessels. Let us hope that the mistake of reboiling the Navy with a single type will not be repeated, nor the Belleville be discarded until by means of extended trials the fittest is at last evolved. Perhaps the problem will be solved by the adoption of different kinds of boilers for slower and faster ships, for steady steaming and for forced service.

The Interim Report of the Boiler Committee has been published since this article was in type. It is not necessary to repeat its recommendations verbatim: we need only summarise the more important of them. The attention of the Committee was specially directed to three questions:—(1) Whether water-tube boilers were to be considered more suitable than cylindrical boilers for Naval purposes? To this the reply was that they are, provided a satisfactory type be adopted. (2) Does the Belleville boiler possess such advantages as to recommend it as the best adapted for H.M. Navy? The reply to this question was in the negative. (3) The third question asked was, whether the Committee were prepared to make recommendations or suggestions as to the extent to which particular type or types of boilers should be fitted in new vessels? The answer was unequivocal. No more Bellevilles should be fitted in any ships to be ordered in the future, nor in ships recently ordered for which the boiler work is not far advanced. Only in those cases where an alteration in the type of boiler would delay the completion of ships under construction, and in completed ships, should Bellevilles be retained. The fact is admitted that at the time when this type was ordered for the *Powerful* and

Terrible, it was the only one which had been tried at sea on a considerable scale. But the Babcock and Wilcox, the Niclausse, the Dürr, and a modified Yarrow with large tubes are now recommended for extended trials.

These recommendations are, on the whole, in harmony with our ideas. The pity is that this common-sense view was not taken earlier, that such a Committee was not appointed six years ago, and that extended trials were not made before the country became responsible for so lavish and, as it turns out, fruitless expenditure. It is also annoying to learn that although

‘To obtain satisfactory results in the working of the Belleville boiler, . . . more than ordinary experience and skill are required on the part of the engine-room staff, it appears from the evidence placed before the Committee that the engineer officers in charge of Belleville boilers have not been made acquainted with the best method of working the boilers.’

Had this preliminary been observed, it is possible that the results would have been different.

As we explained in the preceding pages, all the boilers named by the Committee for trial possess good points; but rash and hasty conclusions are to be deprecated. Each type is still on its trial in the great fighting Navies. Each probably is better adapted for one class of battleship than the others. Nothing but a series of comparative tests, which have yet to be made, will enable the Committee to form trustworthy conclusions as to their relative merits, when compared with each other and with the Belleville. Until the final Report appears, the public, like the experts themselves, must patiently suspend judgment on the question of re-boiling the Navy.

Art. VI.—THE HOUSING QUESTION.

1. *The Health of Nations*. A review of the works of Edwin Chadwick. By Benjamin Ward Richardson. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1887.
2. *Essays on Rural Hygiene*. By George Vivian Poore, M.D., F.R.C.P. Second edition. London: Longmans, 1894.
3. *The Dwelling House*. By G. V. Poore. London: Longmans, 1897.
4. *The Housing Question in London, 1855-1900*. Prepared under the direction of C. J. Stewart, Clerk to the Council. London: P. S. King, *n.d.*
5. *No Room to Live*. By George Haw. London: Wells, 1900.
6. *Homes of the London Poor*. By Octavia Hill. London: Macmillan, 1875.
7. *Houses for the Working Classes*. Papers read at a Conference on March 1st, 1900, and issued by the National Housing Committee. London: P. S. King, 1900.

WE have heard objection raised in public debate to the phrase 'Housing of the Poor,' on the ground that it is one, more applicable to cattle than to the poorer citizens of a great empire. The complaint will be generally thought hypercritical, for the term is convenient and is used by all classes without any intention of offence. At the same time it does bear witness to the existence of certain circumstances which differentiate very sharply the agencies which supply the poor with homes from those which supply them with food and clothing. In common parlance we have what is called the Housing Question, but happily we have no Feeding or Clothing Question. These last important branches of supply have been met by the ordinary operation of economic exchange. The whole world is laid under contribution for the food and clothing of even the poorest among the King's subjects; and the process is performed so smoothly and automatically that we rarely pause to admire. If we except extreme theoretical socialists, who favour a state-organisation of all industry, and whose views we do not propose to consider in this article, there is no one who invokes the aid of municipal authority for feeding and clothing the poor. The relief of the destitute by the Poor Law is exceptional; and normally the supply of food and clothing is left to

manage itself according to economic laws. Hitherto, in a somewhat laboured way, the supply of houses has been furnished in a similar manner; but the operation of free exchange, it is alleged, has failed in this department, and thus there has arisen what is called a Housing Question. In this discussion the poor are regarded as passive agents for whom some superior authority has to cater. They are not in this matter competent economic units, able to satisfy their wants in the ordinary way of commerce.

We shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that the *crux* of this question will be found in connexion with those causes which prevent houses and house-room from being ordinary articles of commerce, to be furnished, like other necessities of life, cheaply and easily by the familiar and automatic operation of the market. The difficulties in the way of making house-room a marketable commodity are either superable or insuperable; and, with the view of obtaining some light on this point, it will be worth while to consider in broad outline the economic history of the question. In all such matters, it is necessary to look back as well as to look forward in order to judge how far heroic remedies, which seem to cut the Gordian knot of present difficulties, have proved helpful expedients in the past; and also how, if made permanent influences, they are likely to affect the course of economic development in the future.

Shelter or house-room is one of the primary necessities of life; and it does not appear that its early economic history differs much, if at all, from that of the other common wants of mankind. It is probable that the economic evolution of the provision of house-room has proceeded more slowly than that of the provision of other necessities of life, but we think it is clear that the starting-point is the same. Whatever modifications may be in store for us in the future, we are on undisputed ground when we point out that civilisation—the imperfect, halting stage of it which we have reached—has hitherto involved a departure from the condition of status, and from the communal or feudal custom by which primitive society was governed, to the life of contract and exchange, the leading characteristics of modern economic society. There was a time when the English labourer was permitted to

make and occupy a hovel on the land to which as a serf he was permanently attached. His shelter was included in the maintenance which by the custom of his servitude he was entitled to derive from the soil. History is strangely silent as to the early social conditions of the people, but we know enough to say that English country-folk in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were worse housed than any peasantry in Europe in the present day.

The most wretched period of social history is that in which the wants of the family are satisfied by the produce of their own holding. The self-sufficing family-life has long ago given place to the superior organisation of economic exchange. Traces linger here and there of the old order, and in some respects the relation of the agricultural labourer to his house is a survival of this earlier condition of things. Even at the present day the hiring of his cottage is not, for the agricultural labourer, an economic exchange of shelter for rent: he is still to a certain extent 'housed.' The cottage he inhabits is part of the complement of the farm, and he pays for it something less than an economic rent. The transaction is a species of 'truck.' The labourer, instead of receiving all his wages in coin of the realm, receives so many shillings a week and a house at a nominal rent. The bargain is open to the objection which can be made against all forms of 'truck,' namely that there is no secure standard of value. A good and a rich landlord may give value to the extent of 30s. in the pound, while a churlish or poor landlord will or can only give 15s. On the whole, and especially during the last thirty years, the English landlord has not been oblivious of the maxim *noblesse oblige*; and a great improvement has taken place in the cottages of the agricultural labourer. All the same we are glad to think that this improvement now rests, or is beginning to rest, on a more secure economic basis. The latest reports from agricultural districts seem to show that there is a dearth of labour. Two masters are running after one man; and the most hopeful sign of remedy for grievance under this head consists in the stronger economic position of the labourer. If the agricultural interest wishes to retain the labourer, it must give him adequate wages. It is immaterial whether a part of such wages is paid in kind or not: the main thing is that such kind, if any, shall represent good value. Our

belief is that the interest of the labourer will in the long run be better secured by an honest bargain, in which a good cottage may represent part of his wages, than by the goodwill of landlords or the regulation of inspectors. In saying this, we do not wish to be understood as depreciating the high standard of duty which on the whole has characterised the attitude of English landlords, nor the zeal of sanitary authorities.

Our present enquiry is concerned mainly with the dwellings of the poor in towns; but the clear indication that there is, in rural districts, a certain survival of the primitive uneconomic organisation of society is of great importance, as indicating the direction in which things are drifting. The aggregation of population in towns has been a continuous process, but it is only in comparatively recent years that it has reached alarming proportions. Round the mediæval town there was no lack of space. The demand for warehouses and factories, and for dwellings of a superior quality, did not compete for the occupation of land which otherwise would be devoted to the dwellings of the poor. The state of the poorer population in towns during mediæval times is shrouded by the silence of indifference. Such glimpses as we do get are truly appalling. The Black Death, which carried off one half of the population, the frequent visitation of the plague, and in later times the prevalence of cholera and typhus, are facts all too eloquent of the insanitary life of the people.

Here and there, and in most unexpected places, we get a glimpse of the condition of London, as in the lurid pictures of Hogarth, or in Ben Jonson's epigram (written in the first quarter of the seventeenth century) 'On the Famous Voyage' up Fleet-ditch from Bridewell to Holborn, 'the brave adventure of two wights' who—

'At Bread-street's Mermaid, having dined and merry,
Proposed to go to Holborn in a wherry.'

The details which the poet sets out, with much minuteness, are too revolting for quotation; and we feel that if such things could be tolerated in close proximity to the wealth of the City, the homes of the poor must have been unspeakably insanitary. In the reconstruction of London, after the great fire, some improvements may have been introduced; but the sanitary sense was yet unborn,

and indeed only began to assert itself in the middle of the century which has just expired. To come down to comparatively recent times, the sanitary movement may be said to have begun in the office of the Poor Law Commissioners somewhere about the year 1837. Under the new Poor Law, auditors had disallowed certain charges of a miscellaneous kind, some of them in connexion with sanitation, which had formerly passed without challenge under the old parochial system; and Dr Arnott and Dr Southwood Smith were employed to report on the sanitary condition of parts of London, with a view of throwing light on the question of what charges of a sanitary character ought to be authorised by new legislation. Their views are given in the fourth and fifth reports of the Poor Law Commissioners; and most gruesome reading they furnish. A perusal of the whole report will convince any one that the condition of things at that date far exceeds in horror anything which the most sensational journalist can record of the present situation. We limit ourselves to one or two abbreviated quotations.

Lambs' Fields. Three hundred feet constantly covered summer and winter with stagnant water, and putrefying animal and vegetable matter. An open ditch encircles this place eight to ten feet wide. Privies of all the houses of a street open into this—privies completely uncovered, and the soil from them allowed to accumulate in the open ditch.

Some cottages at *Notting Dale* built over stagnant pools of water, which may be seen through the interstices of the floors. In some instances the floors have given way, and rest in the stagnant pool, while the other end, being still dry, contains the bed or straw mattress on which the family sleep.

Fleet Ditch is described as not a small drain, but almost a river of filth. Upon the very edge of this ditch many of the poor have their dwellings.

Highgate. A lodging-house which is inhabited by a great number of the lowest and most abandoned, three or more in a bed, which appears to be never changed or cleaned. Four or five beds in some rooms.

White's Rents, Shadwell. Dwellings of wood, inferior to common cattle-sheds; yet, because they had not been pulled down, they were inhabited by Irish families, who could not afford to live elsewhere, and were the prolific foci of fever to the surrounding neighbourhood.

Alfred and Beckwith Rows. Heaps of filth accumulated in

the space meant for gardens. Common privies open, and in the most offensive state. Six persons were found in one very small room—two in bed ill with fever. In the room above two more persons in one bed ill with fever. In the same room woman carrying on silk-winding. Window small, but firmly pasted all round, so that no air can enter.

These preliminary investigations were followed by further enquiry, and the result was embodied in Mr (afterwards Sir) Edwin Chadwick's report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population issued by the Poor Law Commissioners in 1842. This was the forerunner of even more elaborate enquiries, and of the creation of the Board of Health in 1848. Down to that date it would have been a misstatement to say that the public authority neglected its duty, for no one maintained that it had any duty. Public opinion had not yet comprehended the close dependence of health on sanitary arrangements.

It is a curious and, in its way, a very important peculiarity of measures of administrative reform, that though conceived by men of scientific attainments, they are often marred, in the eyes of their projectors, by illogical compromises, and by being entrusted for execution to the wrong persons. Sir Edwin Chadwick, who was the most active spirit in the new movement, was undoubtedly a man of great ingenuity in devising administrative reforms; but, as he himself was never tired of declaring, his plans were bereft of a great part of their value by being entrusted for execution to local authorities who were at once ignorant, self-sufficient, and incapable of learning. The fallacy of the phrase 'local self-government' roused his bitterest anger (see pamphlet on 'Unity,' p. 84, 1885). He points out that great knowledge and research are needed to understand the sanitary requirements of the age; and that, in the one twenty-thousandth chance of bringing such knowledge to any useful purpose in recording a vote, there is little encouragement to undergo the labour preliminary to arriving at a correct judgment. 'The consequence is,' he remarks grimly, 'that the neglected "self-government" generally falls into the hands of persons whose time is worthless, or into ignorant and wasteful hands, or into the hands of obscure persons who have some sinister interests to promote.' We English have always disliked the idea of a bureaucracy, and have been

content to put up with local incompetence of the most glaring description rather than face the possibly tyrannous rule of an expert, salaried, and responsible bureaucracy. An eloquent and forcible expression of Sir E. Chadwick's views, arrived at independently we believe, has recently been given by Mr T. C. Horsfall of Macclesfield, who, at a conference at the Clothworkers' Hall in July 1900, summed the matter up thus:

'The first step towards the better housing of the labouring classes must be the recognition by the central Government of certain truths; and the second necessary step is the creation by that Government, in every part of the kingdom, of authorities intelligent, honest, and powerful enough to enforce regulations giving effect to the truths.'

Alas! the difficulty is still that of jesting Pilate: What is truth? Sir E. Chadwick's opinions at that time were probably those held by the best scientific authorities.

'The comparatively recent mode of cleansing adopted in the wealthy and newly-built districts, by the use of water-closets and the discharge of all refuse at once from the house through the drain into the sewers, saved the delay and the previous accumulation, and it also saved the expense of the old means of removal.' ('Health of Nations,' vol. ii, p. 16.)

'Truth' in sanitary matters demanded the water carriage of town sewage. Its economy, salubrity, and avoidance of culpable waste, form the subject of many dithyrambic pages in the literature of that day. The anxious enquirer, at the present day, will very properly be referred to the works of the leading sanitary authority in this country, Dr G. V. Poore. Glancing at the preface to the second edition of his volume on 'Rural Hygiene,' we find the author remarking, 'Not a single critic has suggested that the principles advocated are otherwise than sound.' Even jesting Pilate might be willing to pause here for a reply, for with such a consensus of opinion we are surely about to be put in possession of the very essence of truth. But alas! the matter is by no means so simple.

The main thesis of Dr Poore's contribution to sanitary science is—

'that the mixing of putrescible matter with water is a fundamental scientific error, which leads to the dissemination of

water-borne diseases, the pollution of rivers, and the poisoning of wells. Whether such methods be regarded by the modern light of bacteriology, or by the evils and expenses of which they are notoriously the cause, they must be condemned as unscientific, thriftless, and immoral. They are unscientific because they encourage putrefaction and hinder nitrification; they are thriftless because they merely waste or practically destroy that which, rightly used, should be a source of profit and productiveness; and they are immoral because by merely "passing on" our refuse, to be a nuisance elsewhere than on our own premises, we show a forgetfulness of our duty towards our neighbour, and we do unto others that which we are unwilling that others should do unto us' (*ibid.*, p. 10).

If there is any truth in this view—and we confess ourselves to be in agreement with Dr Poore's criticism—there is a hopeless divergency between science and the practice of local sanitary authorities. Dr Poore recognises the hopelessness of the situation; his only desire now is that, by his warning, rural districts may be prevented from following the example of towns. The towns are irrevocably committed to an unscientific system. The sewerage of a town has always of necessity been held a monopoly of the local government, and it is well that we should recognise what are the penalties of a monopoly. By means of what Lord Beaconsfield in 'Sybil' called the Dutch system of finance, we have secured the benefit of this now condemned plan of sanitation, by the institution of a vast local debt; and we have been deprived of the advantage of the automatic writing off of unprofitable expenditures of capital which is inevitable in trades carried on at the risk of the private adventurer.

The industry of house-building in towns has been permitted to private enterprise, but by common consent the drainage of towns has been a municipal monopoly, with the result that till the time of Sir E. Chadwick little or nothing was done, and that after his time the water carriage of sewage was adopted, as being, according to contemporary opinion, the most scientific. The management, however (this we presume would be Sir E. Chadwick's defence), was entrusted not to experts but to the local politician, who was quite unable to follow the development of scientific knowledge and to correct previous errors. The consequence is that we are hopelessly com-

mitted to a plan of sewage treatment which experts tell us is radically unsound.

Even if we assume, as against Dr Poore, that water carriage of sewage is the only practicable one in large towns, every one who has had anything to do with the poorer class of tenants knows how difficult it is to keep the drains and sanitary arrangements of their houses in good working order. The system may be convenient and cheap, but it is not easily made safe and sanitary, especially in the poorer tenements.

This, then, is the first difficulty which has to be overcome. Other difficulties may be enumerated, many of them, like that of sewage, arising from the nature of things. For instance, the letting and hiring of house-room is a contract involving covenants of prolonged duration, demanding from a proletariat class a respect for contract which as yet is not a fully developed instinct. Every lease, even of a single room, implies an obligation on the part of the tenant, not only to pay rent, but to use the property carefully and to return it, if not in habitable repair, at least without structural damage. Now any one who has experience of this class of property knows how heavy are the losses from wilful damage and careless neglect. We have ourselves seen rooms, where window frames have been torn from their place, and used presumably for firewood. Mr Henry Spalding, addressing the Royal Institute of British Architects ('Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' April 1900), relates some of his experience as adviser to a Dwellings company:—

'I found I had to specify some peculiar things in order that the Society might not have the premises taken away bit by bit by the tenants. For instance, the wood skirtings had to be taken up, and cement skirtings put in their stead, as the tenants removed the former to light their fires. All lead pipes had to be avoided, and iron substituted, as that could not be so easily removed, and was, moreover, of little value.'

Bad tenants produce bad landlords, and the rift between the two classes easily extends. Each party is apt to protect himself by evading a liberal and honest performance of his contract; and the breach grows irreparable. An analogy, at once close and instructive, is furnished by the history of usury. The instinct, here also, towards

evasion, when an onerous covenant has to be performed, is very strong. Instead of the helpful relations which obtain between a banker and his customers, we are apt to find, in the humbler transactions of credit, mutual and unfortunately well-grounded distrust between the money-lender and his victim. One of the most beautiful expositions of the true beneficence of the economic order is to be found in the successful restoration of just fiduciary relations between lenders and borrowers of humble means which has been carried out by the co-operative banking system of Raiffeisen and his imitators, in Germany and Italy, and for which a promising start has been obtained by Mr Horace Plunkett in Ireland.

It is to this same principle that we must ascribe the success of the system of house management inaugurated by Miss Octavia Hill, and described in the little book named at the head of this article.* Anyone can build a house, but it requires a great deal of tact and patience, when it is let to rough tenants, to preserve their good-will, to induce them to adopt the habits of discipline required by our associated life, to obtain their aid in gradually improving the accommodation, and withal to earn a reasonable interest on the money invested. It is worth while noticing that this educational work, which really holds one key of the situation, has not been, and, so far as we can see, cannot be, touched by the local authorities who have entered on the trade of builders, nor, except to a very limited extent, by the great Industrial Dwellings companies.

These companies have practically picked their tenants. One (the East End Dwellings Co.) started with the professed object of catering for the lowest class, but large blocks inhabited by rough tenants proved very difficult to manage; and now practically all of the Dwellings companies take the position that they must provide for the better class of artisan, who presumably vacates quarters which are filled by the poorer class. The County Council has been met by the same difficulty, and admittedly has followed the precedent of the companies. This point of view is of great importance, for the difficulty is not to be overcome by a mere extension of building, necessary though that may be. Nor is the case met by enacting penalties against bad

* Cf. Miss Hill's valuable letter to the 'Times,' March 4th, 1901.

landlords, for, as Bentham long ago showed in the case of usury, such penalties only oblige the landlord to raise his terms against his tenants. There is among the poorest class a certain deficiency of sanitary sense, which constitutes a large part of the difficulty of providing them with good accommodation.

A still more serious difficulty is created by the rates. Our system of local rating may be defended on the ground that it is an income tax, assessed on the value of the ratepayer's house—a rough but not inequitable method of estimating his ability to pay. Not only has he to pay for services which have hitherto been performed for him by the rating authority, but of late years we have seen a considerable enlargement of the doctrine of parochial and civic status. Poor-relief on more elaborate and costly scale, education, libraries, and many other advantages have been secured to individuals, not as the result of contract, but as perquisites of their status as citizens. We pass no opinion on the policy, but it is perfectly obvious that, as Mr Spencer has remarked, we cannot build in this way without unbuilding to a corresponding extent elsewhere. When a poor man pays his rent, he is paying not only for his house-room, but for his share in certain other things which are being done for him. Speaking roughly, about one-fourth of the sum which the town workman pays, nominally for rent, is not for rent, but for rates. Public opinion, in its anxiety to promote the relief and education of the poor, has brought it about that between 3*d.* and 4*d.* of every shilling paid in rent is taken by the public authority to pay for many admirable things which have nothing to do with houses. There has been a good deal of idle talk about the incidence of rates. The main point is that if landlords retain for themselves only 8*d.* or 9*d.* out of the shilling, paying the balance to the public authority, supply will be restricted until the demand has forced up the rent to a sum sufficient to pay the normal rate of interest as well as the sum due to the public authority.

All of these causes have prevented the rapid increase and improvement of houses. Demand and supply have never got into sufficiently close touch to ensure the advantages which free trade elsewhere inevitably produces. Progress in this matter has lagged so far behind knowledge and expectation that legislation has been deemed necessary,

prescribing, in mediæval fashion, the quality of the supply which the builder or owner may put upon the market. However salutary and necessary this may have been, it is obvious that it removes the question still further from the commercial principle which sees in demand for a good article the surest and cheapest method of obtaining a suitable supply. In default of this, legislation urging landlords to give what is practically 14*d.* worth of house room for a shilling rent has proved a somewhat unproductive policy.

The circumstances have discouraged, but not altogether stopped, private enterprise; and, though the workman has had to pay a higher price for his accommodation, an impartial survey of the evidence convinces us that he was never better housed than at the present time. There is doubtless much overcrowding, but this evil is not greater than it has been; and it occurs in tenements which in themselves are superior to those of a former generation. In estimating the nature and amount of overcrowding, it is necessary to distinguish lodging-houses and furnished apartments, which are practically uninspected lodging-houses, from the tenements inhabited by the industrial classes. The lodging-house and the furnished apartment are chiefly occupied by persons who wish to avoid the responsibility of domestic ties; and their condition is a part of the problem of vagrancy rather than of housing. It is in this class that excessive overcrowding occurs. This, however, is something quite different from the normal domestic economy of the labourer.

The present dissatisfaction comes from two sources. First, the growth of a better sanitary sense has caused a demand for house-room, which, though always pressing hard on supply, has still been met to some extent by commercial enterprise. Secondly—and this, we believe, is the occasion of the present outcry—the poor find that, amid conditions otherwise greatly ameliorated, improvement in dwellings is very slow, and that higher rents are required to secure each improvement in accommodation. We are so accustomed to lower prices, which, thanks to free trade, now rule for most of the necessities of life, that we resent with perhaps unreasonable impatience the rising price of house-room. The causes of an exceptional rise at the present moment are admitted and well known.

Within the last ten years two new influences have made themselves felt, and increased the difficulty of an already difficult situation. There has been a rise in the cost of building, estimated at over thirty per cent. This is partly due to dearer materials, but mainly to dearer labour. It has become therefore more and more difficult to put a good house on the market at a price which the workman will pay without bitter complaint. The high price of materials has, we believe, to a certain extent begun to cure itself by the natural operation of the market. The high wages of artisans engaged in all branches of the building trade are due, it may be hoped, to more permanent causes. The prosperous trade of the country, the rise of agricultural wages, tending to check the townward migration of labour, and generally the greater mobility which enables the labourer to avoid a falling and seek a rising market for his services, are legitimate advantages based on stable causes, and are not likely to be removed, but rather to be enhanced by the operation of economic competition. Part of the increase, it is alleged, is due to less legitimate causes. To some extent it is due not to the demand of the market, reflected, as it were, from the greater prosperity of the rest of the population, but to the coercive action of trade unions. The different operations of the building trade are divided up among artisans as if they were members of distinct oriental castes—a senseless and costly restriction on enterprise. Further, it is complained on all sides by employers that work is unduly protracted, and that, though higher wages are paid, less work is done. All these devices for increasing sectional and temporary gain, at the cost of the general industrial efficiency, are detrimental to the workman in the long run, and to the consumer, as well as to the employer; and, in so far as they are carried out by coercion, they deserve reprobation.

This rise of cost has put a check on private enterprise; and the diminished prospect of profit has, by a strange inconsequence, brought new competitors into the field. Owing to the alleged inability of private enterprise to meet the emergency, the London County Council and the Borough Councils are now embarking on the industry of house-building. To the scientific observer this has for some time appeared inevitable. So long ago as 1851 Mr

Herbert Spencer* predicted exactly what has since occurred. The passage in his earlier volume is too long for quotation, but in the later publication he thus sums up his more detailed warning:—

‘The policy initiated by the Industrial Dwellings Acts admits of development, and will develope. . . . What must happen? The multiplication of houses, and especially small houses, being increasingly checked, there must come an increasing demand upon the local authority to make up for the deficient supply. . . . Manifestly the tendency of that which has been done, is being done, and is presently to be done, is to approach the socialistic ideal, in which the community is sole house-proprietor.’

In London we are face to face with a dilemma. If the County and Borough Councils are merely going to be house speculators on a moderate scale, the influence of their action will be inconsiderable. To a certain extent it will discourage ordinary tradesmen and oblige them to curtail their building speculations; but the trade is accustomed to discouragement, and being able to work more cheaply and intelligently than a public body which has still to pay for its experience, need not fear municipal competition, if confined within moderate limits. In this case improvement will go on slowly as before, amid the usual mutual recriminations and hot and cold fits of public attention. The County Council, however, takes itself very seriously and arouses much enthusiasm; and there are many indications of its determination to pursue a course which must secure for it a monopoly of the building trade. It has long been known to the Dwellings companies that it was quite impossible to deal with the Council for the purchase of areas cleared under the Act. The majority of the Council wanted to undertake the trade of building themselves.

The dilemma is well put by Mr R. W. de Forest, a well-known citizen of New York, who spoke at the conference at the Clothworkers' Hall:—

‘Municipal building of working men's homes will not accomplish its purpose, because if initiated on a business basis (which is easy), and maintained on a business basis (which is

* ‘Social Statics’ (ed. 1851), p. 384: ‘Man versus the State’ (1884), p. 35.
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very difficult), it cannot compete successfully with private ownership; and if not maintained on a business basis, and therefore containing the element of bounty, it must provide for all, and involve plans so vast as to be impracticable.

As things are at present, we are drifting towards a municipal monopoly, a thing which, as Mr de Forest remarks, will be found impracticable.

The objections to a municipal monopoly are numerous. The ratepayer is, it is true, the helpless victim of a policy of drift; but, notwithstanding the momentum which is now carrying him along, we do not believe that he is prepared to entrust elected bodies, for whose competence he has no real guarantee, with the many millions of money which are required for a spirited housing policy. In time the department will become another starved department. This is most certain to be the case, if, as is probable, the new business is conducted at a loss. The only justification for a municipal house supply is that the houses shall be cheaper and better than those supplied by private enterprise; and to do this, with the less efficient management of a public department, is bound to involve loss.

Even if, as enthusiastic advocates argue, the service is profitable, it is difficult to see how a continuity of improvement is to be secured in an undertaking from which competition is banished. There is evidence that in places where the public authority has secured a monopoly of the liquor trade, there is considerable temptation to earn a profit on behalf of the ratepayers, and to neglect the original object of the arrangement, viz. a reduction of the sale of intoxicants. When the electric telegraph was invented it was offered to the Government and declined, on the ground that 'we have a very good semaphore system'; and until private enterprise took up the invention no progress was made. Similarly when an improvement is suggested to the authority which has secured a monopoly of building, it will say that the scale of accommodation has been carefully considered, and that the Council sees no necessity for an alteration of the estimates and sanitary rules laid down by its thoroughly competent staff of surveyors and officers of health. The members of the Council will reflect that the profit earned in the housing department is extremely convenient, not to say necessary.

for carrying out (let us say) a spirited recreation policy, whereby the younger members of its subject population may obtain convenient cubic spaces for rope-skipping, peg-topping, and cricket—a benevolent proposal which would excite much enthusiasm. What, again, is the proper scale of comfort which ought to obtain in a workman's dwelling? Ought it, for instance, to have a service of hot and cold water all over the house? The answer in earlier days was: Certainly, if the tenant is willing and able to pay for it. Under a municipal monopoly this will be settled by public debate and impassioned appeal to the eternal fitness of things.

Elementary education has been made a municipal monopoly. The nature of the teaching, and the religious dogmas to be imparted to the children, have become the subject of bitter party recriminations. The positions and salaries of the staff are largely dictated by the Teachers' Union. Education is a great public boon, and these are inconveniences which we must bear. The system, however, it may be noted, is workable only because the beneficiaries (*i.e.* the parents and children) for the most part adopt an obstructive, rather than a propulsive attitude. If, as is proposed, the housing industry is cut adrift from the market, and entrusted as a public service to popularly elected bodies such as County and Borough Councils, their procedure will draw a continuous running fire of agitation not only from their employes, but from their tenants. It has been suggested by the town clerk of Birmingham, himself an ardent advocate of municipal enterprise, that municipal employes should be disqualified as voters. This seems a reasonable suggestion, but it would be impracticable to deprive municipal tenants of a vote. Already, we are informed, in certain provincial towns where the municipality has entered into the building trade, the risk of corruption appears so formidable that public opinion strongly favours a transfer of the municipal houses to a non-political trust. Even with this safeguard, it is not easy to see how the danger of corruption is to be avoided.

It seems to us inevitable that the business element in the municipal supply of houses will be thrust out, and that the system will become a disreputable mixture of politics and charity. When the monopoly of new houses has been

secured, and the quality of the houses fixed not by the market, but by electioneering agitation, the difficulties of the private owner will increase. Responsible landlords will get rid of their property, and it will fall into the hands of small dealers, who will endeavour to recoup their losses by driving up rents, by neglecting repairs, and by overcrowding. Agitation will be raised against this class, which is very largely composed of men who are or have been working men. The municipality will then be urged to acquire a depreciated investment, and so impose further burdens on ratepayers; or, as we find recommended by Mr Haw in a series of articles reprinted from a daily paper, we shall be required in this twentieth century to establish a fair-rent court after the ominous example of Ireland. The proposal at present may appear too ridiculous for serious discussion, but it is the logical result of long continuance in a reactionary policy.

Let us now leave the general objections and consider some of the difficulties which have to be overcome, whether the supply is in the hands of private traders or of a public authority. There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that regulations and bye-laws under the Building Acts are needlessly stringent and vexatious. This is the opinion of persons like Miss Octavia Hill, managing private property, and of the Dwellings companies; though in the latter case the statement has, in our hearing, been tempered by the remark: 'They suit us well enough, as they crush out smaller competitors; it is only the larger capitalist who can comply with them.' But perhaps the strongest proof of the undue stringency of these regulations is to be found in the fact that, when the municipalities begin their operations, they also find the rules prohibitive. A curious instance of this is given by Mr Honeyman, R.S.A., in a paper published in the 'Journal of the Royal Inst. of Brit. Architects,' 3rd ser., vol. vii, No. 11. The building regulations of Glasgow, twenty years ago, were of such a character that it would have been impossible to build blocks like the Peabody and Waterlow dwellings in London. 'The prohibition of such buildings in other large cities is a serious evil.' The consequence of these regulations has been that 'during the last ten years not one single house of 6*l.* and under has been erected by private enterprise,' ('House' in the phraseology of

Glasgow means a separately occupied tenement.) On the contrary, owing to clearances, the number has decreased. The Corporation itself erected seventy-nine such tenements. Mr Honeyman, however, calculates that at least two hundred such houses per annum are required, and that a deficiency of about two thousand has accrued. The Glasgow Corporation has taken no steps to supply this deficiency. It has indeed done what was being abundantly done by private enterprise, namely, built some highly rented dwellings for a superior class of artisan. That there is an adequate supply of such houses is proved 'by the latest returns of the Glasgow city assessor, which show that in 1898 the number of houses—chiefly artisans' dwellings—returned as unoccupied was 4,642.' The result, of course, is great overcrowding. If house-room of a simple and inexpensive character is declared illegal, the only way the poor can practise a necessary economy is by sharing with others structures of a superior quality. The need of removing, in the interest of their own building speculations, some of the restrictions which have killed private enterprise

'has evidently at last dawned on the civic mind, and in the Glasgow Building Regulations Bill, 1900, before the present Parliament, clause 133, part 14, provides, *inter alia*, "The Dean of Guild may, with the consent of the Corporation . . . relax or modify to such extent as he may think proper all or any of the provisions of this Act, or of the Act of 1866, or of any by-laws made in virtue of this Act in any of the cases following, viz.: Blocks of labourers' dwellings containing more than twenty-four separate dwelling-houses."'

At 'an important Housing Conference' held at Bristol,* at which Mr W. Thompson, of Richmond, Surrey, a gentleman who has been an active promoter of municipal building, was the principal speaker, unanimous resolutions were passed, *inter alia*, in favour of relaxing 'The Model Bye-law of the Local Government Board, which prohibits the building of an attic third floor on the nine-inch wall of a cottage.' Some municipal Solomon pointed out to an appreciative conclave that 'this could be done by a stroke of the pen, and would enable a third bed-room, so often needed, to be added to a cottage at a very small cost,

* 'Westminster Gazette,' February 18th, 1901.

thus reducing the proportionate rent of cottages by at least a shilling a week.' No notice seems to have been taken of the 'stroke of the pen' that had for so long deprived the poor of this very obvious convenience. To this demand Mr Long has promised favourable consideration.* The point is of considerable importance, in view of the fact that the vast majority of the London poor live in streets of cottages. Most of this property is held on building leases granted in the first half of last century, and many of them are now falling in. Opportunities for reconstruction are therefore becoming frequent. Cottages will have to give place to more commodious buildings. The tendency of existing bye-laws is to obstruct inexpensive alterations. Larger schemes of rebuilding require capital and the intervention of the big Dwellings companies. Many of these have already large estates, and, in the present unpropitious state of the trade, are inclined to hold their hands. The expiring leaseholds are often in fairly good repair, though occasionally demolition and rebuilding will be necessary. There is here a considerable opening for enterprise of a semi-philanthropic character, or perhaps for corporate effort on the part of congregations of rich neighbourhoods. Dole-giving is happily out of fashion; and, as missions from richer communities, churches, colleges, and schools appear to be popular, we venture respectfully to recommend the business of house-management as a suitable outlet for their effort. This might be attempted either on the plan of Miss Octavia Hill, or by the erection of model dwellings with the advice and assistance of the successful Dwellings companies. It is here, in larger dwellings erected on the vast area now covered by leasehold cottages, and not in the suburban estates about to be developed by the London County Council, that the labouring population of London will probably prefer to live.

Again, with regard to rebuilding on cleared areas in the central parts of London, very interesting economic problems arise, which are quite as difficult for municipal as for private enterprise. Owing to the terms of the clearance Acts, and to the public spirit of great landlords like the late Duke of Westminster, certain areas have been devoted, at prices much below their market rate, to

* 'Standard,' March 8th, 1901.

artisans' dwellings. Now, it has been correctly pointed out that the high price of land at great centres of population is a sort of economic storm-signal, showing that an area is already full, and putting pressure, on persons intending to build, to move further away. But, it is said, poor people in certain trades must be near their work. Fortunately, however, the poor are ceasing to be the helpless victims of a semi-servile immobility; and there is a converse side to the question. Manufacturers must be near their labourers. The economic pressure on the labourer to live away from the centre is not greater than that which is urging many manufacturers to move in the same direction. The economic prompting both to employer and employed is towards dispersion. The advice of sanitary science is equally strong. Dr Poore discourses learnedly on the prevalence of air-borne germs of disease in crowded areas, even though there is no overcrowding per room. Already there is a considerable movement away from London; and, in leaving town by any great line, we may see an increasing number of manufacturing buildings, each with its complement of labourers' cottages. This shifting of industry is no novel feature in economic history. The decay of the mediæval chartered towns has usually been ascribed to the burdensomeness of municipal and guild regulation; and without doubt the disabilities of heavily taxed urban centres of population have to a certain extent the same effect.

Now the result of building, whether by private munificence or at the charge of the rates, in these central districts, is to neutralise the economic and sanitary pressure which is urging manufacturers to seek a new home amid healthier conditions. The policy involves a bounty to such manufacturers, by enabling them to house their labourers near their present inconveniently situated works at the cost of the charity or rates of the community.

Fortunately, in such matters, appeal can be made to the public spirit of all classes of Englishmen. We doubt if the sacrifice made by the great landlords of London to what they regard as their duty has ever been sufficiently recognised. We are also doubtful whether it has been as beneficial as it deserved to be. The time has come, however, when appeal might fairly be made to the manufacturers, the more confidently because we are asking them to act

with and not against the economic pressure of the hour. Let them recognise the signs of the time, and, taking an intelligent view of their interests, let them carry their trades and their workmen into the country.

The general result of the policy pursued by the late Metropolitan Board of Works and the County Council has been to pull down more accommodation than they have built up, as the following table will show. The figures are compiled from the report of Mr Stewart, the late Clerk of the Council.

	Number of persons displaced.	Numbers provided for.	Numbers in course of being provided for.
<i>Rehousing, &c., by Metropolitan Board of Works under Acts 1875 to 1882</i>	22,868	27,780	—
(Rebuilding carried out by Peabody Trustees and similar bodies.)			
<i>Rehousing, &c., undertaken by Metropolitan Board of Works, and completed by Council under Acts 1875 to 1890</i>	6,188	2,366	564
(With one small exception, the rebuilding done by L.C.C.)			
<i>Rehousing, &c., by L.C.C., under Act of 1890</i>	16,278	6,808	9,416
<i>Rehousing, &c., by vestries and district boards under Part II of Act 1890</i>	4,042	820	260
(Other schemes under consideration of Local Government Board.)			
	49,376	37,774	10,240
		48,014	

The above table gives the municipality credit for the rehousing done by private enterprise on the sites cleared by the Metropolitan Board of Works. If we deduct the 4900 odd persons re-housed by the private companies over and above the number displaced by the Metropolitan Board of Works, there appear some 6200 who have been displaced and not re-housed by the action of the municipal authority. The figures vary from day to day, and it is not necessary to insist on their absolute accuracy, because no one pretends that the persons displaced are the identical persons re-housed. The dispossessed population has been driven out, and contributes its share to the over-

crowding in the lower parts of the town. Hitherto, at all events, the building of the London County Council and kindred bodies has not increased the house-room of the poorest class, but rather the reverse. The statement is not made by way of complaint. Parts I and II of the Housing Act, 1890, the consolidating statute which governs the subject, contain provisions for dealing with insanitary areas and houses, and are only incidentally concerned with rehousing. Hitherto the public authorities have only acted on the powers contained in Parts I and II. As has been clearly pointed out in a circular of the Local Government Board (23rd June, 1900), the public authorities have very ample powers in this respect. There is, however, a very general reluctance on the part of the local authorities, and of the magistrates, to put these powers in force, on the ground that overcrowding is already excessive, and that, after all, bad accommodation is better than none.

Mr C. S. Jones, in the 'Fortnightly Review' for December 1900, attacked the Progressive majority for not taking advantage of Part III of the Housing Act. By Part III of that Act the County Council was authorised to acquire compulsorily or by agreement land for the purpose of building and to erect dwellings on it. By the Act of 1900 the County Council and the Borough Councils are authorised to apply Part III to the purchase of land outside their own boundaries, and to build on it. The Council accordingly, in addition to some important undertakings in London, has purchased, or is about to purchase, land at Tooting, Norbury, Tottenham, and elsewhere, and is now embarking in a large building scheme. At the date of Mr Stewart's report, provision was being made for some 18,000 persons in London; and according to a report of the Housing Committee dated 20th February, 1901, the Council had under consideration projects for housing 42,500 persons at Tottenham, and some 8532 at Tottenham Fields Estate, Tooting.

If and when this programme is carried out, the Council will be among the largest owners of artisans' dwellings in the neighbourhood of London; but even then its operations, relatively to the whole of this class of property, will be infinitesimal. It will have succeeded in stopping much private enterprise. According to present estimates it is to spend a million and a half in providing tene-

ments, for the most part highly rented, in the suburbs. For a fourth-class cottage of two or three rooms it is proposed to charge 6s. and 6s. 6d.; and only 336 of these are to be built, as against upwards of 4000 at higher rents, from 7s. to 10s. 6d. This with railway fare will make the cost of the cheapest tenements about 8s. a week. No doubt good value is given for the money, but such rents will not be paid cheerfully by the lower grades of London wage-earners.

There is, moreover, abundant evidence to show that suburban building at these rents is being carried on vigorously by private enterprise. The capital of Building Societies and even Friendly Societies is largely employed in this industry; and, unless our information is altogether wrong, it is a trade requiring caution. Development of suburban property cannot be hurried, and houses can only be let and sold gradually. The demand for them is by no means unlimited. The County Council may anticipate private enterprise at Tottenham, Tooting, Croydon, and elsewhere; but such action will not remove the difficulty of putting house accommodation on the market at a price which the poor man is willing to pay.

The flow of population from London is not solely dependent on the provision of suburban houses. It proceeds gradually because there are many inducements to remain in central parts, in spite of crowding. The quasi-almsynary rents of model dwellings tend to retain both population and industries which might otherwise migrate. Moreover, unless we are mistaken, the rebuilding of the cottage area of London will prove a formidable competition to suburban expansion. With this point we have already dealt. It remains to mention another restraining influence, namely, deficiency of transit.

The great importance of this aspect of the question is acknowledged. Quite recently Mr Charles Booth and Mr Balfour have made contributions to the subject. Mr Booth's suggestion* is 'a large and really complete scheme of railways, underground and overhead, as well as a network of tram lines on the surface, a system extending beyond the present metropolitan boundaries into the outskirts of London, wherever the population had gone or

* 'Times,' February 12th, 1901.

might go.' Mr Balfour's proposal* is hardly less ambitious. It consists in asking a careful consideration 'for a system of radiating thoroughfares confined to rapid (say fifteen miles an hour or over) traffic (this is absolutely essential), and with a surface designed, not for carts or horses, but for some form of autocar propulsion.' These are counsels of perfection; and it might be well in the meantime to consider the facilities which are now given or withheld by tramway and railway enterprise. In London, tramways have been practically annexed as a municipal monopoly; and great promises are made as to the superior service which is shortly to be given to the public. It is the old story: first cripple an industry and then annex it because it is inefficient. This is an age of doubt; but we cannot so far set aside the principles of English free trade as to believe in the benefit to be secured by a reintroduction of governmental monopoly. Competent authorities, it may be remarked in passing, have argued that our London distances are too long and our streets too crowded to allow a ride of seven or eight miles in a tramway to be a feasible method of escape from our great city. To pass out of London rapidly the railway must probably for a long time be our principal aid. We have legislative enactments for procuring workmen's trains. It is noteworthy (and somewhat analogous to the already quoted action of the Glasgow Corporation) that the legislature, having imposed a duty on passenger traffic generally, and finding that this is prohibitive of cheap locomotion, has felt itself obliged to remit this tax in respect of working-class passengers by certain trains. The result is not altogether satisfactory. It is impossible to get business men to expand a class of trade which involves a financial loss.

In the report of the Housing Committee to the London County Council, to which we have already alluded, a description is given of the Tottenham purchase. Part of the site will be served by the Palace Gates and Green Lanes stations on the Great Eastern Railway. 'There are at present no workmen's trains from these stations; but the Council has prepared a case against the Company for a service of workmen's trains on this branch.' No sound economic development can take place by this method of extorting

* 'Standard,' February 15th, 1901.

service. That a development of working-class suburban traffic would pay we firmly believe; but, if it is to be a really progressive and useful service, it must be developed on business lines. Be this as it may, the obligation laid on railway companies to accommodate working-class passengers at a low rate has at least an intelligent object. But what can be said of the policy of obstruction adopted by public authorities toward railway companies which seek to acquire space and licence for extending their suburban traffic? The following examples have been given us by a competent authority and have occurred within the last few years. The Midland Railway recently sought to buy a closed graveyard. Over and above the purchase-money, they were compelled to pay 10,000*l.* to the St Pancras Vestry for purchase of an open space elsewhere. The Midland Railway chairman has since publicly stated that his Company is not prepared to spend money on London suburban traffic, as it costs more than it is worth. The London and North Western Railway proposed to make a new suburban station on the north-west portion of the Euston Square garden. This is not a public garden, but appurtenant to the houses, all of which the Company owned already. The London County Council and the St Pancras Vestry opposed the Bill, and it was thrown out. The Company has since introduced a smaller and less complete scheme. A similar policy has been pursued by the Manchester Corporation with regard to proposed extensions by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, which on two occasions has withdrawn schemes for extending accommodation for suburban traffic, because of the onerous responsibility which it was sought to cast on it in respect of street improvements. While we have every sympathy with the radiating overhead, underground, and motor-car tracks, proposed by the eminent projectors named above, it might, we submit, be more practical to put a stop to the policy of blackmail and suspicion which public authorities are allowed to wage against existing methods of locomotion.

When the Council has covered the home counties with groups of cottages, it may find that tenants are not readily forthcoming. It will then 'prepare cases against the railway companies' generally; and when the companies do not respond cheerfully to this flogging of a dead horse,

the Council will naturally seek to obtain control of the railways. It will then perhaps discover that some of the conditions under which railways are condemned to pursue their industry are as unreasonable as the building regulations which the Glasgow Corporation and the municipal meeting at Bristol are seeking to set aside. Speaking at a meeting of the Artisans', Labourers', and General Dwellings Company on March 7th, 1900, the chairman, Mr E. Noel, said that he was glad the London County Council was taking the matter up.

'They will be brought face to face with facts which they were not acquainted with—at least those who spoke on the subject appeared not to be acquainted with them. They have now built houses and blocks of houses, and, as you know, these buildings they are not able to let at as low a rate as ours, or, at any rate, as some of ours. . . . But, as I said before, I am glad the County Council have commenced, because now the public as well as themselves—the public who elect that body—will see that the difficulties are very great.'

The cost of acquiring wisdom by this process is likely to be high; and it is humiliating to think that the countrymen of Huskisson and Peel and Gladstone should have drifted so far from sound economic principles of finance as to require to be taught the rudiments of statecraft in this costly experimental fashion. But, as we have before remarked, we live in an age of doubt, and there is no good in denying the reactionary temper of the times. If we are wrong, we must accept, with humble admission of error, any advantage which may be won by a policy which seems to us as deplorable as it is inevitable. If on the other hand our fears prove to be right, we must endeavour to preserve our equanimity, and chronicle, without exultation, the fulfilment of our unfavourable forecast.

Art. VII.—HUMANISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

1. *La fin du Paganisme.* Par Gaston Boissier, de l'Académie Française. Paris: Hachette, 1891.
2. *Les femmes de la Renaissance.* Par R. De Maulde La Clavière. Paris: Perrin, 1898.
3. *Rembrandt als Erzieher.* Von einem Deutschen. 44te Auflage. Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1896.
4. *Studies in the History of the Renaissance.* By Walter H. Pater. Édition de Luxe. London: Macmillan, 1900.

THE republication of Walter Pater's works in an *édition de luxe*, starting appropriately with the 'Studies in the History of the Renaissance,' is an indication that the humanistic movement in this country, in its literary and æsthetic aspects, has not yet spent its force. To compare things great, as they loom in the past, with things small, as they appear in the light of the present day—just as in the clash of battle and the feuds of political parties in the days of the Renaissance some dallied with literature and art in quiet retreats, so now, among our leisured class, there is an inner circle who do not permit their pursuit of culture to be interfered with by the actualities of the hour, but will, at whatever cost, indulge their 'erudite voluptuousness.' The present, then, may be a propitious moment for dwelling on modern humanism and a phenomenon intimately connected with it, which has received much attention of late years, namely, the curious confluence of classical and Christian ideas in a synthesis of Pagan and Christian culture, deeply affecting religious thought.

To what extent this tendency prevailed in the dawn of Christianity, coinciding with the death of Paganism, has been shown with great ability in the work of M. Boissier placed at the head of this article. Others, with more or less success, have treated the same subject in dwelling on the comparative influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and their conjoint effect on modern thought. But it was a congenial task, reserved for Pater's peculiar genius, to trace with a gentle ardour the confluence of the two streams of Pagan culture and Christian civilisation, exhibited very remarkably in the working of his own mind and reflected in the general tone and tenor of his

work. Only a mind like his, steeped in classic lore, and open to all the influences of mediæval sentiment, could see, for example, in 'le beau Dieu' carved on the central pillar of the doorway of the cathedral at Amiens an anthropomorphic Greek element; or in the 'wheel of fortune' represented in the rose over the portal of its southwestern transept a secularising tendency calling attention to the joys and sorrows of human life. This blending of mediæval habits of thought with the antique, this frank acceptance of the Paganism of the Renaissance without any intention of renouncing what is essentially Christian, is a peculiar trait of Pater's criticism and philosophy. With a kind of instinctive binocular power of vision he takes into one point of view the two movements; and thus aptly becomes the representative of a school whose endeavour it is to reconcile the beauty of Pagan philosophy with the grace of religious faith. This tendency we shall now endeavour to analyse, with a view to discover what are the gains and the losses to modern thought arising from the revival of humanism, sometimes as a rival of religion, more often as a powerful factor in spiritual development, refining, regulating, amplifying religious life and thought.

For the origins of the humanistic movement we must go back to the fourth century and the gradual assimilation of antique thought by Christian writers, such as Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, and Claudian, themselves the representatives of what Niebuhr characterises as an early Renaissance, produced by the freshness and ardour of the new creed, trying to find a fit expression for its higher thought in cultured language, and therefore turning to 'the springs of antique wisdom' in order therewith to fertilise Christian thought. In the 'dark ages,' long before the full efflorescence of the Renaissance, in spite of the animosity of the Church towards culture, humanism had its secret devotees among scholars, clerical and lay—a kind of esoteric clique hiding its light from the profane crowd, but keeping up a certain continuity of thought and feeling, until papal Rome, either from taste or policy, absorbed Pagan culture, and, so to speak, Romanised literature.

Erasmus, 'Prince of Humanists,' or, as Froude calls him, the prophet of the Renaissance, in his enthusiasm for the 'new learning' and apparent lack of religious zeal,

in his many-sidedness as a master of style, a scholar, a poet, in his preference for moderation and peaceful development as opposed to the violence of militant Protestantism, may fitly be regarded as the ancestor of our modern devotees to culture. He was a Unionist too, if we may use the term, who never for a moment gave up the hope of preserving the alliance of culture and religion. 'May Christ's dove come among us, or else Minerva's owl,' he writes to Duke George, of Saxony. If at times he preferred worshipping at the shrine of Minerva to being with Christ in the temple, we know also, from his writings, that he was very apprehensive lest the revival of classical learning might lead to a recrudescence of Paganism with its demoralising tendencies. Erasmus, as a man of wit and humour—the 'mocking reformer,' as he was called, with Lucian for his favourite author—suggests a kindred mind at a later stage of the Renaissance, viz. Montaigne, an equally pronounced humanist, yet a professed Catholic, charmed by the religious tone of Romanism but far from convinced by the tenets of the Roman faith, handing down the succession in the apostolate of humanism to Goethe, 'the last Hellene,' as well as the archimandrite of the religion of culture in its modern dress, summed up in the formula 'To live resolutely in the whole, the good, the beautiful.'

For it is Goethe, not Heine, as Matthew Arnold suggests, who forms the connecting link between the earlier and the later Renaissance. True, Heine, in his ironic methods, reminds us at the same time of the *rire* of Montaigne and the *scepticisme riant* of Renan. But Goethe, in his more serious conception of self-culture, is the true parent of the modern culture movement, in its earnestness of purpose and high aims. It is he who, in his 'Allgemeinheit' and 'Heiterkeit,' to use Pater's expressions, represents the breadth and centrality, with blitheness and repose, which, as he tells us, are the essential marks of Hellenic culture. His influence on modern humanists cannot be over-rated; and Pater himself owes not a little to him in the breadth and depth of his culture, in the calm imperturbability of soul, the elegance of erudition, which are his main characteristics. But Goethe, at least in his prose, did not attain to, did not probably aim at, that *curiosa felicitas* which distinguishes Pater; as when he speaks of 'a certain tenuity and caducity' in Joachim de Bellay; of 'the visual

exactness' of Montaigne; of the 'inmost religious placidity' of Wordsworth. Equally happy is his characterisation of Plato, compressed into one succinct sentence: 'his temperance or austerity, æsthetically so winning, is attained only by the chastisement, the control, of a variously interested, a richly sensuous nature'; or the telling manner of describing the first effects of the Renaissance: 'how deeply the human mind was moved when, at the Renaissance, in the midst of a frozen world, the buried fire of ancient art rose up from under the soil.'

Pater's characteristic style is Hellenic, not so much in its blitheness, for it is less expressive of human joyousness in the spring-time of life than of the mellow maturity of autumn, as in the quality of ripeness which, as in the Hellenic ideal, he tells us, comes 'of a culture minute, severe, constantly renewed, rectifying, and concentrating its impressions into certain pregnant types . . . selecting, transforming, recombining the images it transmits, according to the choice of the imaginative intellect.' To this must be added the ineffable charm of a sober but never morbid tone of melancholy which pervades his writings. It is not 'that faintness and obscure dejection which clung like some contagious damp' to Coleridge's work, as Pater puts it in his 'Appreciations'; nor is it the ennui of modern Parnassians of the Degenerate type; it is the melancholy of introspection in an age when old and new faiths meet, in a transitional period which laments the lapse of the old and struggles with groping hands to take hold of the new. This leaves a hazy blurred effect on one's mind; it is exhibited in 'Marius the Epicurean' and 'Gaston de Latour,' and vividly suggests a similar state of mind in our own day. For this reason, too, Pater appears at times enigmatic: yet there is no lack of lucidity in his style. It is illuminated, moreover, as in the case of the enigmatic owner of the harp and the bow whom he paints in 'Apollo in Picardy,' by a seductive charm of colour and tone; whilst the magic of the impression is not that of instantaneous perception, but lingers on the mind as an image seen through a medium, the 'grey-blue' mist produced by his peculiar genius. Compared with Ruskin, whose manner is equally peculiar to himself, it might be said that Pater's style attracts by its subdued lustre, whilst that of Ruskin overpowers with its copious effulgence. Both are masters

of description; but, while Pater is distinguished by subtle delicacy, he is surpassed by Ruskin in the force of spontaneity. Pater does not seem to possess the same quick sense of outward things; but, while less alert and observant of detail, his descriptions of nature possess the Corot-like mist and Turner-esque film which give the charm of mystery. Pater seems to look at nature with the placid, contemplative, far-reaching glance of the visionary, drawing in his impressions slowly, ruminating rather than rapid in his mental operations; and the retarded movement in his reproduction of the scenes pictured on his mental retina suits well the general tone of his reflections in the minor key of musical reverie.

In the delineation of character in Pater's romances the portraiture, though exquisite, is far from perfect, mainly because the *dramatis personæ* are mere subsidiary figures brought in with a special view of showing the effect of the intellectual environment on their minds, rather than for the purpose of painting character and conduct in given situations. The intellectual or speculative interest predominates, and overshadows the interest attached to the dramatic development. This may be a fault inseparable from the philosophical romance; but Mr Shorthouse has shown how the difficulty may be partially overcome by means of introducing more of the human element. That there are faults in Pater's style, who will deny? But what he says of Lamb's shortcomings may be applied to his own—they are 'the little flies in the priceless amber of his Attic wit,' using the word wit in its earlier signification, for wit and humour are not Pater's forte.

Pater treats literature as distinctly a fine art, with the tact and taste of an accomplished 'master of sentences'; and he employs language as 'the visible vesture and expression of thought within in the written word.' Less picturesque than Carlyle, less florid than Ruskin, less insinuatingly insistent than Newman, he illustrates in his own writings what he advances as an axiom in his Essay on Style, that 'imaginative prose' is the 'special art of the modern world.' If sometimes he is too fanciful or ornate, almost affected in his methods of expression, it should be borne in mind that these are the transcript of his inmost thoughts into language; that the artistic form of words he selects is the best adapted for rendering his ideas

intelligible to his readers. What he says of Dante Gabriel Rossetti is true of himself :—

‘His own meaning was always personal and even recondite, in a certain sense learned and casuistical, sometimes complex and obscure . . . the just transcript of that peculiar phase of soul which he alone knew.’

For this reason Pater will ever be caviare to the multitude, but a source of supreme delight to all those who can appreciate conscientious and exquisite literary workmanship. He has the defects of those to whom literature is ‘a sort of cloistral refuge from a certain vulgarity in the actual world’; but such defects have their compensating excellences. Long dwelling in such places of retirement is apt, as he points out, to ‘beget an intellectual finesse of which the ethical result is a delicate and tender justice in the criticism of human life.’

We have dwelt at some length on the fascination and the minor faults of Pater’s style, for this will help us to understand more fully the character of the humanistic movement which it so faithfully reflects, and of which he is the accredited representative. We proceed next to enquire how this modern humanism differs from the humanism of the Renaissance, while bearing, in the most important features, a strong resemblance to it. In both there is the same ‘ardent interest in man as man.’ Both attach a supreme value to human aims and activities *per se*, human development and completion in a bright, free, and joyous existence, with the classical ideal of beauty of form predominating—a love, in short, for the natural man, his desires, aims, and enjoyments, refined by purely human culture. The resemblance arises out of similarity of circumstances—the ‘splendid materiality’ of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, which, as in the case of the ancient civilisation, amply provides the means and creates the desire for human enjoyment.

‘In an age,’ as Pater says of imperial Rome, in ‘Marius the Epicurean,’ ‘still materially so brilliant, so expert in the artistic handling of material things . . . how natural the determination to rely exclusively upon the phenomena of the senses, which certainly never deceive us about themselves, about which alone we can never deceive ourselves!’

Making due allowance for the influence of Christianity, which infuses a higher sentiment by spiritualising carnal delight in a sensuous age of culture, this is approximately true of the earlier and later Renaissance. A large number of passages might be cited, in illustration of this fact, from M. de Maulde la Clavière's interesting work on Platonism and the ladies of the Renaissance. There is the same inordinate desire for the enjoyment of nature and art, which produced in our own time, at an earlier stage of the culture movement, an epidemic of æstheticism. Moreover, as, in the former case, a reaction set in against the excesses and unhealthy excrescences of the culture movement, so we may now note a similar tendency. Thus, with an eye to modern decadents and degenerates in France, the writer above referred to, speaking of the Platonism of the Renaissance in its further effects, remarks:—

‘Pour être heureux, il faut s'élever au dessus de la matière . . . et par suite de la même idée il faut chercher le bonheur par la vraie vie; . . . l'art consistera donc à réaliser autant que possible la plénitude de la vie, c'est à dire à tirer du christianisme, qui est espérance et charité, une philosophie esthétique.’

But the real distinction between the old and the new humanism lies in this, that, while the former was a revolutionary movement for the liberation of thought, an attempt to escape from the gloom of mediæval religion and the bonds of mediæval philosophy into the freedom of an ideal cheerfulness, modern humanism, also a forward movement towards a higher culture, is less of a revolution than an attempt to effect a reconciliation of the moral and religious ideas of the age with the love of the beautiful in nature and man. The tendency of mediæval religion had been to depreciate man's nature; the tendency of the Renaissance to rehabilitate human nature, the body, the heart, the senses, the intellect. This antagonism is not so pronounced now; and Pater in his writings has done much to effect a reconciliation. ‘The perfection of culture,’ as he says in his studies of the Renaissance, ‘is not rebellion but peace; only when it has realised a deep moral stillness has it really reached its end.’

But beyond this process of pacification there is, on the

part of cultivated men and women in the present day, a yearning regard for the ages of faith, their healing virtue and invigorating force, which is in strong contrast to the repulsion felt by some of the leaders of the sixteenth century Renaissance for the religion of their day. Even so pronounced an advocate as Matthew Arnold speaks of the 'sad lucidity of soul,' yearning for something more than culture; and looks back with regret to the lost faith which he would fain revive and reform, so as to bring it into closer agreement with what is best in cultured thought. Modern culture seeks for a complement, and finds it in reasoned religion, which takes account of and provides for the serious exigencies of human life. 'Culture,' says the author of 'Natural Religion,' 'is properly a direction given to the development of life; but religion is the principle of life itself.'

True, we have our frank Pagans, like the late William Morris. But even Morris, whilst deriding the 'blindness to beauty' in some who associate what is dull and ugly with their peculiar religious convictions, expresses slight sympathy with the luxurious culture of the Renaissance, because its splendours were reserved for the few, for the favourites of fortune; whilst, as Pater has not failed to notice, the grace of Hellenism, relieved against the sorrow of the Middle Age, forms the chief motive of the 'Earthly Paradise,' because 'the two threads of sentiment are here interwoven and contrasted.'

The Renaissance still imparts the *fond gaillard* to that portion of modern humanity which dwells, so to speak, on the sunny side of life; those who dwell in the shadow only see its sterner realities, the sad and the serious aspects of it. Those, too, who study life and nature under scientific guidance, over-shadowed by 'the sombre greatness of the law' under which we live, and who listen to 'the low sad music of humanity,' feel the need of a consoling influence in tender sympathy with the undertones of modern life and experience. Studying the Renaissance as a whole, and viewing it with the severe scrutiny of historical criticism, on its real merits, they are apt to give it a place midway between the childhood of the world or its joyous youth and its maturer manhood. They consider its youthful illusions and escapades as forming part, indeed, of the education of humanity, but as insufficient

in themselves to complete the spiritual development of man. In short, the Pagan culture, at best, is no more than an early stage in the attainment of a higher life, and needs something which transcends the pleasures of the senses, however highly-trained, and the keen enjoyments of mind, however highly cultivated. 'Platonism,' says Pater in his book on Plato and Platonism, the result of his ripest thought, 'is in one sense an emphatic witness to the unseen, the transcendental, the non-experienced, the beauty, for instance, which is not for the bodily eye.'

This is the distinguishing mark of latter-day Hellenism, as tempered and corrected by modern science and modern thought. Its attitude is no longer that of antagonism to religion; it has no longer any desire to supplant religion by a 'gospel of culture'; it begins fully to acknowledge a latent power in religious faith to work out man's higher destiny. It calls to mind that the best work of the Renaissance itself was accomplished when 'the glow of mediæval faith' inspired it; that Michelangelo himself, coming to it

'with a genius spiritualised by the reverie of the Middle Age, penetrated by its spirit of inwardness and introspection, living not a mere outward life like the Greek, but a life full of inward experiences, sorrows, consolations,'

discovered that 'a system which sacrificed what was inward could not satisfy him'; and that

'for himself, he had long since fallen back on that divine ideal which, above the wear and tear of creeds, has been forming itself for ages as the possession of nobler souls. And now he began to feel the soothing influence which since that time the Catholic Church has often exerted over spirits too noble to be its subjects, yet brought within the neighbourhood of its action; consoled and tranquillised, as a traveller might be, resting one evening in a strange city.'

Does not Pater here indirectly speak his own thoughts, identifying himself with the subject of his description? It is the experience of all highly-cultured minds, this mixture of the artistic temper with the religious *timbre*, which renders them incapable of being satisfied without the tranquillising influence of some form of religion. In a great measure, no doubt, it is the result of early nurture

and religious associations. In the case of J. A. Symonds we have the biography, in Pater the self-revelations, conscious or unconscious, of his writings, to guide us in explaining this curious mental phenomenon—the co-existence of a profound love for all that is beautiful in nature and a quick sensibility for what is most lovable in art, with a tendency to religious doubt, which renders almost pathetic their genuine reverence for religion and longing for religious repose. Even as a boy, Symonds, whose ancestors in a long line had been Calvinistic Evangelicals, was so deeply affected by the divine beauty of Phœbus Apollo that he says 'it penetrated my soul and marrow.' The splendid vision of the youthful Hermes moved him, as a young man, to tears. He speaks in the same strain subsequently of the queenlike smile of the Venus of Milo awakening a Hellenistic enthusiasm in his soul. And he explains it in this way: 'Man loves man and nature: the pulse of human life, the contact with genial earth are the real things.'

This is the spontaneous renaissance of humanism in one nurtured in the faith of Puritanism. So Pater speaks of 'the outbreak of the human spirit' which may be traced far into the Middle Age itself, with its qualities already clearly pronounced—the care for physical beauty, the worship of the body, the breaking down of those limits which the mediæval religious system imposed on the heart and the imagination. But, as we noticed in Michelangelo a return to the soothing influences of the religion of his day, as was also the case in Goethe towards the close of his life, so in the case of some of our modern men of culture, such as Pater and Symonds, there comes a time when a yearning for the faith of their childhood comes back with a rush and a strong desire to recover it in one form or another. 'I would give a great deal,' Symonds once declared, 'to regain the Christian point of view.'

These, then, are the notes of our modern humanism—the tenuity of its faith, its strange tenderness for some form of spiritual devotion, its tenacity in clinging to the essentials of religion, the inner kernel, as it would say, not the outer husk; and with these, its audacity in the rejection of doctrine and dogma, as hindrances rather than helps to the higher life of the soul.

Hellenism, true to its origin—the word was coined by

Julian the Apostate—is in its modern form, as it has always been, associated or tinged with a certain amount of scepticism, partly because those preoccupied with what is beautiful in form or thought, in art and literature, are apt to neglect the things of the spirit, to use a Pauline phrase. To some extent it is a matter of temperament, a characteristic of the artist and the man of letters; but it partakes also of the nature of an intellectual epidemic. It arises from youthful exuberance, emancipated from the thralldom of custom and convention. At the outset, it feels inclined to indulge largely in distrust of received opinions, and is but too ready to cast off traditional beliefs. After a while this tendency to break away violently from current modes of thought gives place to a lighter kind of scepticism, more gentle and conciliatory, mildly ironical, less destructive; until at last the weary wanderer in the wastes of doubt tries, in a romantic if not repentant mood, to find his way home again. Such persons seek shelter under the roof of Romanticism, Romanism, Ritualism, mystical Realism, any kind of substitute for lost religious faith; it is the reluctant and scarcely resolute effort to regain what they have 'lost awhile' and with it the former peace of mind. It is in this way we explain the recent conversion and return of M. Brunetière and M. Bourget to the bosom of the Roman Church.

In such minds as Pater's, more evenly poised, less easily agitated by passing moods of speculative negation, there is a more balanced appreciation of the beautiful and the true, the human and the divine. But here, too, a certain tenuity of faith may be noticed, ripples of doubt on a calmer sea. In his subtle portraiture of Montaigne's mind, and that of Gaston de Latour under Montaigne's influence, Pater lets us have a glimpse into his own intellectual interior. He describes Montaigne not when at his worst, giving way to 'malign irony' and sympathising, in a sort of 'Satanic intimacy, with the ways, the cruel ways, the weakness, the *lâcheté*, of the human heart; nor in his weak moments of vain wavering incertitude'; but Montaigne at his best, as the real representative of the French Renaissance. We see him in his placid, genial, many-sided equanimity and insouciance, as the result of intellectual equilibrium, still 'ondoyant et divers' in his tempered rationalism, treating with the utmost regard and

respect the ordinances of his Church, and with tolerant partiality taking stock of existing diversities of religious opinion. He regards Protestantism as a mere episode in religious thought; and in his mental detachment, amid the struggles of Huguenot and Leaguer, calmly continues his search after human wisdom. But in this search his disciple Gaston sees

'doubt, everywhere! doubt in the far background, as the proper intellectual equivalent to the infinite possibilities of things; doubt, shrewdly economising the opportunities of the present hour, in the very spirit of the traveller who walks only for the walk's sake: "every day concludes my expectation, and the journey of my life is carried on after the same fashion"; doubt, finally, as the "best of pillows to sleep on."'

Yet in after years Gaston, remembering some of the outward tokens of respect shown by his master towards religion, trying to explain this inconsistency in 'the two-sided thinker,' hints at the possibility that there was some deeper ground of thought in reserve.

'A lowly philosophy of ignorance would not be likely to disallow or discredit whatever intimations there might be, in the experience of the wise or of the simple, in favour of a venerable religion, which from its long history had come to seem like a growth of nature; . . . to deny, at all events, would be only "to limit the mind, by negation."'

In an obituary notice of Pater in the 'Oxford Magazine' from the hand of a clerical admirer and constant friend, we have an interesting picture drawn of Pater, as 'the Brazenose Recluse,' as a student of deep religious feeling, keenly sensible to the influence of a stately ritual; a man of transparent naturalness, ready good-humour and courtesy; but, above all, 'never happier than when discussing with childlike simplicity and submission some of the cardinal mysteries of the faith.' Comparing this sketch with some of Pater's thoughts as expressed in his own writings, we may surely trace a dim likeness between the ideal Montaigne as drawn by Pater, and the real Pater as unconsciously revealing his own dual nature. Be this as it may, we have here a typical picture of the modern humanist, with his distant but unfeigned respect and reverence for religion, indicating veiled doubt and

yet suggesting possibilities of belief which render complete indifference or absolute negation impossible and undesirable. George Eliot, it will be remembered, always kept a copy of Thomas à Kempis by her side for the purpose of meditation and edification. M. Renan, in his hours of doubt, used to read the Psalms more diligently; and the following quotation explains, better than anything we could say, this peculiar trait of the modern man of culture.

'In the hours of doubt I recite the Psalms; I could pass hours and hours, if I but followed my own inclination, in the churches. . . . I experience lonely returns to devotion . . . at times I am simultaneously both Catholic and rationalist! When we cut loose from such beliefs—beliefs which have become second nature to us—it seems as if we had severed ourselves from our whole past. We have in some sense lived them, and we are attached to them as to our own life. To abandon them is to resolve to die to oneself. It seems as if our entire strength had come from them and that we shall be as feeble as a child when we have lost them; they are to us what Samson's hair was to him. Happily they will grow again.'

In Pater the feeling is not, perhaps, quite the same, since he seems never to have passed through a severe religious crisis like some others. He does not appear to have felt the 'throes of religious contention,' or to have reached the 'high pitch of emotional speculation,' which in its utmost tension prevented Symonds, for a time at least, from thoroughly enjoying sacred music, although in his normal state he was much attracted by the 'æsthetic charm and the antique splendour' of the college services. When he attends worship on Ascension Day in three different churches at St Ouen, he cannot help reflecting on the evanescence of all creeds in all ages, and adds: 'Our particular small faith still lives, destined ere long to be merged in other equally impotent attempts to reach the source of our aspirations.' And yet this man died with a little book of prayers in his hand, given him by his mother when he was a child, which we are told was always beside him wherever he went.

Pater's mind was more even-tempered. In his humanism the Hellenistic and mediæval ideals mix and merge easily

and completely, producing a serene harmony, the blitheness of the one shaded off by the sombre hues of the other. In the studies of the Renaissance, one of his earliest productions, he already speaks of the analogy between the brightness of Greek art and the cheerfulness of triumphant faith depicted in Christian art, as well as the mournful mysteries of the Greek religion, its 'pagan sadness,' relieved by 'the supreme Hellenic culture,' as a 'sharp edge of light across its gloom.' He looks upon the Greek tragedies as the connecting link between the Pagan and Christian culture; for here the moral conflict leads up to serenity and the 'steady poise' of those who have overcome. He says, in 'Marius the Epicurean':—

'We may trace from Giotto, and even earlier, to its consummation in the purer and better work of Raffaello, the serenity, the durable cheerfulness, the blitheness of those who had been indeed delivered from death, of which the utmost degree of that famed Greek blitheness or *Heiterkeit* is but a transitory gleam, as in careless and wholly superficial youth.'

He finds in Demeter—the 'Mater dolorosa' of antiquity—a strong resemblance, in her profoundly awful yet profoundly pathetic grief for the loss of her daughter, to the 'Lady of Sorrows' of mediæval Romanism. 'Her robe of dark blue is the raiment of her mourning, but also the blue robe of the Earth in shadow, as we see it in Titian's landscapes.' So again, he speaks of the 'Hellenism of the Middle Ages,' tracing its resemblance to modern æsthetic poetry, both being, in his view, an attempt to escape from the facts of life into the higher regions of reverie, or sublimated thought and sentiment.

Regarding the Renaissance as an uninterrupted effect of the Middle Age, Pater traces the continuity of humanism down to our own day, connecting modern with ancient culture through one great medium, the 'poetry of religion.' Thus, in 'Greek Studies,' he labours to prove that by the evolution of conscious humanism, beginning with a 'certain apprehension of unseen powers beyond the material veil of things'—in nature-worship—and ending in an artistic adaptation of nature-myths for the purpose of religious or moral symbolism, Greek art ministered to the highest forms of culture. He shows that for this reason it had a 'peculiar message for a certain number

of refined minds seeking in the later days of Greek religion such modifications of the old legend as may minister to ethical culture.' In these mystical second meanings of ancient legend he notes some resemblance to the florid romantic theology of the mendicant orders in the Middle Ages; and suggests, though he does not distinctly assert, that a similar tendency in modern symbolism would extract from the Christian myth a purifying and chastening effect, a moral regeneration. He even sees some analogy between the myths of Dionysus, as transformed by Euripides, and the Christus Patiens of Gregory Nazianzen.

Some critics have been baffled by this mingling of Pater's 'half-sensuous, half-ascetic theories of religion,' through a misconception of his real standpoint. For him Hellenism is not the splendid antagonist of religious faith, nor is it illumination opposed to obscurantism. On the contrary, he reminds us that the term has a hieratic connexion, and that 'Hellenic influence brought a revelation of the soul and body of man.' Pater appears to us to be at his best, or at least in his proper element, in these 'Greek Studies,' where he acutely analyses the subtle dream of religious poetry in which the physiognomy of Hellenism reveals itself, and where he traces the successive phases of development in that poetry *pari passu* with the evolution of Greek art and culture. He notes the constant association of sense with soul, and points out that in this respect Greek art reaches a higher level, in its 'divination of the *spirit* of man,' producing an 'imaginative presentment of man moral and inspired.'

Viewed in this light, Hellenistic humanism and religious culture both help to develop the higher life by their conjunction. The higher side of religion becomes humanised, refined by art, and elevated to the sense of beauty; so that, as Pater puts it, 'the imagery of Greek religious poetry may become to us a pledge of the place of our culture and the general conception of the poetry of all religions.'* This explains not only his own standpoint, but that of modern humanism generally, in its endeavour to

* See 'Greek Studies,' pp. 147, 155, and *passim*. He even, in reference to the 'Bacchanals' of Euripides, speaks of this tragedy as an Eirenicon, a peace-offering of the poet, a 'palinode' marking his return to the faith of his childhood, with reserves, and indicating, as in some modern men of high literary attainments, a kind of rationalised mysticism.

unite what is best in the Pagan and the Christian ideals, after the manner of Dante—in ministering at once to the sense of beauty and spiritual devotion. It explains Pater's love for mediævalism, and the attraction which its æsthetic forms of worship exercise on cultured minds generally, irrespective of the doctrines it is supposed to symbolise. Nor does this tendency to religious devotion simply arise from a desire to satisfy a 'mystical appetite for sacred things,' or to still the cravings of the spiritual side of human nature; it is rather an effort of the cultured mind to express its aspiration after 'a sacred ideal, a transcendent version, or representation, under intenser and more expressive light and shade, of human life.' It clings, with a tender tenacity, to some residual essentials of religion, after eliminating those doctrinal accretions which, to the modern humanist, have lost their value.

Some very interesting illustrations of this state of mind are given in Pater's 'Imaginary Portraits.' Here the artist stands modestly behind his creations, never consciously obtruding his own impressions and opinions, yet involuntarily betraying them in his intent to give a faithful representation of the results of religious contention during seasons of transition, when cultured thought, no longer satisfied with popular forms of religion, tries to reconcile newly discovered or re-discovered truths with old traditions.

Thus, for example, in the case of the German Count, we see the working of a mind awakened by the discovery of an old Latin poem by Conrad Celtes, 'the hyperborean Apollo,' sojourning in the sluggish North for a season; and this suggests a course of humanistic culture. The Count turns his mind to art, music, and poetry, and the philosophy which interprets the life of man. He finds, however, that the way to perfection lies not altogether in that direction, that a pilgrimage to the Hellenistic land of promise does not conduct him thither, but that 'straight through life, straight through nature and man, with one's own self-knowledge as a light thereon, not by way of the geographical Italy or Greece, lay the road to the new Hellas, to be realised now as the outcome of home-born German genius.' In other words, humanism pure and simple fails to satisfy the finest minds completely.

What Pater puts thus vaguely and tentatively into the

mouth of the young nobleman has been more definitely and fully stated in a volume on 'Rembrandt as Educator,' by an anonymous German writer, which enjoyed immense popularity a few years ago. It is practically a critique of German culture, as to which the writer complains that it is subject to many unhealthy influences at the present time, that it suffers from a great lack of earnestness in the conception of life, that it attaches too much importance to trivialities and special studies. On the contrary, he maintains, the aim of culture should be to produce not the *homo sapiens*, but the *vir benevolus*; that its highest aim should be not 'zu wissen, sondern zu sein'; and that in order to attain this end—

'Hellenism and Christianity must become re-united, so as to evolve between them the triple quality of excellence, a physical, moral, and intellectual aristocracy of mind, the final product of such a union, which cannot be effected without a return to a love and reverence for sacred things.'

So again, in the closing words of Pater's essay on Watteau, this French court painter finds in the quiet spaciousness of the church at St Vaast, and in the act of self-recollection which it suggests, a tranquillity which clears away the confusions of the heart. 'He has been a sick man all his life. He was always a seeker after something in the world, that is there in no satisfying measure, or not at all.'

Still more vividly is this yearning imaged forth in the unique study of Sebastian van Storck in the same series of 'Imaginary Portraits.' This Dutchman, with his fine organisation and acute intelligence, hovering between Catholicism and Protestantism, the one over-stimulating his enquiring mind, the other with its 'lulling power' soothing without satisfying its demands, at last finds a safe refuge in Spinozism. The dispassionate detachment of soul, in the contemplation of the divine but somewhat colourless Substance, produces in him a moral elevation and disinterestedness which ends in the final conquest of self-suppression. Transcending the narrow limits of self-conscious personality he attains at last to 'the proper consummation of the transitory individual life.' It is here that Sebastian van Storck finds peace at last, and, in losing his life in the act of saving the drowning child, finds it.

Here we see a practical exhibition of the new doctrine of the modern man of culture, embracing with the most strenuous fervour the one great dogma, namely, self-effacement, in his circumscribed creed.

In 'Marius the Epicurean,' the most perfect creation of Pater's mind, which, we are told, contains the expression of his deepest thought, we have the confluence of Hellenism with Christianity traced, so to speak, retrospectively; we are led to see the interaction of the two forces, Paganism and the new faith, both at their best, in process of assimilation. Marius makes his first discovery of the 'beauty of holiness' in the temple of Æsculapius; at a later stage of his development he vainly tries to reconcile the æsthetic sense of the beautiful in mental and bodily sanity taught there, with the more severe ascetic stoicism of M. Aurelius, which has in it 'the germ of a sort of austere opinionative "natural theology."' He finds relief at last in the mystical inward religion of the Christian faith, which seems to possess the secret of evolving that 'regenerate type of humanity' that he is in search of.

'Throughout that elaborate and life-long education of his receptive powers he had ever maintained the purpose of a self-preparation towards possible further revelation, some day; towards some ampler vision, which should take up into itself and explain this world's delightful shows, as the scattered fragments of a poetry, till then but half understood, might be taken up into the text of a lost epic, recovered at last.'

This possible further revelation he finds in Christianity.

In his last unfinished work, Pater pursues a similar line in tracing the effect of this confluence of Hellenism and Christianity, but in the reverse order, in its endeavour to reconcile the conflict between the forces of Christianity, in its later and decadent form, and Classicism newly recovered. This is represented in the character of Gaston de Latour, devoted at an early age to the service of the Church, then suddenly brought into contact with the irresistible attractions of the later Renaissance. He then experiences something like a thrill, a delightful shudder, in reading the poetry of Ronsard, and is attracted by the charm of Montaigne's personality and placid agnosticism. He finds himself in the vortex of life in Paris at full tide, 'amid the

dainty visible things' which there form the 'embroidery of life'—'the art of placing the pleasantly æsthetic, the welcome elements of life, at an advantage in one's view of it, till they seemed to occupy the entire surface.' The physical beauty of humanity and 'all sensible things glowed so brightly.' He contrasts this with the forbidding forms of the dominant religion, fierce in its blood-thirsty externalism, so repellent to a refined mind, whilst the forbidding sternness of a Huguenot contempt for the joys of life proved equally repellent. Horrified by the internecine struggle of the rival religions, and contrasting this with the tranquil tolerant spirit of the Renaissance, his mind becomes distracted.

'Two worlds, two antagonistic ideals, were in evidence before him. Could a third condition supervene, to mend their discord, or only vex him, perhaps, from time to time, with efforts towards an impossible adjustment?'

The answer comes from an unexpected quarter. He hears Bruno's Whitsunday sermon at the Sorbonne; and the fiery words of this escaped Dominican friar, self-emancipated from the trammels of orthodoxy, find an echo in his own mind. In Bruno's theistic pantheism there is a kind of solution of the conflict, which ends in the belief in the spiritual unity of the world, held together by the all-pervading 'Anima mundi.' This is the spirit of the Universe, in our modern way of speaking. In this sense Bruno may be called the father of modern idealists and pantheists, believers in the unity of nature and cosmic order. Thus the 'God-intoxicated enthusiast' of the Renaissance anticipates the 'cosmic emotion' of the modern man of science or transcendentalist, whose religion consists in the 'cultus of the infinite,' the worship of 'Absolute Beauty' or absolute perfection.

In Bruno, too, we have a personification of the last characteristic of humanism—its temerity in discarding definition and dogma, its endeavour to simplify the faith, when wearied and worn by interminable attempts to grasp what passes the narrow limits of ascertainable truth. Thus Symonds speaks contemptuously of those who go on 'groping and grovelling among the ghosts of dogmas,' whilst at the same time he agrees with Jowett, who expresses a like contempt for Comtists and others, who,

by means of 'scientific exorcisms of old orthodox ghosts, restore their own,' and go no further. With these, however, we are not here concerned, but rather with those gentler spirits who, though fearless in speculation, and not deficient in intellectual integrity, maintain a cautious reserve, a 'fixed stability,' a calm attitude of suspense in arriving at, or giving voice to, definite religious opinions. We refer to those in whom the search after truth is mainly confined to matters relating to literature and art, whose 'scholarship attains to something of a religious colour,' or 'the contemplation of what is beautiful—a sort of perpetual service.' Thus, in his essay on Mérimée, Pater shows how these transfer to art and literature that high sense of duty which inspires others in their search after religious truth, and in this way produce work almost flawless in its quality. In the worship of genius, and the supreme devotion to culture, they display an attenuated amount of enthusiasm for religious research, and their creed assumes accordingly slight proportions. Their state of mind is admirably described in the following passage, taken from the essay referred to, though Prosper Mérimée goes beyond what follows in his negations.

'Fundamental belief gone, in almost all of us, at least some relics of it remain—queries, echoes, reactions, after-thoughts; and they help to make an atmosphere, a mental atmosphere, hazy perhaps, yet with many secrets of soothing light and shade, associating more definite objects to each other by a perspective pleasant to the inward eye against a hopelessly receding background of remoter and ever remoter possibilities.'

This is all that is left—an exiguous remainder, no doubt; but more than this modern humanism will not, or cannot, retain; with less than this, excepting in a few instances here and there, it will not content itself. Why not? Because of the irrepressible feeling described as *Seelen-sehnsucht*, 'longing of the soul,' which the enjoyment of the 'ideal now,' intellectual accomplishments, artistic elegancies, and the like, cannot satisfy. The modern man of culture, like Pater's Marius, finds that life can alone attain to something like completeness with

'the advent of some new or changed spirit into the world, mystic, inward, hardly to be satisfied with that wholly external

and objective habit of life which had been sufficient for the old classic soul.'

The late Mr F. W. H. Myers, in whom literature has recently lost one of its most cultivated representatives, expresses the same conviction in his essay on 'The Disenchantment of France,' where the lack of 'the tonic faith,' or the feeble acquiescence in a filmy, formless pretence of it, has produced, as he tries to show, that helpless fatalism which lies at the root of literary decadence.

It is this danger which, just at present, inspires the more vigorous of modern men of culture with alarm and a strong desire to avert it, in the interests of humanism and intellectual development. It is on this account that they set themselves to accentuate the importance of reasoned religion, reason being considered as an important element in it. Thus the late Dr Martineau, in his 'Study of Religion,' whilst emphatically denying that there is any antagonism between 'the modern culture and the ancient sanctities,' and indeed admitting that the functions of art and literature are in a sense sacred, goes on to say that they are so 'because concerned with a universe already consecrate by a Divine presence.'

Equally emphatic in pointing out the inseparability of culture from religion is Professor Eucken of Jena, who shows, in his work on 'The Struggle for the Spiritual Contents of Life,' that for depth and warmth in the cultured life of humanity the influence of Christianity was needed, whereas the antique system of culture only promoted the completion of a well-ordered existence. He shows also how, in the mutual relation of culture and religion, one supplies the form, the other the force; one repose, order, and beauty, the other energy, freedom, and life; so that *Schaffen und Schauen*, the active and the contemplative functions of existence, may each find room for exercise, and in conjunction may minister to the full development of human existence. He points out that the whole of life cannot be absorbed in the creation and contemplation of art alone, without detrimental results in producing a complacent self-culture which is apt to become insipid and lead to feeble self-deception, ending in what he calls contemptuously the 'comedy of culture,' a false æsthetic optimism.

Another sign of a healthy reaction, directed against a one-sided and naturalistic tendency in modern art and literature, is the appearance in Germany of several brochures aimed against a purely mechanical view of the Cosmos, the first of which, entitled 'Materialismus und Ästhetik,' from the pen of the well-known professor of æsthetics, Moriz Carrière, of the University of Munich, has for its main object to prove that there can be no real perception of beauty 'without soul,' and that the central fact of æsthetics is the existence of the soul as a creative energy in organic nature and the realm of thought.

Thus we see humanism, in its most recent manifestations, emerging out of the chrysalis state of Neo-Paganism, and, on the whole, making for spiritual idealism. In the region of sentiment, too, there is some advance from 'the exquisite humanism' of the past, with its languid dilettante narcotism in art, or 'culture of the intellect for its own sake,' to a higher and more manly conception of it. The moral defects of æsthetics are becoming recognised; and a way is being discovered by which to escape out of the ennui, brain-weariness, malaise, produced by the excessive æsthetic sensibilities of those who, a little while ago, professed to find complete satisfaction in the 'cult for loveliness.' We are arriving at a more practical and healthy conception of the function of culture, as 'a tone running through conduct' rather than as an end in itself.

It would be premature at this juncture to gauge the direct effects of humanism on practical life, and we shall not attempt it. But thus much may be said: our modern renaissance, like the Renaissance of the sixteenth century, presents a double aspect corresponding to a similar bifurcation in classical humanism, branching out into the cynical and Cyrenaic schools, and embodying their austerities and amenities respectively. However, there is an important difference, viz. that, whereas in the Renaissance of Italy and France the austere and serious preceded 'the subtle and delicate sweetness which belong,' as Pater says, 'to a refined and comely decadence,' the course of the culture movement, in this country at least, runs in the opposite direction. This would seem to suggest a more hopeful view of its ultimate goal. For there are those among us—and their number is increasing—who are more attracted by the sterner form of Hellenism, its cultured asceticism and

'intelligent astringency,' and who will have nothing to do with the tolerant voluptuousness of self-styled 'Illumination,' with its debilitating effects on the spiritual energies of man.

An example of this kind we have in one of the most cultivated of modern humanists, the late Mr C. H. Pearson, a man of brilliant abilities, equipped with all that makes for social success, a fine scholar with attractive manners, possessed of varied qualities of the highest order, yet cheerfully forsaking the placid calm of learned leisure at home, traversing the ocean, in the first place, indeed, in quest of health, but entering eventually the arena of public life as a colonial politician from choice; and in this position, under great difficulties and severe discouragements, endeavouring to impress the stamp of his higher culture on the country of his adoption. Here, as a Minister of Education, he laboured amid surroundings uncongenial to his refined tastes, but useful, as affording an opportunity for exercising his best powers in training the modern mind for higher ends.

The work of the Renaissance, of which modern humanism is a continuation, is, like that of the Reformation, still incomplete; consequently it becomes a question what developments of it may be expected in the immediate future. There are certain layers of society which it has as yet barely reached, or into which it has only imperfectly penetrated, where culture is still regarded as merely a graceful adjunct to life, a decorative appendage of doubtful value, a harmless pastime, leading no-whither, if not a positive hindrance to success. For this reason 'sweetness and light' have been as yet suffused but moderately into those dim Philistine regions which Matthew Arnold set himself industriously to convert, so as to stem 'the common tide of men's thoughts in a wealthy and industrious community.' If he failed, it was not so much because his message came to the middle class before its time, as that his method of ironical criticism missed the mark. It would seem that the airy tone of intellectual superiority he assumed towards the masses, 'the populace,' as he called them, was ill adapted to win them over to his own way of thinking, though he graciously told them that superior men of culture like himself were 'the true apostles of equality.'

Modern attempts at 'humanising education'—to adopt a term used by Mr Courthope in his recent Oxford lecture on Taste—by means of University Extension Lectures for the middle class, may prove eventually more successful. University settlements in the neglected regions of White-chapel and Bermondsey and elsewhere may bring about in time a closer union between labour and culture. Here, at least, are fields left for future cultivation. Nor is there any cause of despondency on account of the comparatively slow progress made hitherto. It is forgotten sometimes, even by students of the Renaissance, that culture had even then to struggle hard for existence. No doubt need be entertained that in the future as in the past the supremacy of mind will eventually assert itself.

Divested of its unhealthy excrescences and discreetly directed as a movement with a higher mission, culture should in time overcome the prejudices of militant industrialism and the social passions of the ignorant crowd. But if destined to succeed in conferring a nobler dignity on trade and struggling labour, in developing and refining the capacities of the man in the street in a democratic age, which sadly needs its mollifying influences, humanism must have the support of religion. On the one hand, religion must be enlightened, broadened, deepened by culture. On the other, culture, informed with the spirit of religion, acknowledging the supremacy of the Divine in humanity, must become 'transmuted from an intellectual attainment into a spiritual grace.' We may therefore congratulate ourselves on the confluence of humanism and religion to which we have drawn attention in the preceding pages. Concurrent and concomitant influences—the one supplying the mental, the other the moral discipline, amid the fierce actualities and activities of life under modern conditions—they will produce that calm self-recollection and cheerful serenity of spirit which may save what Emerson calls our 'corporeal civilisation' from sharing the fate of the civilisations of the past.

Art. VIII.—THE GAME OF BILLIARDS.

1. *Billiards.* (The Badminton Library.) By Major W. Broadfoot, with contributions by other writers. New Edition. London: Longmans, 1897.
2. *Le Billard.* Par M. Vignaux. Paris: Delarue, *n.d.*
3. *Modern Billiards.* The Brunswick-Balke-Collender Co. New York: 1891.

THE beginning of a new century is an appropriate time for recording the state at which our various occupations, whether of work or play, have arrived. Of all important affairs ample statistics are generally kept, whilst of many sports and pastimes there is far too copious a literature; but others of no less interest suffer from the absence of trustworthy histories of their origin and early development. In the latter class the game of billiards must be included; for, though in some form its antiquity is as undoubted as is the fascination of its devotees, yet until comparatively recent times its annals have not been written. This is perhaps of small consequence, since if rumour may be trusted, its youth was far from respectable, and its admission to good society is comparatively recent. But this is only partly true, for long ago the game was patronised in the highest quarters.

In the days of Queen Elisabeth billiards was known both in France and England. In the next reign it was recognised at Court, payment from the Exchequer being made 'To Henry Waller, our joyner, for one billiarde boarde, twelve foote longe, and fower foote broade, the frame being wallnutt tree, well wrought and carved, with eight great skrewes and eighteen small skrewes.'* In 1674 Charles Cotton, author of 'The Compleat Gamester,' says the game was played in England and abroad both in public and private houses; a hundred years later details of play are mentioned in editions of Hoyle, showing that many matters which we are apt to look on as purely modern were then considered. From 1801 records are fuller, though for the next half-century they are still scanty; the cue superseded the mace, the leathern tip was

* 'Modern Billiards,' p. 5.

invented, chalk was used, and the mysteries of 'side' began to perplex players. The beds of tables, for which wood had generally been used, were now made of slate, and by 1850 india-rubber had superseded list for cushions, though the older style occasionally survived; indeed, specimens may still be found preserved as relics of by-gone days.

In spite of inferior tables and implements, there was much good play during the first half of the century; the spot stroke, undeveloped, it is true, was known, for Carr in 1825 made twenty-two in succession, while Pratt at a later date made thirty-four. The chief impetus, however, towards the development of the modern game, during the latter part of this period, was given by the well-known and much respected Edwin Kentfield, whose subscription rooms at Brighton were a favourite resort of the most distinguished patrons of the game. Of these amateurs, Mr Edward Russell Mardon is better known at the present day than most of the others, perhaps because of his book 'Billiards, Game 500 up' (London, 1849). He was devoted to the game, and worshipped Kentfield as its High Priest. But he was only a moderate player, requiring generally nearly half-an hour to make 100 points. Of his own play he says: 'My game, though difficult to beat by those who will not condescend to play defensively, would nevertheless be termed, by the generality of players, a "pottering game."' So no doubt it was; partly, we think, from much play on a difficult table. He had, however, a distinct idea of nursing the balls for close cannons, of which he once made as many as fifteen; he played the spot-stroke, for which he had great respect, with more perseverance than success; and when over eighty years old he made fifteen consecutive losing hazards in the middle pockets, a respectable performance at any time, a remarkable one at that age. What was known as the feather stroke, or the 'quill,' Mardon considered extremely serviceable; it consisted of losing hazards from a ball close to the baulk-line made by a push so gentle that the ball was scarcely disturbed, and the stroke could consequently be often repeated. It has long been abandoned, partly because under certain rules it was prohibited, and partly because the chances of using it were not sufficiently good to warrant practice.

So recently as 1870 Mardon commented unfavourably on a challenge by Cook to give any player in England 200

points in 2000 on a table with ordinary pockets; and he referred to the opinion of

'those who still consider Mr Kentfield as the only scientific player of the age, and who sarcastically draw comparison between the conformation of his table and those upon which enormous scores have been made. . . . Upon that table I have not played for the last few years, but I am informed by one who does so daily that the size of the pockets remains the same [$3\frac{1}{4}$ inches], and that the half-circle is still but 18 inches wide. . . . There is a gentleman now playing there whose game is founded from the model of the one adopted by Mr Kentfield, and, if the reports of his scientific excellence are correct, he imbibes also his inspiration. The nightly contests with Mr Kentfield are exciting, beautiful, attractive, &c." *

It will interest many to learn that the gentleman referred to was the late Mr Rimington H. Wilson, of Broomhead Hall, who was probably beyond comparison the finest amateur player of his day. On a $3\frac{1}{4}$ -inch-pocket table with an 18-inch half-circle, he could give very capable players half the game; and he not infrequently made breaks of 100. He foresaw and foretold that the breaks of the future would all be made in the region of the spot, and consist chiefly of winning hazards and cannons. He played a great deal at the top of the table, but did not much like spot play, which he called 'a marker's stroke'; nevertheless he has made over fifty spots, a remarkable performance with such small pockets. Playing with Kentfield he received 75 points in 500, but more usually they played sequences of short games. His style, though, as Mardon states, modelled on Kentfield's, had a strong resemblance to that of the elder Roberts; he had great power of cue, and played the *massé* well for an Englishman. This he learnt from Henry Munster, another distinguished amateur, who had much of the Frenchman in him, and who played at Kentfield's rooms. At pool and pyramids Munster had no superior, and was a remarkable winning-hazard striker on a $3\frac{1}{4}$ -inch-pocket table.

Kentfield's game was essentially one of losing hazards and delicate strengths, combined with an extraordinary knowledge of the angles of the table. His cannons off

* 'Brighton Gazette,' March 10th, 1870.

two or more cushions, and his play on balls in baulk, were remarkable for accuracy. The weak points of his game were winning hazards, and inability to play away from his own table and surroundings. He ceased to be champion in 1849, when he declined to play the elder Roberts; and though he lived till 1873, his last years were clouded by adversity.

Almost simultaneously with the advent of Roberts to the position of champion, list cushions were abandoned in favour of rubber; and the game, in consequence of these two events, was revolutionised. Roberts's great skill, combined with improved implements, brought about changes which separate the game of the third quarter of the century from that of the preceding half. Tables were faster, and scoring became more rapid; consequently games were extended from 24 points to 50, which remained a favourite limit till about 1875, when it was usual in clubs to allow players a choice between three games of 50 and one of 100 points, after which they had to make way for the next claimants.

John Roberts, who must not be confused with his son, better known to the present generation, was born on June 17th, 1826,* and, whilst quite young, gave unmistakable evidence of his aptitude for the game. This, added to great perseverance, physical strength, and sound nerve, soon resulted in his defeating most competitors, and in the challenge to Kentfield in 1849. For the next twenty years he was able to concede 300 points in 1000 to all comers. Alfred Bowles, John Smith of Liverpool, and Charles Hughes were nearest in merit until about 1868, when the younger generation, more or less educated by Roberts, came forward. During this time public matches may be said to have been introduced, one of the earliest being in 1850, when Roberts played Starke, the American professional, a game of 1000 up, and won by means of the spot stroke. Roberts had, early in his career, foreseen that supremacy at billiards depended on the mastery of this stroke, which, though known and played long before his day, was incapable of full development till modern improvements were introduced. He therefore practised

* So stated by J. Roberts junior, 'Billiard Review,' May 1896, p. 389; in 'Billiards,' February 26th, 1894, the date is said to be June 15th, 1823.

incessantly till he attained a perfection to which no other man had aspired. He soon became able to make from 20 to 50 spots whenever he got position; later on he improved, and his best break of 346 points included 104 consecutive spot hazards. It was made in Saville House, Leicester Square, where he had rooms in 1860 and for some years afterwards.

He used to play there a good deal with Dufton, who was more of a teacher than a player, and who had the distinction, as may be learned from a testimonial presented on the occasion of his winning a game for 1000*l.* from E. Green, of 'obtaining . . . the respect of the various noblemen with whom he played.' It is further recorded that 'the high honour was conferred upon him of being selected by Earl Spencer to initiate His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' in the mysteries of the game.

Roberts was at his best during the sixties, and in some respects—notably in power of cue, though it sounds strange when the great subsequent advance of the game is considered—that best has never been surpassed, and possibly never equalled. He came up to London in 1860, having previously lived chiefly in Manchester and Liverpool; at his rooms many matches were played, and some of the best amateurs of the time were to be seen. His position as champion or best player was perfectly secure; and therefore the games with Bowles—who gave him harder work to win when giving 300 points than any other player—and with other competitors, need not be recalled.

But billiards was about to make great and rapid advances, due chiefly to Roberts's influence and example. The younger people came on after their manner; and by 1865 the names of Joseph Bennett, John Roberts junior, and William Cook began to be known as those of players of great promise, all having a more or less hereditary claim to eminence. Bennett was born in 1841, and had three brothers who played professionally; John Roberts, son of the champion, born in 1847, came next; Cook, born in 1849, was the youngest. Bennett was perhaps the first to give indication of superior skill, for he, with Hughes, played Roberts and Dufton, from whom they received 200 in 1000. Hughes, an experienced player, put Bennett in front of John Roberts to play safety, thereby effectually crippling Roberts's score, whilst he himself played out

without respect for what Dufton could make, the result being that Hughes and Bennett won by 344 points.

Bennett's game was good, but not equal to that of Cook and Roberts junior when they were at their best; yet, by dint of hard work and careful generalship, he succeeded in winning the championship from both of his more gifted rivals. His style was good, he stood well to the stroke, and his delivery of the cue was true and graceful. His play was, so far as he could make it, essentially mechanical, its fault to a spectator being that it was rather slow; he took time to consider his strokes, was deliberate in getting into position, in aiming, and in striking; when everything came off right, all was well, but the very deliberation enhanced failure. He was a pretty and correct losing-hazard striker, wisely preferring what is called the half-ball angle; and having ascertained it by experiment, he contrived an ingenious arrangement called a mensurator, for assistance in practice. He has for many years devoted his time to teaching, and has been, we are glad to hear, successful.

The younger Roberts was, in every respect, a complete contrast. To natural aptitude for the game, so great as to amount to genius, he added the advantages derived from his father's teaching and experience; and he inherited or acquired great freedom of play, with the result that in his earlier days brilliance and rapidity were the marked characteristics of his game. Possessed of great confidence, he seldom indulged in cautious play, and rarely gave more than the conventional misses; indeed, he was generally soon in difficulties from too free striking or some other cause; but the power and resource he showed in extricating himself were features of his play which made it beyond comparison attractive to the public. They could not then, and they can only now to a limited extent, appreciate the best or most highly finished play; but they did, from their own constant experience, sympathise with Roberts when his efforts seemed terminated by difficulties; and their enthusiasm knew no bounds when he continued his break by the aid of an almost impossible stroke. Even if he failed, as he was often bound to do, the audacity of his play appealed far more forcibly to the sentiments of spectators than the cautious tactics of some of his rivals. Then he never wearied them by prolonged hesita-

tion over a situation of the balls ; with the rarest exception his mind was at once made up, and he proceeded to play. The weak points of such a game require no explanation ; all who have ever played have seen them illustrated when some amateur, fired by emulation after watching Roberts play, has hurried to the billiard-room of his club to put in practice what he had just observed. The strong points of Roberts's game—power of cue under proper restraint, and endless resource—have raised their possessor to the head of his profession.

William Cook may be placed between the men just mentioned. He came forward more rapidly than either of the others, and while less mechanical in his play than Bennett, and less free than Roberts junior, he had a delicacy of touch superior to both, and consequently acquired, when at his best, a greater control over the three balls. His spot-stroke play soon attracted attention ; and that, with a fine touch and nice judgment of strength, made his play very interesting to watch. At first young Roberts used to beat him, but Cook improved faster, and by 1869 had made longer breaks and more consecutive spot strokes than the champion. Naturally, this resulted in a challenge for the championship, which was followed by consideration of the conditions under which the game should be played.

A meeting was held at which John Roberts, champion, presided, with W. Cook, Joseph Bennett, Tom Morris, and John Bennett as members, whilst three firms of table-makers, Burroughes & Watts, Cox & Yeman, and Thurston, were represented. They produced a very passable code of rules, and agreed that the table should have 3-inch pockets, that the spot should be $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the top cushion, that the D should have a radius of $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and that the baulk line should be 28 inches from the face of the bottom cushion, thus approximating to the table adopted by Kentfield.

The match was played on February 11th, 1870, 1200 points, Cook winning by 117. It was a great performance for so young a man ; and, although one cannot help regretting the champion's defeat after he had so long held the position, still it seems difficult to admit the usual excuse that his play was failing because of age. According to one account he was then 47, according to another only 44 ; and at either age a man of his strong

physique should have been at his best, with nerve and experience to which no lad could pretend. His son is now 54, and his play has never been finer than during the past ten years. The idea that youth is essential to fine play is unsound; it arises, no doubt, from the fact that so many promising players are at their best when about 25 years old or even younger, and are all but useless soon after; this, however, is not from age but from the life they lead. With steadiness, moderation, and fair health, what men lose in activity, sight, and so on, after 35, is usually, for a considerable period, more than made up by experience and confidence. Whatever the reason may have been, Roberts's powers as a player had begun to fail before the match, and it would have been well if he had retired instead of playing; his subsequent rapid deterioration and final exit at the Aquarium, when a game he attempted with Bowles had to be stopped by the manager because neither player seemed able to end it, were matters of regret to those who remembered his better days. He died in 1893.

Cook was immediately challenged by John Roberts junior, who in April 1870 gained a decisive victory by 478 points in 1000. The result was unexpected and is not easy to explain. At starting 3 to 2 was laid on Cook, but he seemed to have a presentiment of failure. During the second hundred there was an unfortunate dispute as to a cannon, and Cook's nerve disappeared. As often happens in such cases, he had the worst of luck, and Roberts, seeing how matters were going, took 100*l.* to 10*l.* that he would win by half the game. Sixteen matches for the championship were played in fifteen years, three men only becoming champion, Cook, Bennett, and Roberts junior. The last-named, in his match with Bennett in 1885, won so decisively that no challenger has since appeared.

But whilst these matches on small-pocket tables were being played, exhibition games on ordinary tables were frequent; and for them the easier pockets were preferable. Handicaps too came into favour, first on the English and afterwards on the American system: in the former the defeated player retires, till two only are left to play the final game—consequently many players can enter; in the latter each player has to meet the others in succession, and the winner is he who, at the close of the tournament, has most games to his credit. Therefore competitors must

be few or the tournament would last too long ; nevertheless it is a better system than the English, because luck is, so far as possible, eliminated. In public play the American has superseded the older method, which, however, survives in clubs, where the number of entries is sometimes so great that the American system cannot be adopted.

By degrees proficiency in the spot stroke became necessary for success in professional play, and even moderate skill gave its possessor a solid advantage in amateur play. Many a game, in which the better player has had the worse luck, has been retrieved at the last moment by a few well-played spot strokes. Not only is the element of evil fortune largely got rid of in his own case, but each successful stroke seems to abate the boisterous prosperity of the adversary, and to diminish his confidence. No stroke affords better practice or requires more ; and its abolition is, we believe, a mistake as regards amateur play. The case is somewhat different in professional play, because the paying public have to be considered ; and they prefer a variety of strokes to seeing a ball played time after time into one or other of the top pockets.

There is no doubt that the accuracy which certain players attained had much to do with the condemnation of the stroke : it is possible to have too much of a good thing. Its development and influence may perhaps be best illustrated by mentioning some of the games which were played by leading professionals after Cook first won the championship. By that time Cook had surpassed the elder Roberts's breaks, but not by much ; soon afterwards he made 512, playing with Stanley ; and in 1873, in a game with Joseph Bennett, he made 936 (270 and 19 spots)* which was then and for some time afterwards the largest break on record. As the spot stroke more and more monopolised play, the question whether it spoilt or improved the game was raised in 1874. To gauge public opinion a spot-barred handicap was tried and found to give satisfaction ; after which the game was so played occasionally, but most of the important games still included the spot stroke.

In 1879 spot play received further impetus by the

* That is, the break included runs of 270 and 19 consecutive spot-strokes respectively.

appearance in London of William Mitchell, who brought from Yorkshire a reputation for good play coupled with great tenacity and resolution, which proved to be well founded. He secured first prize in two tournaments, and played a remarkable game, which the present writer saw, with Joseph Bennett, who gave 100 points in 1000. Writing from memory the game went thus:—Bennett gave the usual opening miss, and Mitchell following tried to cannon but failed. The red ball after an erratic course fell into a pocket and Mitchell's ball came to rest in position for spot play; he made about 100 spot strokes, so that the game was called, love—401. Bennett played well, making 747 points in seven innings, but he lost the game, for Mitchell won with an unfinished break of 522, which he continued to 589, with 192 consecutive spot hazards. This at once brought him to the front rank, and his meeting Cook and Roberts on their return from a foreign tour was eagerly awaited.

The results were, on the whole, unfavourable to Mitchell, but in the same year (1880) he defeated Taylor, a good and resolute player. In this year W. J. Peall came out professionally. In 1882 Roberts for the first time gave Cook points (500 in 5000) and won by 1658: he lost a similar game at Newmarket, in which he gave 750; but in 1886 previous records were passed. In a game of 15,000 points, even, with Mitchell for 200*l.*, presented by Mr C. Howard, a well-known patron of the game, who died before it could be played, Roberts won by 1741 points, having made six breaks over 600, whilst Mitchell made what was then the record break in a money match, 969 (321 spot strokes). Then Peall and Roberts contested a curious match confined to spot play, which the former won with ease. Peall next surpassed all previous performances by making a break of 2413 (338, 449, and 3 spots) which he followed by breaks of 1029, 996, and 1247 when playing with Collins; and he soon after challenged Roberts to play 15,000, all in, even. Roberts declined, and the question was then raised whether he could do so and remain champion. These enormous breaks, surpassed by Peall himself in 1890, when he made 3304 (93, 3, 150, 123, 172, 120 and 400 spots), unquestionably went far to make the stroke unpopular, and since 1886 spot-barred exhibition matches have been the rule. The stakes have gener-

ally been fictitious, and the contests therefore lack the excitement belonging to games on which money depends; but, as spectacles and as showing brilliant play, they are probably superior to the more serious game. No player approached Roberts at spot-barred matches; he could, like his father in former days, give all comers a third of the game, and to many he could safely give one half. This state of affairs lasted till nearly the close of the century, though during its latter years younger men have been coming forward, whilst improvement in Roberts's game was not to be expected.

The best of the juniors are C. Dawson, E. Diggle, and H. W. Stevenson, one or other of whom must in the course of nature be soon able to play Roberts even, either on an ordinary or on a 3-inch-pocket table, as may be arranged. A few notes respecting them will best complete this slight sketch of professional play during the nineteenth century.

Charles Dawson was born at Huddersfield in 1866, and while still quite young gave evidence of skill and stamina which promised soon to place him high amongst professional players. In 1890 he was tried in a game of 8000 points with Peall, from whom he received 1500. Play was spot-barred, and Peall, who was then playing well, passed Dawson before the final thousand; yet Dawson won a well-contested game by 15 points. In November 1890 he again met Peall (who gave 3000 points in 15,000, spot stroke allowed), and was an involuntary spectator of the longest break which has ever been made at the English game. On the afternoon of November 5th Peall continued an unfinished break of 85 to 2416 still unfinished; next day he went on, and when he reached 3000 there was a great burst of applause. The break was interrupted in order that a reward of 50*l.* which had been promised if he got so far might be presented; and Peall replied, modestly attributing his success to the excellence of the balls and table, not forgetting the accurate marking of the game, which certainly deserved recognition, for the whole of the great break was scored without an error. After resuming play he brought the total break to 3304, and eventually won by 9320 points. Dawson has since played many games against Roberts and Mitchell with varying success, drawing nearer to the one and passing the other. These results naturally led to a challenge to play Roberts 18,000

even for 200*l.* and the whole of the receipts, which was eventually accepted; half the game was played at the hall in Argyll Street and half at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. The game was begun on March 20th, 1899, and concluded on April 3rd, play being often far below the form of both men; Dawson in the first week scored 8721 to Roberts's 9001; in the second week the latter won by 1814 points. A great deal has been written about this match, and the fact must be conceded that Dawson practically held Roberts till play took place in the hall to which the champion is accustomed. Though the better player won, the gap between best and next best has been permanently and considerably reduced; therein lies the significance of the match. Dawson had then a good title to be considered the second-best player of the English game, for he had in turn defeated all the other players of his own standing, and held at the close of the century the Billiard Association championship. It is the fashion to condemn his style as ungraceful and so forth; in this we do not agree, though prepared to admit that when he first came to London it lacked finish. No style can be very bad which gives results so uncommonly good.

Edward Diggle of Manchester has contested many a game with Dawson; and at first honours were equally divided between York and Lancaster. Then for a time, after Diggle had the advantage of a good deal of play with Roberts, he passed his rival and was generally considered the second-best player of the spot-barred game. He made many long breaks, chiefly perhaps by means of series of nursery cannons, at which he excelled; and at times he scored at a great pace. Latterly Dawson has had so decided an advantage that he has been able to give points; but this is in no small degree owing to the revised rules and the alterations in play caused by them, which seem to have cramped Diggle's game more than that of many other players. His style is good and quiet, on the whole more delicate and less robust than Dawson's; he used the push stroke very freely and played it well; consequently he feels the want of its aid now that it is barred. In time he will get over this, and, if he can master the *massé* stroke, his steady consistent all-round play must tell. At all events, his place amongst the first three or four of the younger men is probably for some years assured.

H. W. Stevenson, the youngest of the three players, was born in Yorkshire in 1874, but commenced his billiard career in South Africa, where he was considered to be one of the best players. He returned to England, and since 1893 has improved greatly, owing much, as most other players do, to experience gained during exhibition games with Roberts, who has said: 'I have a very high opinion of Stevenson as a billiard player, and think that he is the most likely of all the professionals to become the future champion.' His play in many respects recalls that of W. Cook, delicate manipulation being conspicuous, but it is accompanied with much power and accuracy in screw strokes. His games were always worth watching, and latterly none better could be seen. In 1899, he and Diggle challenged Dawson for the Association championship, and in the preliminary game, in which he made a break of 648, he won by 2900 points in 9000; but he lost to Dawson by 2225 points. He has since fulfilled Roberts's prediction, for in three games of 3000 points each, Dawson owing 500, played at Messrs Burroughes & Watts's rooms in Dean Street, from December 24th to 28th, 1900, Stevenson won all in brilliant style; and he has followed up these victories by defeating Dawson for the Association championship during the first week of January 1901, in spite of a fine break of 534 made by that player. All the same, Stevenson's game is less consistent at present than either Dawson's or Diggle's, though at its best it is perhaps more brilliant.

It is only fair to explain that the omission of many names of professional players of the second and third class is caused not by want of appreciation of their many and meritorious performances, but because we have not space for a description and consideration of the share which they took in advancing the game.

From the foregoing remarks it will be seen that prior to 1850 the game of billiards and the ideas of players were confined within narrow bounds, losing hazards being the backbone of the game, with cannons chiefly used to get position for the hazard. This continued till some ten years later, when the spot stroke became predominant. The necessity for getting position for it led to gathering the balls at the top of the table; and this, supplemented by series of close cannons, and aided by the rule which

permits continuance of play when balls touch, has in turn developed the modern game.

Of amateurs distinguished for play at the end of the century it is difficult to write. Three or perhaps four have attained high professional form, whilst many more are useful players, varying in average throughout a long game between 12 and 5 points. This is better than may appear at first sight: an average of 12 is very hard to beat: it means that a game of 100 is finished in 9 innings, whilst an average of 5 means 20 innings. Ordinary amateurs come between 5 and 3; below that they would be considered bad players. It is fairly near the truth to say that men who average 4 will finish their 100 points in half an hour.

The great and increasing gap between good amateur and good professional play is a feature in the billiards of to-day; in the early years of the elder Roberts the professional could give amateurs from 25 to 30 per cent.; now he would not be too highly handicapped at 65 per cent. of the game. The chief reasons for this are probably the vast increase of opportunities for public play, and the stimulus to practice and careful living afforded by the receipts of admission money. If a professional's play is good and attractive, he gets remunerative engagements; and money is to be made by teaching. In old days there were few matches, and men used to train specially for them; much less money was to be earned honestly; therefore during the greater part of a professional's time there was little inducement to maintain a higher level of play than was required to deal successfully with unwary visitors to the room. That partly accounts for the difference; but there is more. In the one case, play being a man's business, he gives full attention to it and resents interruption; in the other it is a relaxation, which amateurs seem to think is enhanced by a flow of general conversation, and every variety of bodily refreshment. Improvement such as would approach the excellence of professional play is in such circumstances hopeless.

Another defect which perhaps has an evil influence on amateur play is the absence of a suitable and satisfactory code of laws. Even if it be granted that the rules as recently revised by the Billiard Association are desirable for regulating play by professionals or in public rooms, there is a widely-spread and well-founded opinion

that they are unsuitable for the guidance of amateur play. Whilst they bear evidence of a genuine endeavour to improve the older code, they are still defective in many respects. It is but just to acknowledge the services rendered to the game by the persons who carried out the revision; but they have not succeeded as well as might be desired. This is the opinion not merely of the billiard players who belong to the better class of clubs, but is shared by the most eminent professional players. Roberts has expressed his opinion that the new code is neither good nor workable, and that it will not be generally accepted; he suggests the formation of a committee of amateurs, and offers his assistance. Joseph Bennett considers the new rules to be absurd for amateurs; and T. Taylor is convinced that for them the old rules of the Association were better than the new, which do not meet with general favour. That they are on wrong lines, so far as amateur play in clubs is concerned, is evident from one fact which is alone sufficient to condemn them. By the rule designed to prevent spot-stroke play and by increasing the difficulty of pockets, an ordinary player's game has been lengthened by about one-third. That is, two men who, under the old rules required half an hour to play 100 up now require about forty minutes. This is objectionable in two ways: persons wishing to play have longer to wait; and, fewer games being played in a given time, the receipts of the room are lessened. To meet these disadvantages, either steps must be taken to make games faster, or the games must be shortened and so made dearer—a measure which would be decidedly unpopular.

Many proposals have from time to time been made in order to quicken games. It has been suggested, with, we think, something to be said in its favour, that the white ball, like the red, should be replaced on the table whenever it is pocketed or knocked off; and that, as there is equal difficulty and merit in pocketing the white ball, the score for doing so should be equal to that for a red hazard. Again, persons well qualified to express an opinion have urged that when player's ball touches another ball, play should proceed as if the balls were not touching. The proposal deserves careful consideration, because its adoption would not only make games go faster, but would abolish enquiry as to whether balls do or do not touch, a

question which is sometimes difficult to decide. Other suggestions have been made, and there is much to be said for and against each of them; but the general principle is or should be that when games are slow enough, as no one will dispute they are now in clubs, legislation should be directed rather to shortening than lengthening the time they occupy. It is very absurd to see men, who certainly cannot from the most favourable position average more than six spot strokes, solemnly spot the red ball on the centre of the table after making two, as is the case where the new Association rules are accepted. There is very little danger of the stroke becoming monotonous in amateur hands; and, in the few cases in which considerable proficiency in it has been obtained, the simplest mode of dealing with the difficulty is either to limit the number of consecutive spot-strokes or to bar the stroke altogether.

It may be mentioned in connexion with this point that in India, where billiards is much played in clubs and messes, so serious has been the dissatisfaction with the Association's rules that a fresh code has been drawn up and is in use pending the preparation of a better one in this country—an event which it is hoped may not be long delayed.

It should be explained that the Billiard Association was formed in 1885, partly as a benevolent institution to help professional players who may require aid, and partly for promoting the general interests of the game. Both objects are excellent, but opinions vary as to the success of the Association in promoting them. Two leading professional players have resigned, being dissatisfied with its arrangements; whilst the great majority of amateurs in west-end clubland, though by no means hostile, yet hold aloof, considering it undesirable to amalgamate with that body as it is at present constituted.

In dealing with billiards during the nineteenth century it is perhaps proper to refer to the championship, respecting which there has been much unprofitable discussion. Strictly speaking, the champion should be the best player, and should hold the position so long as he can defend it. As matters now stand there is confusion. Roberts, who is still the best player, contends that he should not be displaced unless defeated under conditions similar to those under which he gained the title or under others to which he consents. The Association have promoted champion-

ship matches under different conditions, and it may happen that when Roberts returns to this country he will concede points to their champion, a proceeding which would be at least somewhat humorous. But, after all, the matter is of no great importance.

While the two Robertses, father and son, have had the chief share in the development of the modern game, a most important part has been played by the principal firms who make the tables and other implements. In Kentfield's time Messrs Thurston worked cordially with him in search of improvements; later on Messrs Burroughes & Watts in a similar way co-operated with the younger Roberts; Messrs Cox & Yeman also, and other firms, have all contributed materially to the improved play and consequent gratification both of players and spectators at the close of the century. People are apt to forget how much they owe to those who are careful to provide the best accessories for their favourite game; and though, no doubt, perfection of manufacture and attention to business will command the usual success, yet it is well that the debt referred to should be otherwise recognised. There is also a vast improvement in modern rooms and furniture as compared with those of old days. Then, with the exception of a few private houses and clubs, billiard rooms were for the most part to be found in public-houses or in not altogether desirable surroundings. The rooms themselves were reeking with the products of combustion of bad gas and worse tobacco to an extent which made them positively unwholesome; now electric light and lofty rooms with tolerable ventilation are to be found in numberless private houses and clubs in town and country, whilst public matches can be arranged in various halls. Still, for this kind of play, a great deal remains to be done, because no hall which is now in use can be described as ideal. There should be at least two classes of halls: one to suit the average attendance when good play is expected, such, for instance, as is usual at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly; the other capable of holding, without discomfort, the crowds who go to any sensational game. In both cases ventilation, and ample space between table and spectators, should be provided.

Art. IX.—THE RELIEF OF KUMASSI.

1. *Correspondence relating to the Ashanti War, 1900.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty. March 1901.
2. *Jours d'angoisse à Koumassie.* Journal du missionnaire Fritz Ramseyer. Neuchatel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1901.
3. *The Siege of Kumassi.* By Lady Hodgson. London: Pearson, 1901.
4. *The Relief of Kumasi.* By Captain Harold C. J. Biss, West African Frontier Force. London: Methuen, 1901.
5. *The Ashanti Campaign of 1900.* By Colonel Montanaro, R.A., and Captain Armitage, D.S.O. London: Sands, 1901.

THE reference in His Majesty's first speech from the throne to the recent operations in Ashanti under Sir James Willcocks drew pointed attention to a series of brilliant actions carried out with complete success in the face of obstacles which, in ordinary times, would have been considered insurmountable. We cannot but think that the wording and spirit of the reference to this small but not unimportant campaign more accurately represent public feeling than the petty criticisms of the leaders of the Opposition. Why Lord Kimberley should have been 'amused' by the paragraph, or Sir H. Campbell Bannerman have considered it 'extraordinary,' we fail to understand. It was at least an attempt to do justice to a feat of arms and a triumph of military forethought and endurance which, but for the absorbing nature of the struggle in South Africa, would have attracted far more attention than the public, in such circumstances, has been able to bestow.

After the bloodless expedition of 1895 it was supposed by all, save the few who had given special attention to West African affairs, that the Ashantis had accepted the inevitable, and would settle down in quiet and prosperity under British rule. How erroneous this impression was, the events of 1900 have shown. Repeated warnings had been sent to the Administration of the Gold Coast by their officials at Kumassi; and it is impossible to understand why they did not receive more attention. Whatever the reason was, the consequences of this neglect were most

disastrous. Early in April 1900, reports of trouble in Kumassi were circulated at the coast, and were telegraphed home. By the beginning of May, events had so far developed that the investment of Kumassi by the rebels was officially admitted; and steps were taken to organise a relief expedition. The rising has been attributed to various causes; but the prominence given to the subject of the Golden Stool by certain members of Parliament, whose animosity towards the Colonial Secretary frequently outruns their discretion, is, in our opinion, out of all proportion to the facts. Lady Hodgson* stigmatises as absolutely untrue the statement that the Governor demanded the stool as actual king of Ashanti. Why it should have been necessary to use such strong language, in face of the fact that the Governor officially† admits having made two futile attempts to secure the stool, we are unable to understand. The subject is referred to at length by a missionary, Mr Ramseyer, who was present during the palaver at which the incident occurred. He quotes the actual words used by the Governor:‡

‘Je suis au milieu de vous comme votre roi, et je suis votre roi; pourquoi ne suis-je pas assis aujourd’hui sur le trône à Ashanti, le trône d’or? Pourquoi en présence de cette grande assemblée faut-il que je me contente d’une chaise toute commune; est-ce bien? J’ai demandé qu’on me livrât le trône d’or, celui qui revient au Gouverneur anglais. Personne ne me l’a apporté: c’est mal, très mal.’

This seems decisive, for it is needless to suppose that Mr Ramseyer could have deliberately misrepresented the Governor. At the same time, it is impossible to believe that these words were the immediate cause of the rising. They may have fired a train already laid, but certainly they did not begin the trouble. Long before the Governor had arrived at Kumassi, it was known that the Ashantis were anything but peacefully disposed. As to the origin of the rising, we are glad to be in agreement with Lady Hodgson, that the bloodlessness of the 1895 expedition was the principal cause of the rising of 1900, especially as on many other points in her narrative we find ourselves

* ‘Siege of Kumassi,’ p. 81.

† ‘Correspondence relating to the Ashanti War, 1900,’ pp. 18, 21.

‡ ‘Jours d’angoisse à Koumassie,’ p. 32.

in absolute disagreement with her. Mr Chamberlain had little difficulty* in disposing of the allegations as to unjustifiable interference with native customs and 'rights.' The customs were not such as any civilised Government could recognise, and the 'rights' were—to maintain these customs. It was certainly unfortunate that the Governor, when he resolved upon a drastic policy, had not arranged for a more powerful escort. The fact, however, that the Ashantis had submitted without a fight in 1895 was sufficient reason for them to appeal to arms whenever an opportunity arose; and the South African troubles gave the opportunity.

Our chief interest, however, centres in the march of the relieving force, which ended in the rout of the Ashantis and the relief of Kumassi Fort, not a day too soon. On the 26th May, Sir James Willcocks landed at Cape Coast Castle, and found the state of affairs so bad that the task of relieving Kumassi seemed, in existing circumstances, impossible. From Prahsu to Kumassi, a distance of rather more than seventy miles, the main route was entirely in the possession of the Ashantis, with the exception of two isolated posts. The rains had already commenced, carrying away the bridges, and making the road—there was only one—so bad that in ordinary times it would have been considered impracticable. The Governor in Kumassi was calling for assistance; but the whole force available consisted of the two isolated posts mentioned above, and a small column of the Southern Nigerian Forces somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Prah.

There was no staff; and, although troops were daily expected, none had arrived. Matters were rendered more difficult by the behaviour of the coast natives, than whom a more despicable race probably does not exist. When called upon to furnish carriers, they raised every possible excuse, in many cases refusing bluntly to supply them; and when at last some were obtained, the great majority consisted of worn out women or immature children. The coast native regards the white man merely as a means of protection against his ancient enemies, the Ashantis, and entirely fails to recognise any corresponding obligation on his side. To most of these natives, Ashanti is a country of

* Speech in the House of Commons, March 18th, 1901.

which, beyond hearsay, they are entirely ignorant; and the profound dread of the unknown which is common to them all is increased tenfold by the gruesome traditions of former barbarities.

The native disinclination to provide carriers had been well known for many years. In anticipation of trouble, a Labour Ordinance had been passed by which headmen of villages, in case of necessity, were obliged to provide a certain number of capable carriers at fixed rates; but the Governor's signature was necessary to make the ordinance effective; and this, in the circumstances, could not be obtained. Early in June a small column of rather less than four hundred men of the West African Frontier Force arrived at Cape Coast, having marched from Nigeria to Lagos, and thence taken ship. The ill fortune which dogged the advance at every stage still continued, for on arrival at Cape Coast Castle the surf was so bad that no boats could go out; and it was not until the following day that, with considerable difficulty, the troops and stores were landed at Elmina, about eight miles westward, where a reef of rock, behind which the surf boats can run, affords a slight shelter. On the night of June 4th, Sir James, or as he then was, Colonel Willcocks, despite the insufficiency of men and of supplies, decided to advance to the Prah and make his forward base at Prahsu. This had the result of giving confidence to the carriers working up to the Prah, who knew there would be a force covering them from any aggression on the part of the Ashantis; it had also the advantage of removing the men from the unhealthy surroundings of Cape Coast Castle.

On reaching Prahsu the position was found to be as follows. The entire force consisted approximately of six hundred men, of whom two hundred and ninety were at Bekwai and Esumeja, under Captain Hall; twenty at Kwissa, under Lieutenant Slater; and three hundred odd under Colonel Carter near the Prah. There was a small fortified rest-house under a British non-commissioned officer at Fumsu. With the exception of the troops at Bekwai and Esumeja, who were supporting the loyal king of Bekwai, these various detachments, for want of a directing plan, were doing practically nothing. It was of the utmost importance, therefore, to establish concerted *action* between them. Difficulties were enhanced by an

unsuccessful action at Dumboassi, when the Kwissa force was obliged to retire upon Fum Su with severe loss, leaving the Bekwai and Esumeja detachments without any intermediate support.

The Ashanti Gold Fields Company had their principal centre at Obuassi, and the action of some of the employés still further complicated the situation. For some unknown reason more than half the white men deserted in a body, and, making their way to the coast, sailed for England. While recognising that, in ordinary circumstances, civilians are under no obligation to risk their lives unnecessarily, it is happily not often that we hear of a considerable body of Englishmen leaving a smaller civilian body to hold a strategic position of great importance until military assistance can be sent. How entirely unjustified was their wild paroxysm of fear is shown by the fact that during the whole of the operations not a single shot was fired at Obuassi. When news of the reverse to the Kwissa force at Dumboassi reached Prahsu, Sir James Willcocks sent up as many men as could be spared, with fresh supplies. A force of three hundred men was thus collected, and was ordered to march to Bekwai by Obuassi—the main road being closed by the enemy—and to leave a garrison at the mines on the way. It was a matter of the greatest moment to ensure that the king of Bekwai should remain loyal; and this could only be done by enabling him to maintain his country against the Ashantis. The force at Bekwai and Esumeja was not, in the king's opinion, sufficient for this purpose; and he was continually threatening, unless more men were sent, to leave his country and move to the coast. If he had done so, all his subordinate chiefs would have been compelled either to follow him or go over to the enemy, with the result that the route to Kumassi by Obuassi and Bekwai, as well as the main road, would have been closed to the advance.

On June 16th the column started; it reached Bekwai shortly before nightfall on June 19th. There was henceforward no doubt as to the king's loyalty; and he appears to have given every assistance in his power. That he would have been able to occupy his town much longer if assistance had not been sent is improbable; and to secure his co-operation and the integrity of his country was a matter the importance of which it is impossible to ex-

aggrate. On reaching Bekwai, it was found that the garrison there had been withdrawn to Esumeja in order to watch more effectually a big Adansi camp about a mile and a half north-east, from which at any moment an incursion into the king's friendly territory was to be expected. Every effort was made to communicate with the Governor in Kumassi without delay, but in spite of huge rewards no one was found willing to make the attempt. Patrols were sent in every direction to collect food for the columns which would be arriving later; and a strong palisade was run up, which enclosed a portion of the village, and provided a receptacle for munitions and stores which could be held against any sudden rush.

Although messengers from Prahsu were unable as a rule to penetrate the rebel lines round Kumassi, a few appear to have had the luck to get out; but several perished in the attempt. One of those who succeeded reached Bekwai on June 22nd with a tiny despatch in French about two inches square, in which the Governor stated that he could hold out till June 20th, but not later. As that date was already past, the only practicable course was adopted. Immediate action was impossible; but the forces were held ready to co-operate at any moment if a column from the fort should attempt to break through.

On June 29th the king of Bekwai received news through native sources that the Governor had broken out some days previously and was at N'kwanta, intending to proceed to the coast. Subsequent enquiries confirmed this report; and a few days later a letter arrived from the Governor himself, giving details of the escape, in which two white officers were killed, and fixing July 15th as absolutely the latest date up to which the reduced garrison of one hundred men with two officers and a doctor could hold out. The Governor further stated that his intention was to proceed to the coast with the whole column and the refugees.

It is always easy to criticise actions after their occurrence, and to point out in the light of later events a course which would have given better results. It is therefore with some diffidence that we draw attention to the question whether the Governor would not have acted more wisely had he made his retreat to the coast at an earlier date. It was doubtless a very difficult matter to

decide. From what we are told by Colonel Montanaro,* it is evident that the project had been mooted, and, in deference to the opinion of the majority of white officers, abandoned. This, however, was about the 29th April, after the arrival of some troops from Lagos, who, on the way up, had received a very severe handling; and in our view it was a perfectly correct decision. We are at a loss to understand, however, why the attempt was not made soon after Major Morris arrived with his reinforcements from the Northern Territories, on or about the 15th May. If at this time the retreat had been made, the troops and carriers would have been physically much fitter to undergo the hardships which they afterwards encountered when weakened by sickness and semi-starvation. The effective garrison to be left behind need not then have consisted of a mere handful encumbered with a helpless crowd; and, above all, if the column had retired at an earlier date with the same provisions that they eventually took with them, viz., two days' rations, an ample store would have remained to keep the garrison in perfect health. We conclude that the Governor thought that the relief column would arrive earlier; but, with several years' experience of the Gold Coast, it was unfortunate that he did not make a more correct estimate of the difficulties which had to be overcome before the relief column could safely begin its forward movement.

When the Governor's column fled to the coast, the garrison left behind consisted of one hundred and fifteen men, of whom probably not two dozen were capable of duty beyond watching behind loopholes; and these certainly were unable to march, even should their lives be dependent on the exertion. There was one hope for them, and one only; and this lay in the arrival of relief before their scanty stores were entirely consumed. Mr Ramseyer† states that, before leaving Kumassi, Major Morris‡ had given the officers to understand that he would return with a relieving column in five days. This statement is confirmed

* 'The Ashanti Campaign of 1900,' cap. i.

† 'Jours d'angoisse à Koumassie,' pp. 219, 220.

‡ Major Morris, who, in response to the Governor's orders, had arrived from the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast about six weeks before, with all the troops obtainable, had taken over, as senior officer, the command of the forces in Kumassi. He left with the Governor on June 23rd.

by Captain Bishop, who was left in command of the sick and attenuated garrison.* On what grounds such a promise could have been based it is impossible to imagine; but it is utterly irreconcilable with the Governor's words on leaving the fort.† 'Well,' he said, 'you have a supply of food for twenty-three days, and are safe for that period, but we are going to die to-day.' On this remarkable speech it may be observed that, if the retiring column had only a few hours to live, it was hardly necessary to employ one hundred and six carriers for the personal luggage of the Governor and his private secretary,‡ as is shown in the detail of the force marching out.

With the departure of the troops for the coast a further danger was revealed. When the Ashantis first rose and attacked the town, the traders and foreign inhabitants deserted their houses, and crowded into the open space round the fort, building low shelters in every direction. On the departure of the Governor, all those who were able followed the rearguard, not being allowed to join the column; and it is much to be feared that but few of them ever reached the coast. Very many, however, were too feeble to move, and perished miserably where they lay. The result was that, in spite of the heat, it became impossible to open the windows of the fort. So unsupportable did the stench become that it was absolutely necessary to destroy the huts; but before doing so the officers searched in the vain hope of finding some unfortunate being not yet dead. With considerable difficulty the huts were at last fired, which to some extent lessened the surrounding horrors. When Sir James Willcocks reached Kumassi, the only survivors of the former inhabitants, numbering over three thousand, were a few children, emaciated to such a degree that their thighs were hardly bigger than an ordinary man's wrist—absolutely nothing but the bone with a thin parchment-like covering. None of the garrison left the fort, except, in the early morning or at nightfall, to carry out the corpses of those who died during the day. To intensify the strain upon all ranks, rumours were circulated by the Ashantis that the Governor's column had been dispersed, and that the head of a white man had been borne in triumph to their camp. It

* 'Siege of Kumassi,' p. 188.

† *Ibid.*, p. 187.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

was also reported that the previously loyal kings of Bekwai and Ekwanta had joined the rebel forces and were moving against Kumassi. Then smallpox broke out among the depleted garrison; and many, preferring death to the fast accumulating horrors, committed suicide in despair.

This terrible state of things was, naturally, unknown to the relieving force, which was somewhat reassured by hearing, early in July, that the garrison could hold out for another fortnight. Immediate relief appeared no longer so imperatively necessary; and, with the departure of the Governor from Kumassi, the campaign entered upon a new phase. By the main road, in ordinary times, Kumassi could be reached in a day; so, with every allowance for opposition and for the climate, there was still a margin within which to complete arrangements and to give time for the troops advancing from the coast to arrive. On June 30th a strong column of about four hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonel Burroughs, W.A.R., surprising Dampoassi just as night fell, moved up the main road and reached Bekwai on July 2nd. The following day an attempt was made to take the enemy's camp at Kokofu, which was known to be strongly held; but the attack was repulsed with considerable loss. It is difficult to understand why this unlucky movement was made, especially as Sir James Willcocks, in his despatches, states that it was contrary to his orders. The more of the enemy there were at Kokofu, the fewer there would be round Kumassi; and the successful attack and destruction of the camp would be a very poor recompense for increasing the force to be overcome before Kumassi could be reached. The only result of this action appears to have been the death of a white officer and several men; while a considerable number of the relieving column were rendered useless from wounds, and the enemy greatly encouraged in their opposition. To the native mind, Kokofu appeared thenceforth a post rendered impregnable by fetish. The column retiring from Kokofu was followed up, and a feeble attack was made on the Esumeja post, which was, however, repulsed without any difficulty.

On July 9th Sir James Willcocks, with further reinforcements, reached Bekwai; and the final arrangements for the advance were commenced. It was, above all things, necessary that the route selected should remain a

conveying supplies for the starving garrison, stores for the new garrison to be left in the fort, and sufficient food and ammunition to last until the return to Bekwai. It was known that a great portion of the beleaguered force would be unable to walk, and this necessitated a large addition to the number of hammocks.

Very soon after the march commenced it was apparent that the Pekki route had been selected in preference to the main road. Pekki was fifteen miles distant, and orders were given that it was to be the halting place for the first day's march. Though it was not necessary to move with very great caution until the friendly Bekwai territory had been traversed, the progress was slow beyond description. Heavy rain had fallen incessantly during the previous night, making the already bad track almost impassable, and filling the rivers and streams. The advance-guard had continually to halt, while in particularly bad places brush wood was cut down in order to form a rough corduroyed road; and in more than one instance temporary bridges had to be constructed. In a march of this description the strain is great on everyone, but falls with peculiar intensity on the rear-guard. In a long line of men, embarrassed with carriers and countless loads, large gaps must arise in spite of the most strenuous exertions. When an obstruction causes a halt, the head of the column and each successive portion, as it closes up, can rest; but unless the halt is of unusual length, the difficulty in front has been removed by the time the rear-guard has closed up, and the march continues. Hour after hour the slow steady advance continued in spite of the rain and swamps, until at last, with even less than the usual tropical twilight, the sun went down. The gloom of the forest at once gave way to a darkness which could almost be felt. It became impossible to see a foot in advance, and each man had to grope his way along as best he could. After some time the moon rose and made progress slightly easier, but the carriers were beginning to tire, and from sheer fatigue to drop their loads; and, once on the ground, it was only with great difficulty they were able to replace them on their heads. At each stream the officers were obliged to stand at the top of the bank and pull the wearied porters up. The crash of boxes, dropped as their bearers stumbled over roots, was incessant, and in many

cases much of the contents was lost; but the men worked magnificently, and eventually the rear-guard reached Pekki about 1.30 a.m. without the loss of a single whole load, worn out and exhausted, but satisfied that more than half the distance to Kumassi had been covered.

Leaving Pekki the following morning, July 14th, the column soon afterwards became engaged with the Ashantis, who fired from the bush and from trees in which they were concealed. This was not allowed to cause any material delay. The leading company of the advance-guard, under Captain Eden, Second West African Frontier Force, supported by half a company of the Sierra Leone Frontier Police, under Lieutenant Edwards, and half of another company of the Second West African Frontier Force, under Lieutenant Swaby, cleared the fetish village of Treda with the bayonet, having four casualties. From the state of the houses it was evident that the troops had not been expected; and many sheep and other provisions were captured, which formed a most welcome addition in the evening to the scanty European rations. Time having been barely given to reform and replenish pouches, the advance continued. Several times during the day ineffectual attacks were made on the column, but were easily repulsed, the only casualty being one soldier wounded; and just before sundown the village of Ekwanta was reached. Here it was decided to halt. As night fell Sir James Willcocks summoned the Europeans of the force, and gave to everyone the orders for the advance on the morrow. In a few stirring sentences he declared that at all costs Kumassi must be reached the following day. Fully impressed with the supreme importance of the issue to be decided when the sun again rose, the little company dispersed to obtain a few hours' troubled sleep.

At daybreak on July 15th, the last stage of the advance began. A rapid and deep stream just beyond the village caused considerable delay. The hard work and exposure had begun to tell on many; and one of the officers, ill with fever and dysentery, had to be carried. But slowly the column forged on, at every moment expecting to be attacked, and strained to the utmost by the monotonous silence, only broken by the sound of feet squelching through the mud, and the occasional fitful cry of a carrier.

As generally happens, the most vulnerable point—in this case the line of carriers—was selected to bear the first brunt of contact with the Ashantis. About 3 p.m. a deep booming volley from Dane* guns suddenly announced that at last the fight had begun. An attack had been delivered on the long column of carriers, fortunately at a place where there was a section of troops with a Maxim, by whom it was immediately repulsed, not, however, before serious mischief had been done. As soon as the firing commenced the carriers threw their loads away, heedless whether they fell on the path or in the bush, and rushed wildly forwards or backwards, according to whether they were in front of or behind the point attacked, their one object being to escape from the dreaded Ashantis. In the wild rush officers were knocked down, and nothing stopped the panic-stricken crowd till they were so closely jammed that any further movement became impossible. Rice bags, medicine chests, ammunition, food, were scattered in every direction, some in the water, some in the low bushes along the track, many being broken and their contents scattered on every side. With incredible exertions the carriers were eventually disentangled, the loads collected and the column straightened out. This had hardly been done when the Sierra Leone Police, who had been scouting admirably the whole way, reported a stockade just ahead. A heavy fire was almost at once opened by the Ashantis from the front and right, and another attempt was made on the carriers, only to be again repulsed.

The millimetre guns and three 7-pounders were then brought into action, supported by three Maxims. These kept up a steady fire on the first stockade, and on another which flanked it on the right. Under cover of the artillery six companies were extended, three facing towards Kumassi and three at an angle to the others, facing some rising ground from which a strong fire was being delivered by the Ashantis. As soon as this movement was completed, Sir James Willcocks ordered the 'cease fire'; and it speaks volumes for the work done by the officers that the men who a few months before had been undisciplined savages

* 'Dane guns'—the ordinary name for the long-barrelled guns used by the Ashantis, which carry a number of slugs and other projectiles, and make a very loud report.

obeyed the order even at the crisis of the fight with a promptitude which would have been noticeable on a field day. The sudden cessation of fire and the stillness following the previous din appear to have impressed the Ashantis, who failed to understand what the order portended; for they in their turn stopped firing, and many of them rose from the shelters behind which they had been crouching to discover what the sudden silence meant. It was not long before they knew. The 'charge' rang out, and with hurrahs and shouts the two lines swept onwards, bayoneting all they came across and clearing the stockade immediately.

The success of the movement was never for an instant in doubt. Kumassi was relieved; and the West African troops had proved that, properly handled and led, they were more than a match for the much-vaunted Ashantis. There was no hesitation when once the order to charge was given, although the troops knew they were moving against men who had inflicted several reverses upon them, and over whom, till then, they had never scored a success. It was known that the enemy had an immense numerical superiority; and to fight an unseen enemy, sheltered behind stockades at only a few yards' distance, has a demoralising effect against which even white troops are not always proof.

The pursuit was maintained for a sufficient distance to ensure the safe passage of the long column behind; and the war-camp from which the stockade had been garrisoned was burnt. Inside the stockade there was ample evidence of the execution done by the millimetre guns. The trees had been splintered, and the trunks which formed the breastwork were scattered in all directions. Before the rear-guard could pass through night fell, and it was necessary to light matches so as to avoid bodies in every stage of mutilation from the effect of the bursting shells. A short distance further on, the main road was struck, well metalled and raised on a causeway. The wild cheers which had broken out when the road was reached gradually died away, and a supreme silence took its place, everyone waiting to catch some sound from the fort. Deep in each heart was a fear, too solemn to be spoken. Had Kumassi fallen, and was the relief too late? If not, why this ominous stillness? At length the head of the

column passed into a clearing, and the fort gleamed in the moonlight at some little distance to the left; almost at the same moment a bugle rang out the 'general salute.' The fort still stood. It was answered by cheer after cheer from the advancing troops, whose pent-up feelings could at last find vent.

A few moments later the garrison, emerging from the fort, learnt, at last, that the relief had been accomplished, and that the days of horror and uncertainty were happily at an end. To the most casual observer the terrible results of the siege were only too obvious. The three white officers—Captain Bishop in command, Assistant Inspector Ralp, and Dr Hay—were careworn and emaciated; and some of the garrison had died from starvation and weakness while the shells of the relieving column were actually flying over the fort.

Kumassi was no place to stay in, and on July 17th the return to Bekwai was commenced; but it was necessarily slow owing to the state of the relieved garrison. The experiences of July 15th had been more than sufficient for the Ashantis; and no attempt was made to molest the column, the last portion of which reached Bekwai on July 20th, much worn and exhausted from fatigue and scanty food, rations for two and a half days, eked out with supplies from the medical stores, having had to last over seven.

It is always an invidious and disagreeable task to criticise adversely the work of a lady, especially when it purports to be a truthful account of deeds and dangers which she witnessed and shared. But those who contribute to contemporary history are under a special obligation to be accurate, because they write of deeds yet fresh in the public memory, and pass judgment direct or indirect on those who are still alive. It seems to us that Lady Hodgson, in her account of the 'Siege of Kumassi,' has unnecessarily gone out of her way to cast a slur on some of her husband's late subordinates, and on others of whom she knew even less. Not only has she brought very grave charges against Captain Davidson Houston, who was Acting Resident at Kumassi, but she has passed strictures not less ridiculous than uncalled-for on the movements of the relieving force. In several places the reflections made on the Acting Resident are difficult to reconcile with the

statement that she never discussed important matters with her husband—unless they are to be considered as the repetitions of irresponsible gossip.*

One passage in Lady Hodgson's book † must be quoted at length, because it not only contains serious charges against the relief column, but is full of inaccuracies which are not easily detected, and yet combine to give a very false impression.

'It was only a few hours after Major Morris had left [Mampon] that a letter written in French arrived from Colonel Wilkinson, who it then appeared was in command of the advance guard of the relief column. This letter contained the first authentic news which the Governor had received since the 29th April, and although it told him plainly that a column was on its way up, it did not inspire hope that it would reach Kumassi by the 15th July. . . . A request was made in the letter that all available Haussas should be sent from N'kwanta to Esumeja, and I remember saying to my husband, "Well, how did they expect us to be able to convoy the missionaries, loyal kings and chiefs, carriers, and, in fact, all the party, safely out of Ashanti if we were deprived of all our troops, and why could they not have reversed the position and hurried up with their available troops to our relief at Kumassi?" When I made this remark we did not know, as we learnt subsequently, that one of the many letters which my husband had sent from the fort, written in French, saying that the provisions would only last until the 23rd June, had safely passed through the rebel lines and been delivered. As all the world knows, the fort was relieved on the 15th July; and to me it seems strange that as the situation at Kumassi was known to the officer commanding the relief column, operations were not hurried on, and the difficulties due to weather, the state of the roads, and fatigue, overcome at once, as they were overcome three weeks later when the troops forming the relief column were moved up at a rate quite unknown to the column since its formation. Why was there so long a halt at Prahsu, which is certainly not the most pleasant of places to spend a fortnight at? It was said that the delay was due to waiting for a gun, which after all was not employed in raising the siege; but I am not sure of the authenticity of this statement, for my husband would never talk to me about important official matters, nor would he satisfy my natural curiosity.'

It will be observed that Lady Hodgson states that

* 'Siege of Kumassi,' pp. 103, 104.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 283.

Colonel Wilkinson requested that 'all *available* Haussas should be sent from N'kwanta,' and a few lines further on confuses this with a demand that 'all the troops' should be despatched.* It is inconceivable that, out of the large column of six hundred men which marched out of Kumassi with the Governor, some could not have been spared to assist in the succour of the attenuated garrison left behind. Sufficient troops would still have been left to convoy the retreating column to the coast, and furnish the guards of honour, which in the circumstances might surely have been dispensed with. What renders the refusal of Colonel Wilkinson's request—for it was refused—yet more incomprehensible is that Sir Frederick Hodgson's return, dated July 24th, gave 118 as the total casualties of every kind to his column.† A moment's consideration ought surely to have shown Lady Hodgson that no comparison is possible between a column hampered with a long train of porters carrying provisions for the garrison to be left in Kumassi, and moving through a hostile and exceptionally difficult country, and a column moving through a friendly country, in which provisions were obtainable, such as the retiring force found when once the Ofin River was crossed.

Not satisfied, however, with this perversion of Colonel Wilkinson's request for 'all available Haussas' from the Governor's column, Lady Hodgson proceeds to reflect on the manner in which the advance of the relief column was conducted. She says that one of the many letters sent from the fort, and written in French, stating that provisions could only last until the 23rd June, had safely passed through the rebels' lines and been delivered.

Here we come to a question of fact. The despatch to which we have already referred as received by Colonel Wilkinson on the 22nd of June at Bekwai, mentioned the 20th of June as the last day to which the garrison could hold out on reduced rations. This despatch was not received by Sir James Willcocks until the 25th.‡ Obviously, if the communication of the Governor was to be implicitly trusted, Kumassi had fallen two days before Colonel Wilkinson received this despatch, and five days

* The italics are ours.

† 'London Gazette,' December 4th, 1900.

‡ 'Relief of Kumassi,' p. 138.

before it reached Sir James Willcocks. If Lady Hodgson has not confused the date of the departure of the Governor from Kumassi (June 23rd) with the date (June 20th) mentioned in this despatch, she must have knowledge of another despatch sent by the Governor but never received by Sir James Willcocks.

This is a point of no little importance and merits serious attention. The task that the relieving column had to attempt was to reach Kumassi in the face of grave natural difficulties and the active hostility of the Ashantis, before famine and sickness should have compelled the fort to surrender. For this, time was the all-important factor; and it was essential that every effort should be made to inform the advancing column accurately on this subject, so that they might know the exact period at their disposal. Sir James Willcocks states* that on June 12th he received a letter from Sir F. Hodgson fixing June 11th as the last date to which, with reduced rations, the fort could hold out. Certainly this letter cannot be said to have correctly described the position inside Kumassi, when it is remembered that the Governor did not leave the fort until June 23rd, and that the garrison held out for three weeks longer. Sir James Willcocks appears to have been dubious of the amount of dependence to be placed on this letter, for he hastened forward troops, 'hoping that the statement *re* food supplies might not be exactly accurate.'† Subsequent events fully justified his doubts on the subject. The letter in question was not received till after the date beyond which it was said that the fort could not hold out; and then, to confuse matters still more, on June 25th another letter‡ in French arrived from Kumassi fixing June 20th as the limit up to which the fort could be maintained. Careful search has failed to reveal any further letter until the despatch announcing the departure of the Governor on June 23rd reached Sir James Willcocks at Fumsu on July 4th. We therefore cannot avoid concluding that Lady Hodgson's mention of a despatch, fixing June 23rd as the date up to which the fort would be maintained, is another instance of inaccuracy on her part.

If such inaccuracies are to be condemned, it is still

* 'London Gazette,' December 4th, 1900, p. 8205, paragraph 6.

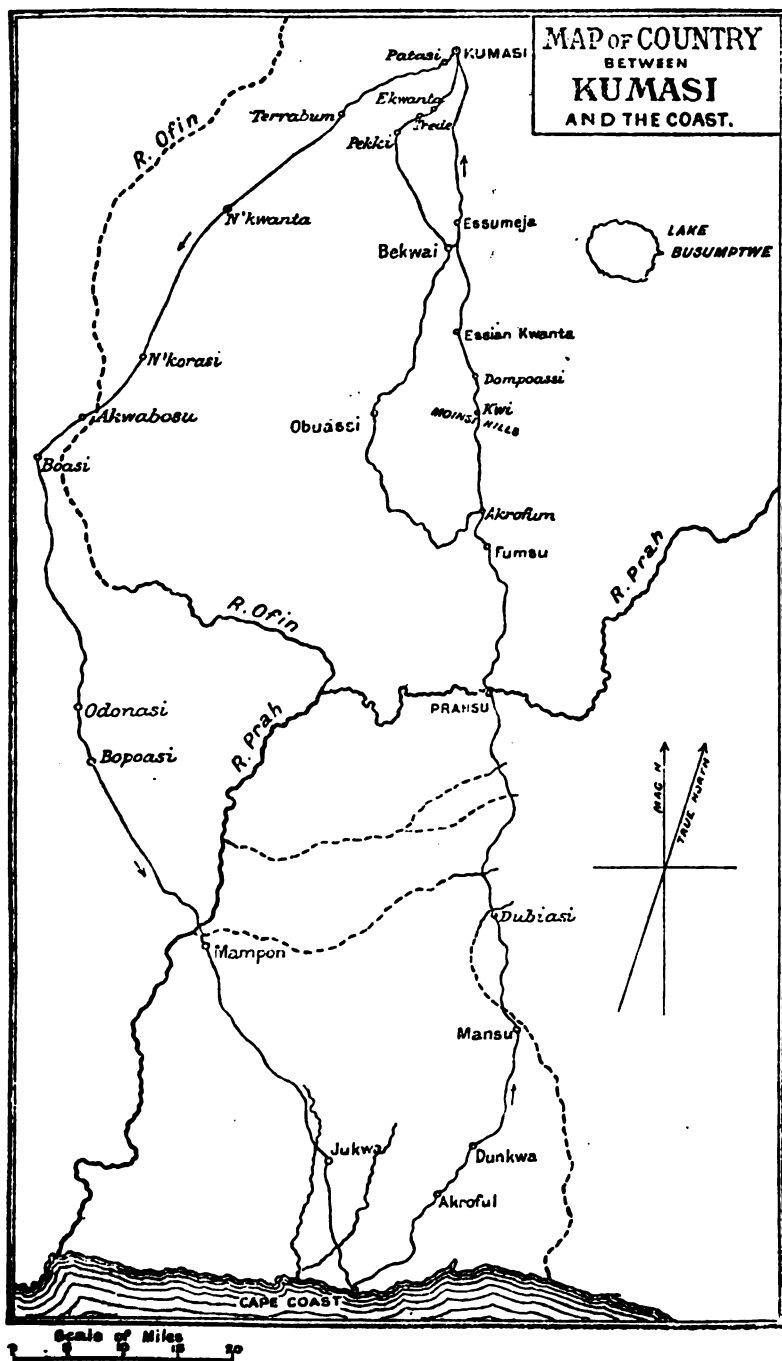
† *Ibid.*

‡ 'Relief of Kumassi,' p. 138.

more unfortunate that Lady Hodgson proceeds to sneer at the methods employed by the officer commanding the relief column. There were many incidents in the Governor's retreat, of which Lady Hodgson was an eyewitness, which might have given her ample scope to employ her critical faculties, without discussing a subject of which she could know nothing save by hearsay, and on which her opinion could not be of the least value.

When Sir James Willcocks reached Prahsu on June 8th, he found the wire broken down beyond the Prah, with no supplies in any quantity further ahead. The only troops available were the small number he had himself brought up; and these were at once pushed forward to occupy Bekwai in co-operation with the force which had fallen back from Kwissa. As fast as troops arrived from the coast they were sent forward, and every exertion was made to hurry up stores for victualling the fort, without which relief would have been merely nominal. If, instead of remaining at Prahsu, the officer in command had himself gone forward, he would have lost control of the expedition and have lapsed into the position of an officer commanding a column. Until he was in a condition to make a definite forward movement, with his base secure, it would have been an inexcusable blunder to rush ahead, merely to be in his turn cut off and isolated. It follows, therefore, that the imputation of unnecessary delay, cast upon the relieving force, is absolutely unfounded. If this be the case, no language, in our opinion, is sufficiently severe to condemn the publication of such statements as these, calculated to throw discredit on a brilliant soldier and his men, by whom every effort was made, in the most discouraging circumstances, to fulfil a task which ought never to have been laid upon them.

We have noticed Lady Hodgson's narrative at considerable length, because her position, as the wife of the late Governor of the Gold Coast, is likely to confer upon her statements and opinions a circulation and a credence which we regret to say we do not think they deserve. We may now pass to the more agreeable task of sketching the events which concluded the campaign. These events are fully told in 'The Ashanti Campaign of 1900,' by Colonel Montanaro and Captain Armitage, and in 'The Relief of Kumasi,' by Captain Biss. The latter work is



somewhat marred by an unfortunate exuberance of style; but it is nevertheless an interesting narrative of personal experiences and well worth perusal. 'The Ashanti Campaign' is, undoubtedly, the best account yet published of the whole course of operations. The authors have divided their task, and are to be congratulated on the manner in which it is performed. Both have written plain straightforward narratives, devoid of innuendo, and have only commented on matters about which they are justified in expressing an opinion. We confidently recommend their book to those who are interested in a unique campaign, which has brought into prominence the soldierly qualities of our West African troops.

On the return of the relieving column to Bekwai, affairs began rapidly to mend. A reinforcement, under Colonel Morland, had arrived from Cape Coast. After a day's rest Sir James Willcocks decided to make another attack on Kokofu. For this purpose a column was despatched under Colonel Morland, which surprised the enemy at breakfast and completely routed them, killing several without the loss of a man. Flying columns were sent out in every direction to smash up the various war-camps scattered through the country. Most of these columns met with considerable opposition, but in every case were completely successful. When the country south of Kumassi had been cleared of the enemy, the headquarters were transferred from Bekwai to Kumassi, and the remaining portion of the country similarly cleared.

Several days north of Kumassi lies Kintampo, the most southerly station of a protectorate known as the Northern Territories. When Major Morris was summoned to assist the Kumassi garrison, a considerable force was left behind to hold this place and the remainder of the country. Although there was no reason to suppose that the rising had spread so far north, no little anxiety was felt as to what might have occurred; and it was impossible to obtain any authentic information. A strong column was therefore sent up with supplies to replenish the stores, which must necessarily have been exhausted some time previously. The column returned, having found that Major Sheppard, upon whom the command had devolved after Major Morris's departure, had successfully maintained order, and that everything was in a satisfactory state.

The operations were not carried on without considerable losses on our side. The total number of Europeans of all ranks at any time in the field did not exceed 280 ; of these 9 were killed, 7 died of disease, 52 were wounded, 52 invalided. In the native ranks, numbering about 3800, 154 were killed or missing, 680 wounded, 102 died of disease. Of the carriers, about 10,000 in number, 45 were killed or wounded, 430 died of disease, and 50 native levies were killed. This total is not small, but it would have been very much greater but for the splendid work of the medical officers, under Dr McDowell, C.M.G., to whom Sir James Willcocks in his despatches draws well-deserved attention.

By the middle of November 1900, the work of the punitive columns was completed, and the Ashantis had no desire for further fighting. They had fought well, and can certainly claim for the future the treatment due to a brave, if barbarous enemy. While we fully admit that their customs and many fetish rites are repugnant to civilised ideas, it is a great mistake to consider the Ashantis as devoid of morality. That they certainly are not so, the negotiations which preceded Major Morris's arrival at Kumassi clearly prove. An armistice had been arranged, during which one of the refugees was shot while searching for food; and the Ashantis at once sent in word that the occurrence was an accident, the man having been killed by one of their force who was unaware of the arrangement. Again, in spite of the fact that, under the rules of war, no beleaguered post would be allowed reinforcements during an armistice, the Ashantis permitted Major Morris's column to pass, unopposed, over two stockades and through a large war-camp. It should be stated, in explanation of what might seem to have been a breach of the armistice on our part, that Major Morris had no notion that an armistice had been made; while, on the other hand, the Governor was equally unaware that Major Morris was approaching. Upon the whole, the character of the natives is such that in a few years, under reasonable government, this colony should develop large resources and be a valuable imperial possession.

Art. X.—THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY.

1. *Regina v. Cockerton*. Judgment of the Queen's Bench Division, December 20th, 1900.
2. *Rex v. Cockerton*. Judgment of the Court of Appeal, April 1st, 1901.
3. *Education in the Nineteenth Century*. Edited by R. D. Roberts. Cambridge: University Press, 1901.

By a singular chance the first parliamentary year of the second term of office of the present Unionist Government is marked, like the first year of its first term, by a necessity for partial, and an opportunity for comprehensive, educational reform. In 1896 the exigency was created by the promises very properly given by members of the ministry, before the general election of the preceding year, that something should be done to relieve the 'intolerable strain' from which the voluntary schools were suffering, owing to unexpected developments of the educational system established in 1870. In the present instance the need for some immediate legislation is due to the discovery, assuming the Cockerton judgment to be finally confirmed, that some interesting and apparently popular developments of school board work are illegal, and, unless the law is altered, or private benevolence steps in, will have to be pulled up short.

The increasing difficulties of the voluntary schools had, in 1896, shown the evils of piecemeal legislation; while the report of the Royal Commission presided over by Mr Bryce, indicating the lines on which reorganisation should proceed in the sphere of secondary education, had strengthened the case for comprehensive reform. That report produced a marked effect on public opinion, and it was well calculated to do so. It was, in the best sense of the word, a liberal document. It recognised to the full the good work that was being done by existing agencies of divers kinds—grammar schools, higher grade elementary schools in their more advanced developments, and private schools; and, while pointing out quite clearly the nature of existing deficiencies—the overlappings and waste in some directions, the actual want of adequate educational supply in others—sketched out a system under which educational resources might be economised,

gaps filled up, and continuity secured, without any loss of the variety congenial to the national temper and called for by national requirements.

The Government were by no means blind to the legislative possibilities of the situation thus presented. They were constrained by considerations alike of honour and of policy to make some provision for the relief of voluntary schools, still educating more than half of the working-class children of the nation, from a pressure for which their managers were in no sense responsible, and which had arisen from the gradual elevation of Departmental ideals in regard to primary education and sanitary requirements. Ministers sought to combine the fulfilment of this clear and unquestioned obligation with a scheme of legislation that would provide local authorities, resembling, in the main, the type indicated by the Bryce Commission, for the reorganisation of secondary education, but capable also of undertaking the supervision and control of elementary education within their respective areas.

This potential union of local educational administration was attempted not by any general and sweeping provision for the concentration of powers, but by a complex combination of clauses, which, whatever their theoretical justification, lent themselves with unfortunate readiness to the arts of obstruction. Thus the local educational authority—an education committee which was to be appointed by the County Council from within and without its own body, with the proviso that the County Council members were to be in a majority—was to act as, and be substituted for, the school attendance committee for every school district in the county not having a school board of its own and not being a non-county borough. Moreover, it might by agreement with the Education Department take over the administration of the duties of the Department in regard to the monies provided by Parliament, either for primary education or for science and art teaching, in relation to any schools in the county, and ‘in respect of securing and certifying the efficiency of schools in the county’—a very important and wide-reaching provision. Further, if any school board were declared by the Education Department to be in default, the education authority for the county comprising the district in question might, by order, be constituted the school

board for the district and clothed with all its powers. Finally, by what was known as the 'suicide clause,' it was provided that any school board might agree with the educational authority in their county to transfer their schools to its care, and then apply to the Education Department for an order of dissolution. To the provisions just enumerated must be added, in connexion with elementary education, that which would have empowered the new county educational authority to administer a special aid grant of four shillings per scholar, either in voluntary or in technically 'necessitous' board schools.

The total effect of the Bill of 1896, if it had become law, would have been, not indeed to disestablish school boards, especially where they were doing well and enjoying general esteem, but practically to put a stop to the further extension of that type of educational administration, and to create a definite parliamentary and administrative presumption in favour of the concentration of all local responsibility for education of all kinds—under the university standard, and with the exception of non-local public schools—in the hands of a county authority of the type recommended by the Bryce Commission for the control of the secondary sphere.

Such, we say, would apparently have been the general result of the legislation attempted in 1896 if it had been placed on the statute book; and, having regard to the stage of development which public opinion on educational questions had then reached, it is quite a tenable view that no more could have been attempted with any prospect of success. Unfortunately, whatever prospect of success even so existed was destroyed through a combination of causes which may be very briefly referred to. In the first place, the Radical opposition, smarting from their recent disastrous overthrow at the polls, clutched eagerly at the earliest opportunity of inflicting a parliamentary check on their victorious opponents. They had still, in many cases, been cherishing the hope that the denominational schools would be gradually starved out; and the proposition that Parliament should be committed to the practical assertion of the principle that those schools were a permanently integral part of the educational system of the country roused the strongest resentment among those whose aspirations it set at naught. They constituted, as

they had long constituted, the most strenuously combative section of the Liberal party, and they rallied with all the joy of battle round Sir William Harcourt, whose parliamentary instinct showed him that the Education Bill offered exceptional opportunities for the infliction of inconvenience and possibly even discomfiture on the Government.

All this would not have mattered much, or at least would not have been fatal, if there had been any enthusiasm for the Bill pervading the great ministerial majority; but the fact was otherwise. The country gentlemen, who form so important, and in many cases so predominating, an element on the County Councils, had not been adequately, if at all, consulted on the question whether they felt willing and able to undertake the very considerable addition to their responsibilities involved in the charge of secondary, and in an uncertain but large degree of primary education within their areas. They had had but a limited experience of educational work; they had not thought the matter over; and they were annoyed at not having had their opinion, on an issue so important to them, taken before the Government introduced the Bill. Further, there was, on the ministerial side, an appreciable amount of something approaching to disaffection among the representatives of the non-county boroughs at the idea of the subjection of those communities, in respect of their educational affairs, to the control of the county authority. It was indeed the strength, real or supposed, of this borough feeling that led to the concession, made by Mr Balfour in an unwary moment, which was the proximate cause of the withdrawal of the whole Bill. He discerned, or thought he discerned, that there existed so considerable a body of sentiment in favour of urban educational autonomy that, with a view to conciliating it, he actually accepted an amendment withdrawing boroughs of over twenty thousand inhabitants from the control of the county educational authority. The result of this amendment, if it had been embodied in law, would have been the creation of a crowd of separate educational authorities over the country so numerous as to be beyond all hope of effectual supervision. To proceed with a Bill including such a modification, or to withdraw such a concession when once made, appeared equally impossible. Mr Balfour accordingly announced

that, having regard to the mass of amendments awaiting consideration, and the feeling shown in different quarters of the House towards the measure as a whole, the Government had decided not to proceed with it.

The announcement was received with joyous acclamations from the Radical benches, and with a sense of profound humiliation among all the more thoughtful members of the Unionist party, as well as, we can hardly doubt, among an appreciable number of the more far-sighted and patriotic members of the Opposition. Here in fact was one of the most striking evidences of the power wielded by a reckless minority of the House of Commons to prevent the progress of constructive legislation approved in its general scope by almost all the best expert authority, and so to throw back indefinitely the settlement of a great national problem. Here, at the same time, it must be admitted, was conclusive evidence of the absolute necessity, under parliamentary conditions as they now exist, not only that a ministry, however powerful, should follow sound principles of legislation, but that, if national education is the matter in hand, at least one or two ministers of cabinet rank, in each House, should possess deep and earnest educational convictions, and a thorough acquaintance with the subject.

Had Mr Balfour's conduct of the Bill of 1896 been marked by the resolution, energy, and resource which distinguished Mr Forster's struggle in putting through the Education Act of 1870, when an important section of the ministerial party were in bitter opposition to him, the ignominious fiasco of which we have spoken would not have occurred. Further, if the Government had been to any extent dominated by a sense of the soundness of the principles involved in the Bill of 1896, they would not have allowed the Parliament elected in 1895 to run out without making any further attempt to induce it to settle the question of the constitution and powers of local educational authorities on a broad and permanent basis. As it was, Ministers were content with passing, in ensuing years, Acts providing for aid grants, first to voluntary schools, and then to necessitous board schools, and subsequently for the re-organisation of the Central Education Authority in London. All these things were doubtless necessary. Without the aid grant, the voluntary schools, in many cases, could not

have continued in existence. But, given as it was given, the measure for their relief was a piece of altogether inadequate and unworthy patchwork. It relieved their immediate necessity; but it provided no permanent means of dealing with a situation always changing, steadily and surely, and in some important districts rapidly, to their disadvantage.

The Board of Education Act of 1899 was doubtless, potentially at any rate, a really important and valuable measure. It rendered possible, if it cannot be said to have at once established, a central unity of educational administration and supervision. Such a unity is unquestionably necessary for the evolution of any approach to a comprehensive and duly co-ordinated national system of primary and secondary education. But it has never been suggested that the work of the Central Authority in the sphere of secondary education should be more than supervisory of, or at the outside supplementary to, that of local authorities charged with the direct treatment of the subject. Until, therefore, new local authorities with the requisite powers have been established, there can be no hope that the problem will be effectively grappled with.

Meanwhile, the events of the past twelve months, and notably the legal decision in the Cockerton case, have brought about an *impasse* from which it is absolutely necessary that Parliament should provide some way of escape. A full narrative of the circumstances out of which that case has arisen would illustrate at almost every point the manifold disadvantages inevitably resulting from a long series of piecemeal legislation in the educational sphere, accompanied and followed by a mass of casual, though as a rule well-meant, administration, on the part of both central and local authorities. We are all, of course, extremely proud of the entire detachment from one another of our legislative, executive, and judicial systems, and smile at its occasional inconveniences. But when it results in the judicial prohibition of methods by which administrative authorities have sought to carry out the intentions of Parliament in the interests of the humbler classes of the population, the situation, while unquestionably grotesque, becomes very serious.

A considerable number of school boards have endeavoured to meet the intellectual requirements of their

districts by methods proceeding beyond the actual obligations laid on them by Parliament. They have done this in various ways. In the first place, they have included in their system of teaching for their higher classes instruction in a variety of subjects—some literary, some mathematical, and some scientific—which are optionally included in the Elementary Education Code, and for the successful teaching of which, as 'specific subjects' beyond and above the three R's, particular grants were, until last year, obtainable. In the second place, they have arranged for the giving, in parts of many of their schools, of instruction in science and art of a more advanced character, in accordance with the 'Directory' of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, entitling them, on satisfactory reports from the inspectors of that Department, to receive its grants, in addition to whatever they may earn from the Elementary Education Department at Whitehall. In the third place, they have maintained evening classes, which in the seventies and early eighties were practically evening elementary schools for young people beyond school age, but which, as the elementary day school system has raised the average of intellectual development and demand, have become schools giving education to a very large extent of a secondary character.

It can hardly, we think, be doubted that in the discharge of all these three classes of supererogatory functions the school boards had in general the sanction, and even in many cases the direct encouragement, of the Central Education Authorities. As to the first, indeed, no question could arise, seeing that it involved only the teaching of subjects which were expressly included in the Education Code, and made the means of earning specific grants. Nor is there now any dispute as to the legality of the application of the rates, whether for the construction or for the maintenance of higher grade schools of that particular type. The difficulty, which has arisen through the disallowance by Mr Cockerton, as auditor, of certain payments made by the London School Board, relates to those day schools which have a science school section drawing a South Kensington grant, and to the advanced evening continuation schools, at least in so far as used by adults. So far, all the judges, of both courts, before whom the question has come have declared illegal the application of

funds derived from the school board rate to schools of these two latter classes; and the judgment of the Court of Appeal, as given by the Master of the Rolls on April 1st, pronounces in the same sense with regard to all science and art teaching of the South Kensington type in any schools maintained by school boards.

Sir John Gorst, in his speech in the House of Commons on March 5th, 1901, brought forward several extracts from the correspondence of the Education Department at various dates from 1884 onwards, conveying the view of the law which the judges have now confirmed in regard to the establishment of higher grade day schools or departments of day schools of the South Kensington or advanced science type. There is no gainsaying evidence of this description—for example a letter to the Hanley School Board of 1892 which is quoted as saying that—

‘the higher section of the Higher Grade School organised as proposed, and receiving grants from the Science and Art Department as an organised Science School, would not be a Public Elementary School, nor could the cost of the erection of the premises in which it was to be conducted be included in a loan sanctioned by this [the Education] Department’—

and the Vice-President offered a good deal more to the same effect.

On the other side, however, evidence, which it seems equally impossible to gainsay, is put forward in the March number of the ‘School Board Gazette,’ the official organ of the Association of School Boards in England and Wales. We have no sympathy with the tone adopted by this publication towards the Vice-President of the Council, but we cannot suppose that the committee of the Association responsible for its conduct would be parties to any deliberate misrepresentation of the documents on which they rely. They state, then, not only that the Education Department, with Mr Acland in the Cabinet as Vice-President, sanctioned a loan by the Manchester Board for building a higher grade school, which was stated in the letter of application to ‘embrace an organised science school,’ but that a like application was granted by the present Education Department so recently as October 1899. In that case the South Shields School Board, we are told, desired and obtained the Department’s authorisation of a

loan for the construction of a school which was described as 'specially designed for the purpose of a higher grade department, with facilities for a science school course under the Department of Science and Art.' We are not prepared, without examining the archives of the Education Department ourselves, to accept the conclusion of the 'School Board Gazette' that the science school section of a higher grade school 'has all along been regarded as perfectly legal by the Education Department.' It rather appears to us that the Education Department has had no consistent policy; and that while sanction for loans for schools of the type in question may have occasionally been refused, and their maintenance expenses may have been occasionally disallowed by Local Government Board auditors, the general course of events was such as to encourage spirited school boards to face any legal risk there might be in embarking upon science teaching of the more advanced type for which South Kensington grants were obtainable.

It appears, moreover, from correspondence quoted by the 'School Board Gazette,' that they were expressly incited to that course by letters and emissaries from the Science and Art Department. The incitements quoted, and in particular a letter to the Halifax School Board, are of the date 1887, at which time there was no machinery other than that of school boards generally available for the diffusion of systematic scientific instruction. It might seem likely that the Science and Art Department would have largely, if not entirely, ceased to use its persuasion with school boards for the adoption of its science courses since 1889, when the responsibility for aiding the supply of technical instruction was imposed upon, or at least offered to, county and borough councils and urban sanitary authorities. The offer was very generally accepted by local authorities throughout the country; and their educational operations were greatly facilitated by the extremely elastic interpretation which the South Kensington Department, to which the general supervision of this new educational development was intrusted, felt justified in giving to the word 'technical.' Yet, even so, the efforts of the Department to enlist the co-operation of school boards in the spread of systematic science teaching continued down to 1895-6. And even if, as we believe, those

efforts have since ceased, the memory of the solicitations brought to bear upon school boards, for many years, by South Kensington, could not fail to remain with them, as at least a strong encouragement to the belief that there had been nothing seriously irregular in the course of action towards which it endeavoured, often successfully, to persuade them.

We must take it now that the course of action to which school boards were at one period incited by the Science and Art Department, and in regard to which they received sometimes dissuasion and sometimes encouragement from the Education Department at Whitehall—both of which Departments were nominally all the time under the same chief—was contrary to the law. It does not seem to be a case for blaming anyone; but the fact that both central and local educational authorities from time to time felt constrained to countenance or adopt measures of doubtful legality in the interest of the better discharge of their duty towards the rising generation, affords a striking illustration of the need for the embodiment of clear and consecutive thought in our legislation.

The history of the circumstances which gave rise to the evening continuation school difficulty, if we had space to give it in full, would illustrate the same point in a striking manner. As has been already mentioned, the evening classes held in elementary schools were for a considerable period nothing more than evening elementary schools. The ordinary day-school code of the Elementary Education Department at Whitehall had a few articles dealing with evening schools, whose scholars were all to be in the elementary standards and between the ages of twelve and twenty-one. But from being, in the old sense of the word, night schools for the benefit of those who for any reason had failed to attend any elementary schools at the proper age, they became to a large extent schools for the benefit of those who at any age wished to take up a course of more advanced studies. In 1890 the Department removed from the code the requirement that every scholar in evening schools must take some standard subject. In 1892 a separate code was issued for the evening schools; and in 1893 there came into force Mr Acland's code, which removed the age limit of twenty-one and practically threw open the evening schools to all

forms of higher education. Since then these schools have included in their curriculum such subjects as modern languages, political economy, science, mathematics, and many branches of technical instruction. Nevertheless they were still called elementary schools, and received in 1900 grants of close upon 200,000*l.* from the Whitehall Department. Several of these evening schools are held in, and conducted by the managers of, voluntary schools.

It is no matter of surprise that the managers of the evening schools, or, as they have latterly been called, evening continuation schools, felt quite secure, in view of the action of the Education Department, as to the legality of applying the school board rate to the maintenance of these institutions. But Mr Justice Wills, in his judgment in the Cockerton case, brushed aside contemptuously the argument which had been advanced on behalf of the London School Board—that the action to which we have referred on the part of the Department

‘sets the School Board free to teach, at the expense of the ratepayers, to adults and to children indiscriminately, the higher mathematics, advanced chemistry both theoretical and practical, political economy, art of a kind wholly beyond anything that can be taught to children, French, German, history, and I know not what’—as the ‘*ne plus ultra* of extravagance.’

We entirely agree with the learned judge that any such developments of the administration of Acts ‘of which the primary object was elementary education, and the whole object was education for children,’ ought to be the result of a fresh Act of Parliament and not of Departmental action. But, with all respect, we cannot but feel that the practice of the Department under successive Ministers of different political parties was distinctly calculated to encourage in the school boards a belief that a free interpretation of their legal powers in regard to rating was looked upon with no disfavour at headquarters. In these circumstances the responsibility for the temper out of which illegality has grown rests, as it seems to us, with the central rather than with the local authority.

In this connexion it is worthy of notice that there are places where the Whitehall Department and the South Kensington Department, which have always been technically two branches of the same office, and which were

actually understood to be merged by the Act of 1899, have contributed, under the conditions they respectively enforce, to similar and competing schools. Thus on one side of a street there is an evening continuation school with grants from Whitehall subject to the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit, and for the rest maintained out of the (unlimited) school board rate; while on the other side, competing for the same scholars, is a school on much the same lines supported by the technical instruction committee of the borough council, by means of a rate not exceeding a penny in the pound, with, possibly, a grant out of the whisky money from the county council, and receiving aid from the Science and Art Department at South Kensington. Having regard to such facts as these, we are not indeed so presumptuous as to challenge the conclusions on law laid down by the judges as to the non-chargeability of the school board rate with expenses of evening continuation schools; but we are of opinion that surcharges, if they are to be made, would seem more justly to fall somewhere within the Education Office.

Once again, there is no question of moral blame. It is not censure which, for our own part, we are inclined to pass on any of the authorities, central or local, who have strained points in order to provide, to maintain, or to develop the several types of education suited for the needs of important sections of our working-class population. Rather do we regard with more than half-sympathetic interest the ingenuity which has been evolved with a view to making more than the legal most of the powers and facilities created by Parliament in the sphere of public education, and the zeal shown, even by officials of a Department not always renowned for its freedom from red tape, in making opportunities for the utilisation of its resources for the diffusion of scientific teaching.

We do not say, indeed, that all the devices to which resort has been had, all the lines of action which have been pursued, whether by Whitehall or South Kensington, by school boards or technical instruction committees of municipal councils, have been characterised by perfect wisdom. So much cannot seriously be maintained. Such encouragement of competition among similar evening schools as that of which mention has been made in a preceding paragraph must involve a large amount of

sheer waste of effort and of public money. Again, the abolition of fees in the evening continuation schools of the London School Board was a proceeding as to the unwisdom of which we entirely concur with the judgment lately expressed by Sir Joshua Fitch in a weighty article.* There is no reason to suppose that the greater number of those young men and young women who would really benefit from systematic teaching in such schools would be unable to pay such fees as are charged in polytechnics and similar institutions. Nor can there be any doubt that these latter institutions have suffered from the competition of the gratuitous evening continuation schools. In that damaging competition lay, indeed, probably one of the main influences by which the intervention of Mr Cockerton as auditor was brought about.

If the judgment in the Cockerton case had merely involved the prevention of the application of school board rates in aid of competition of the kind in question, there would have been no reason to regard its results with anxiety, or to consider that it necessitated fresh legislation. But, as a matter of fact, its scope is very extensive; and there is reason to believe that, if it stands, and if Parliament does nothing to provide for the situation it creates, the bulk of the most numerous attended evening schools in towns of various sizes will have to stop, or, at any rate, to close their doors to their older scholars. Those on the registers of school board evening continuation schools, who were seventeen or more years old, and therefore, in Mr Justice Wills' view, beyond educational 'childhood,' numbered, according to the Report of the Board of Education, 1899-1900, nearly 110,000. These schools may have their defects, but they are doing a great deal of valuable work, and constitute in many places the principal means at present available for stimulating and gratifying intellectual tastes among adult members of the working classes.

It would be the clear duty of Parliament to intervene for the prevention of so grave an educational disaster, apart altogether from the question of the serious confusion imported by the same judgment into the administration of higher grade elementary day schools. These

* 'Nineteenth Century and After,' February 1901.

difficulties have come upon the more enterprising school boards at a time when they were already smarting from losses, insignificant it may be in amount, but still undoubtedly annoying, which were entailed by the adoption in the Education Code of last year of the system of the block-grant. In theory, the principle of that grant is approved, if with some reserves and hesitations, by most educational reformers, as calculated to remove the existing temptation to school teachers to neglect the average and duller children in favour of a few clever pupils, through the grants on whose performances the school revenues might be augmented. In practice, however, the block-grant system, unless the Treasury is willing—which in existing circumstances it obviously is not—to augment its total expenditure on education, was bound to result in a certain loss to the more enterprising school managers, whether board or voluntary, corresponding to what was gained by the schools whose receipts were levelled up.

The apprehensions of the school boards, and also of voluntary school managers, who saw an impending diminution of their resources from this cause, were for a time allayed by the publication in April of last year, and the exposition made by Sir Richard Jebb and apparently endorsed by Sir John Gorst in a debate on May 3rd, of a Minute on Higher Grade Elementary Schools. The primary object of this Minute, as now appears, was to obviate the difficulties that would be caused by the judgment which was foreseen by the Education Department as likely to be given in the Cockerton case. The Minute, that is to say, was intended to encourage and facilitate the introduction of such changes into the organisation of elementary schools having a science school section, as would enable the Education Department to give them grants on a scale high enough to compensate them for any rupture of their South Kensington connexion resulting from the Cockerton judgment. It was intended at the same time to promote a concentration, for some time past much desired at Whitehall, of the highest and best teaching given in elementary schools, in one or a few schools in each locality. For both of these objects there was much to be said; but they were not the objects upon which stress was laid in the speeches to which allusion has just been made.

The misunderstanding which thus arose between the Education Department and many of the principal school boards in the country has led to the development of by no means happy relations. On the one hand the school boards say that, when applying for the recognition of certain of their schools under the Higher Grade Elementary Minute, they have been met so steadily by difficulties and objections as to be driven to the conclusion that the Department is unfriendly to all their higher work. On the other hand Sir John Gorst absolutely, and with unquestionable sincerity, repudiates any such construction of the motives of his Department, and charges the school boards with having 'boycotted' the Higher Elementary Schools Minute.

It would not profit us to examine this controversy in detail. From whatever point of view it is regarded, however, it only serves to strengthen the case, in support of which arguments converge from every direction, for a resolute attempt on the part of the Government to deal with the education question on comprehensive lines. Nothing can be more undesirable than that there should be a kind of fight—the very word employed in the organ of the School Boards Association—over a certain portion of the educational field, between one class of local authorities and either the central Department in London or another set of local authorities likely soon to be created. Nor can anyone reflect upon the temper now being exhibited by those whom one is almost obliged to call the partisans of the school board system—even if it be admitted, as we are ready to admit, that they have received some provocation—without recognising in it a danger to educational administration as a whole, which, so long as favourable conditions exist, has a tendency to recur.

The chief of those favourable conditions is without doubt the persistence of a system of separate local administration for primary education. Inevitably such a system must result in friction and in forms of competition, which cannot but be more wasteful than stimulating, along the frontier lines, wherever they may be drawn, between primary education and those provinces which are described as either technical or secondary. Parliament may take all the pains in the world to delimit the provinces of the respective authorities; but it is impossible

to effect such a delimitation with satisfaction to all concerned; and, even if it were possible to-day, it is certain that, within a few years, changed conditions would necessitate legislative revision. It is also very important to remember that these boundary difficulties will be liable to multiply and to become acute almost exactly in proportion to the keenness of the citizens engaged in the management of the different provinces of educational administration. If they were slack about their work they would easily tolerate, if not actually welcome, encroachments upon their domain by other authorities; but, if they were zealous and eager, it is only too certain that, human nature being what it is, frontier troubles in the education field would frequently arise; and public-spirited men, who ought to be and might be found co-operating for the best cultivation of that field, would be wasting their skill and intellectual resources in the maintenance of an injurious rivalry.

It has been announced that the Government intend, at an early date, to bring in again a Bill for the constitution of local authorities for secondary education similar to that which was introduced in the House of Lords by the Duke of Devonshire in 1900. In its main lines this measure followed, as any such measure is almost bound to follow, the recommendations of the Bryce Commission. Following, however, we believe, the suggestion of an amendment proposed by Sir Richard Jebb in the committee stage of the abortive Bill of 1896, the Government Bill now to be reintroduced is likely to propose that County and County Borough Councils should be invited to prepare schemes for the constitution of an educational authority by means of a committee of their own number, with a certain number of experts chosen from outside; such schemes to be subject to the approval of the Education Department. For the form of this plan for the constitution of the new local educational authorities, there is a great deal to be said. It is reasonable that the central authority should have some voice in settling the composition of the new local authorities. At the same time, as we have already said, the responsibilities which it is proposed to place upon County Councils, even if they are confined to the field of secondary education, would constitute a very grave addition to their existing burdens; and it is

reasonable that they should be permitted and encouraged as far as possible to frame the committee machinery through which these new powers must be discharged. It is quite conceivable that in different counties different views might be taken by local opinion as to the proper proportion between the members and non-members of the County Council on its Education Committee. Many counties and county boroughs will, and a few possibly may not, feel that there are women whose public spirit and knowledge of educational questions make it an obviously wise proceeding to invite them to take seats on the Education Committee. One Council might wish to make its own selection of educational experts to strengthen its Education Committee; another might be inclined to invite recognised bodies of teachers to make selection of some of their members for that purpose. On all such points, as it seems to us, a large latitude of choice should be allowed.

But if such elasticity of adaptation to local circumstances be secured as is intended by the Government in the constitution of the new local authority for 'education other than elementary'—if, also, as we have shown, an absolute necessity exists, by reason of the Cockerton judgment, for legislation in regard to the public provision of education on the border-line between elementary and secondary—what an admirable opportunity is afforded for a really comprehensive treatment by Parliament of the whole educational problem! It is not as if the Government, or any members of it, could say with any approach to plausibility that no urgent occasion has arisen for dealing with a delicate subject that might cause a certain amount of difference of opinion among ministerialists, and would be almost sure to stir up strong party feeling among their opponents. The urgent occasion has unquestionably arisen; the matter cannot even be put off for a year, as happened with the aid-grant to the voluntary schools, without certainty of an actual and open scandal. The peculiarity of the situation is this, that the delicate questions raised by the Cockerton case will be far more likely to take an acutely contentious form if dealt with piecemeal by a special delimiting Bill, or by a few clauses foisted into a Bill creating a secondary education authority, than if their treatment is included in a comprehensive

scheme. For in the latter case the element of 'fight' for a particular portion of the education field between two classes of authority—one existing and the other being brought into existence—disappears.

A comprehensive scheme involves, first and above all, the establishment of a single local authority, with power over the whole field of education within its area. And in favour of that reform there is about as near an approach to unanimity among those interested in the subject as is ever likely to be attained on any large question of domestic legislation in this country. There is, it is true, considerable difference of opinion as to whether the single educational authority should be elected *ad hoc* in each area, or should be formed, by indirect election and co-optation, on the general lines of the local authority for secondary education suggested by the Bryce Commission. Roughly speaking, the friends of the school board system appear to favour the former plan, and other educationalists generally the latter. The question is undoubtedly important, and we ourselves hold very strongly the view that, on grounds alike of education and of general administration, the concentration of responsibility in the County Council is the better plan. A County or County Borough Council Education Committee, strengthened by co-opted members from outside, would be less likely to divide on sharp party lines than a County or County Borough Education Board resulting from household suffrage. It would also, in our opinion, be much more certain to include a proper proportion of persons of special educational competence. The question of the method of appointment of the single education authority, though important, is after all one of detail, which could be debated and determined in Parliament without any approach to passion or bitterness. We may, however, remark here that, in our opinion, and, we imagine, in that of most persons who are favourable to the reinforced Committee of the County or County Borough Council as the single local education authority, it is certainly desirable that, in the first instance, this authority should include a distinct leaven of members representing the special knowledge and experience which have been acquired in the course of school board administration; and we should be glad to see security taken for this in any Bill dealing with the whole subject.

If comprehensive educational legislation be undertaken, therefore, and undertaken in the spirit which would be worthy of so great an enterprise, it may be reasonably expected that the particular bitterness of tone which seems to mark most references, in and out of Parliament, to the Higher Elementary School Minute, will pass away. For, as we take it, the Minute, having been addressed to school boards, will cease to have any but an historic interest if there comes into general existence a new local authority, whose business it will be to survey the whole educational field, and decide, in touch with the best public opinion, upon what classes and grades of schools it is desirable, having regard to education both from the liberal and the locally utilitarian point of view, that the available resources of the area should be expended. That there should be such an authority is the earnest wish, as we believe, of almost all persons who have given serious thought either to the furtherance of the moral and intellectual welfare of the nation, or to the enhancement of the qualifications of our mercantile, manufacturing, and industrial classes for encountering the advancing pressure of foreign competition.

The latter aspect of the subject has of late come much more prominently into public view, and had probably a good deal to do with that earnestness of tone in regard to the need for comprehensive educational reform which marked, to an unusual degree, the debate in the House of Commons to which reference has already been made in the course of the present article. It is hardly conceivable that this earnestness of tone can have been lost upon the Government. Speaking at Manchester last autumn, the Duke of Devonshire, while giving expression to his own conviction of the urgent need, from a material point of view, for a well-considered co-ordination of our educational resources, intimated that Governments could do little in such a connexion unless they had evidence that parliamentary and general public opinion was genuinely interested in the subject in hand. The debate of March 5th showed that if there is one subject, apart from our Imperial responsibilities and the best method of discharging them, which does interest the new House of Commons, it is precisely this question of our educational deficiencies and the true means of grappling with them.

Rightly did Mr Asquith say, in the speech in which he concluded that debate, that

'it was clear that the time had come when a practical step could be taken towards the achievement of what had long been an educational ideal—namely, the co-ordination of our various systems of primary, secondary, and more advanced education into something like a harmonious and logical system.'

Rightly, and even more emphatically, did a former Conservative education minister declare, at an earlier hour, that 'no Government ever had such an opportunity as this Government had at this moment of dealing with the education problem.' In so saying, Sir William Hart Dyke gave voice, in our opinion, to the feeling of all enlightened members of the Unionist party. That there may still be, both within and without the Ministry, some old-fashioned Tories to whom educational enthusiasm is unintelligible, we do not deny. But even they must, for the most part, be alive to the growing force of, and therefore the political wisdom of paying regard to, a national sentiment which they cannot share or understand.

If therefore the Government should content themselves with the production simply of a measure for the creation of local secondary education authorities, like that of last year, coupled with some device for evading the difficulties created by the Cockerton decision, there will be profound disappointment among their own supporters and in the country at large. There will be corresponding satisfaction if, as we earnestly hope will prove to be the case, they come forward with a scheme of a wide-reaching and thorough-going character.

We do not mean to suggest that all will be plain sailing. That can hardly ever be confidently predicted with regard to any measure launched on British parliamentary waters. In particular, it cannot be predicted in the case of a measure which, if it is to possess any title to be regarded as a complete treatment of the problem to which it is addressed, must deal in some fashion with the 'religious question.' It is impossible that the voluntary schools can be left long in their present position. The aid-grant of some five shillings a child, authorised by Parliament in 1897, proved inadequate, from the outset, in districts where the pressure of the board school competition, sus-

tained by an unlimited draft on the rates, was recognised by Mr Balfour in 1895 as putting an intolerable strain on voluntary schools. Notwithstanding all the taunts so freely used at election times with regard to 'doles,' there has been during the last five years an appreciable spread among the Liberal party of a recognition that the voluntary schools not only save the country a very large amount of money which, if they were swept away, would have to be raised by taxation; but also meet, both by their general atmosphere and the definitely religious character of their teaching, the feelings and requirements of a large, if not the larger, proportion of the working classes. Their ruin, it is recognised, would be both a costly and an unpopular achievement. They represent one of the two great educational ideals, the long opposition of which is skilfully touched in Mr M. E. Sadler's contribution to the interesting and useful series of 'Lectures on Education in the Nineteenth Century,' just published at Cambridge. The nation cannot spare them, and is strongly averse from losing them. On the other hand, their continuance under present conditions inevitably involves a lasting retardation in the progress of secular elementary education.

That being so, there has been, we believe, from the point of view of public interest, and also, as we must fain hope, in many cases, from that of justice, a distinct development among the regular Opposition of an inclination to consider some arrangement by which, in return for the concession of adequate facilities for the influence of local representative opinion upon the secular management of denominational schools, a local authority should be empowered to aid them out of the rates in such fashion as would be necessary to put them on a financial equality with the schools with which hitherto they have vainly competed. At the same time it may be added that, among the friends of voluntary schools, there has been during the past five years a remarkable development of opinion both as to the decisive advantages of a system of rate-aid, and as to the necessity of offering in return for this a clear guarantee for the introduction of an outside element into the supervision or management of those schools. That there are irreconcilables in this matter in the Liberal camp we do not doubt—perhaps a large number

of them; and it is quite possible that some are to be found on the ministerial side also. But we believe that, even on this question, if the Government were to take a clear and bold line, and to propose to empower a new local educational authority to make adequate grants from the county rates to voluntary schools on receiving satisfactory concessions as to their management, they would find that the difficulties of the situation were much less serious than they might have supposed.

In any case we are convinced that in this instance the clear and bold line is the line at once of prudence and of patriotism. This country has no special liking for Ministers who are never prepared to risk anything in the way of parliamentary support for the settlement of great national questions. It has come, though late, to care about education; and ministers will best consult not only the interests of the country but their own by showing that they also can care and understand.

Art. XI.—THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

PART II.

(III.) *Mines and Minerals.*

SCATTERED about in South Africa, particularly in the Portuguese possessions, in Rhodesia, in the Low Country of the Transvaal, in Namaqualand, and in Damaraland, are a great number of ancient workings. Unfortunately no records remain as to the exact nature of, or the fortune that attended, those primitive mining operations; nor do we know with any certainty by what description of people they were conducted. A study of Mr. Bent's book on the 'Ruined Cities of Mashonaland' is of interest to the antiquary rather than to the practical miner, the works that were carried on in the seventeenth century upon an extensive scale being merely a historical fact; though it would be interesting to know the causes that necessitated the abandonment of these enterprises. Were the mines exhausted? Or did the difficulties arising from greater depth prove insurmountable with the limited knowledge of those ancient workers? Or were the gold-seekers of those days driven away or exterminated by savages or by disease? The answers to these questions are buried in the past.

No serious mining took place in modern times until the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to the 'Cape Argus Annual,' 1897, copper had been known to exist in Namaqualand for nearly two centuries; but it was only in 1852 that the working of the present mines began; and until the year 1860 work was carried on in a very small way. The Cape Copper Mining Company (subsequently reconstructed) then commenced operations on a larger scale. Smelting was at first resorted to for the purpose of utilising the refuse ores, but was soon abandoned as unprofitable, dressing appliances being substituted, which produced ore of a very rich quality ready for shipment to Europe without further local treatment; and this system is still in vogue. After classification and dressing, the average assay value of the ore is about 32 per cent. copper. The property of the Company comprises about 300,000 acres; and there are a number of copper mines developed, of which Ookiep is the principal.

It is situated five miles north of Springbok, and ninety miles from Port Nolloth, with which it is connected by railway. Besides the Cape Copper Company, the Namaqua Copper Company is also engaged in producing that metal from the group known as the Concordia Mines. There are other mines in the district which are leased from the Government; but ore is only produced at present from mines controlled by the two Companies mentioned. The subjoined table* sets forth the production of the two principal mines (Ookiep and Concordia) during the last eleven years, and shows the progressive nature of the industry, which, it must be noted, has returned much larger dividends, owing rather to the rise in the value of copper than to a larger output.

In German South-West Africa copper has also been discovered; and from the reports which Mr Rogers has submitted to his company, it appears likely that the Otavi Mines will soon take an important place as copper producers. In addition to the opening up of these mines, some attention has also been devoted to a mine at Tsumeb and another at Anwap, in regard to the former of which Mr Rogers has furnished a very sanguine report.

* CAPE COPPER STATISTICS.

Statistics of the two principal mines, with dividends paid, since 1890.

Year.	Ookiep Mine.		Concordia Mine.	
	Output.	Dividends.	Output.	Dividends.
	Tons.	£	Tons.	£
1890	24,583	105,000	5,000	
1891	22,974	52,500	3,500	
1892	26,793	19,875	1,700	
1893	27,188	43,125	3,500	
1894	26,353	43,125	5,500	
1895	26,200	43,125	6,675	14,149
1896	26,497	77,625	7,325	21,224
1897	26,660	94,875	8,000	25,941
1898	27,998	163,875	9,100	42,449
1899	25,194	207,000	9,000	75,461
1900	21,651	310,500		

Ookiep figures furnished by the Cape Copper Company. From 1898 the output of the Spektakel Mine (also run by the Cape Copper Company) is included. During the last year or two some of the company's profits were earned by an interest in Newfoundland.

Concordia figures of output from 'Cape Statistical Register' for respective years. Dividends from Namaqua Copper Company's reports.

It is impossible to estimate to-day the dimensions which the copper-mining industry of South Africa is destined to attain, the value of the product being subject to much fluctuation; but taking the yield per ton of these mines as compared with those that are being worked in other parts of the world, there is every reason to believe that the industry is a growing one.

In the early days of the copper industry an event took place which, for the time, entirely absorbed public interest in South Africa, viz., the discovery of diamonds under somewhat romantic conditions. In March 1867 Mr John O'Reilly, who was returning from a hunting trip in the interior, passed the night at a farm called De Kalk, in the Hopetown district, south of the Orange River. In the evening he was looking through some curious river pebbles which the family had collected, amongst which one particularly attracted his attention. With the permission of the owner he submitted it to Dr Atherstone of Grahamstown, who declared it to be a veritable diamond of $21\frac{1}{2}$ carats, worth £500. The discovery caused great excitement, and resulted in an active search being made for similar stones; but this had no success for a year or eighteen months. In March 1869, however, the 'Star of South Africa' was found. It was 'obtained from a native witchfinder, who had been in possession of it for a long time, without the least idea of its value other than as a powerful charm.*' This diamond, after being cut and polished, was finally sold for 25,000*l.*, and passed into the possession of the Countess of Dudley.

Early in 1870 the Vaal River gravel at Pniel, close to Klip Drift, and near to the subsequently established town of Barkly West, was attacked in earnest; and new discoveries followed each other in rapid succession. Thus far only the alluvial deposits, which produced diamonds of very good quality, were known. The mine from which they were extracted must have been rich, and the river in flowing over it carried down the heavy gravel containing the diamonds, and deposited it somewhat capriciously along its banks. The muddy waters of the Vaal may still traverse this treasure-laden crater, or, in altering their course, may at some time in the past have left it exposed

* 'Diamonds and Gold in South Africa' (Reunert), page 7.

to view; but in the latter case nature, which is ever shifting the earth's surface, has covered it over; and its existence will only be revealed if some miner should chance to light upon it in the course of sinking for water or with some other object.

Towards the end of 1870 some children on the Farm Dorstfontein found diamonds in the mud used as plaster for houses in those days (for by this time everyone was on the look-out for bright pebbles), which resulted in the finding of the Dutoitspan Mine, followed in 1871 by the discovery of Bultfontein, De Beers, Kimberley, and Jagersfontein, in the order named. Many other diamond mines were subsequently found, none of which, however, were successfully worked until the Wesselton Mine was proved to pay in 1890. The mines named are the only mines which, so far, have been profitably and regularly worked.

In these early days, the Kimberley Mine, in particular, presented a most weird appearance, a veritable cobweb of wires being stretched at various angles from the margin of the mine to the claims beneath. The hauling up of the yellow ground, as well as the subsequent sorting, was all done by hand, thousands of natives being employed, whose shouts and war-songs, coupled with the clatter of the running hide buckets, constituted a pandemonium. The claims, which measured thirty feet square, were split up in small holdings; and many an individual worked an eighth of a claim. The accuracy with which the boundaries had to be determined involved the most careful surveying; and when a diamond of any considerable value was found, in the course of 'trimming' the boundary wall, by the digger whose claim was deeper than that of his neighbour, disputes as to ownership not unfrequently arose. All the appliances which are used in the extraction of diamonds had literally to be invented; and the existing magnificent plants, which reduce the final loss of gems to a minimum, are the outcome of many years' experience and much technical skill and patient investigation by engineers. Hand-haulage was speedily displaced—first by horse-power, later by the steam-engine; and similarly dry sorting by hand was superseded—first by hand-washing 'rockers,' then by the small 'rotary' driven by horse-power, and finally by the huge rotary machines now in use.

Each successive stride in the development of the industry involved a greater initial outlay, which soon caused the disappearance of the small holder. In addition to the greater requirements for machinery and plant, considerable capital was absorbed in laying out the 'blue' on the depositing floors, where it had to be spread out in a thin layer, and exposed for a few months to the disintegrating influences of sun and rain. From time to time, as the open quarry became deeper, the shale and, in places, the basaltic rock by which the diamond-bearing soil was surrounded, caved in, vast quantities pouring down and submerging sometimes half of the entire mine. The subsidences of reef and valueless casing became ultimately so frequent and so serious that the system of open quarry working had to be superseded by ordinary shaft and tunnel mining. All these factors contributed to render the formation of joint-stock companies imperative.

The diamond-mining industry has passed through many vicissitudes, and at one time its very existence was threatened. Rival companies competed not only in the prices paid for labour and for mining requisites, but also in forcing up the maximum output regardless of consequences; and gradually the market for diamonds became glutted. The Kimberley and De Beers mines, which are much richer than the others, produced so large a quantity of diamonds that the value fell to a dangerously low level; and in 1876 only the best claims in the Dutoitspan and Bultfontein Mines could be worked, at a scarcely perceptible profit. It became evident that the world's expenditure in diamonds was limited; and that, if the industry was to be preserved, some means of controlling the output must be devised. This was the origin of the amalgamation scheme, which by dint of years of incessant study, perseverance, and great risk, Mr C. J. Rhodes and Mr Beit finally accomplished about the year 1888. Since the unification of all the important interests and the control of the output, diamonds have, apart from spasmodic depressions due to political and commercial causes of a temporary kind, steadily risen; and their value is higher to-day than it has ever been. The output of rough diamonds during the last thirty years has attained the value at the mines of over 100,000,000*l*.

The diamond mines are volcanic pipes filled in from

below. The irresistible force of the upheaval is demonstrated by the tilting of the shales enclosing the pipe, and the comparatively 'clean cut' through the underlying hard quartzitic and amygdaloidal rocks. The area of the pipe has decreased very considerably as depth has been attained; but a point of constant area will, no doubt, be reached some day. Meanwhile it may be confidently asserted that the supply of diamondiferous ground is, for commercial purposes to-day, practically inexhaustible. The appended table of the production of diamonds by the De Beers Consolidated Mines Co., from the date of the consolidation, and of the Jagersfontein Company since its commencement, shows the magnitude of the industry. The figures given do not disclose the entire output of diamonds from South Africa, as a certain number of private claims were worked, and a small quantity of diamonds was also found by *débris-washers*; but the total obtained in these two ways is not a very significant one; and the figures given in the table * may therefore be taken as roughly representing the total South African production of these precious stones during the last ten years.

After the introduction of steam upon the diamond fields, a good deal of difficulty was experienced, and great ex-

* SOUTH AFRICAN DIAMOND STATISTICS.

Carats produced, value of product, and dividends paid, of the two principal South African diamond mines since formation.

DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES.

Year ending	Carats.	Amount realised by sale.	Dividends.
March 31st, 1899*	914,121	901,818	188,329
" " 1890	1,450,605	2,330,179	789,682
" " 1891	2,020,515	2,974,670	789,791
From March 31st, 1891 to June 30th, 1892	3,035,481	3,931,542	1,382,134
June 30th, 1893	2,229,805	3,239,389	987,238
" " 1894	2,308,463	2,820,172	987,238
" " 1895	2,435,541	3,105,957	987,238
" " 1896	2,363,437	3,165,382	1,579,582
" " 1897	2,769,422	3,722,099	1,579,582
" " 1898†	2,792,606	3,647,874	1,579,582
" " 1899	2,842,228	4,038,421	1,579,582
" " 1900	1,221,726	2,070,413	†

* Prior to consolidation.

† From 1898, inclusive of Premier Mine.

‡ For the half-year ending December 31st, 1900, a dividend of 20 per cent. on 3,948,955*l.* was declared.

pense entailed, through the necessity of burning as fuel either wood, which year by year became scarcer and dearer, or English coal; and it is only within recent years that local coal has been obtainable. The strides which the latter industry has made are extraordinary; and in almost every direction coal is constantly being met with. The colonial coal which, in the first instance, was supplied to the diamond mines, was of very poor quality; but on account of the enormous expense of transport, its cost to the mines compared favourably with that of the imported coal. Its use, however, entailed specially-designed fire-boxes, and considerable labour on account of the quantity of ash produced. The mines at Vereeniging yield a coal of higher quality, some of which has been used at the diamond mines. Other mines have been started on the left bank of the Vaal River, as well as some inferior collieries near Johannesburg. Some valuable beds have been worked in the Middelburg district of the Transvaal; and coal of excellent quality has been found in Rhodesia 190 miles north-west of Buluwayo, at Wankie. According to Mr T. Ross Harvey, the area so far tested by boreholes contains at least 1,500,000,000 tons of coal; and the quality, he alleges, is little inferior to that of the best Welsh coal. Coal of but slightly less value has been also found in Swaziland; and the Natal collieries supply fuel

JAGERSFONTEIN.

Year ending	Carats.	Stock and (or) Realised.	Dividends.
		£	£
From January 1st, 1887, to)	6,701	9,495	
March 31st, 1887. . . . }			
March 31st, 1888	29,117	48,038	6,783
" " 1889	93,358	157,173	52,436
" " 1890	94,263	222,285	Nil
" " 1891	78,127	145,301	Nil
" " 1892	110,171	195,271	Nil
" " 1893	172,020	330,781	145,330
" " 1894	203,780	382,986	200,000
" " 1895	232,872	373,579	150,000
" " 1896	205,053	377,521	200,000
" " 1897	220,212	385,372	120,000
" " 1898	232,433	386,557	120,000
" " 1899	288,937	498,798	150,000
" " 1900	183,349	373,702	60,000

These figures are taken from the companies' reports or other official sources.

some of which is 'comparable to good Welsh steam coal.'* There is a considerable difference in the chemical composition of the different coals of South Africa, some being anthracitic and some bituminous; but, generally speaking, fuel for every imaginable purpose exists within comparatively easy access of any point where it may be required. The importance of this great factor in the advancement of every industry cannot be exaggerated. The figures given below† illustrate the progress that has been made.

There are other minor industries connected with mining, such as asbestos, silver, lead, and cement, which either are being, or have been, worked; but their importance does not justify much consideration in this general sketch of the mining industry of South Africa.

The product which, apart from diamonds, has brought South Africa into such prominence as a mining country, is gold. That this metal is distributed over the major portion of South Africa has been proved by the prospecting works of the last thirty years. The richest known deposits are situated in the Transvaal; but the precious metal has,

* 'Report on Mining Industry of Natal, 1899,' by Commissioner of Mines.

† SOUTH AFRICAN COAL OUTPUT STATISTICS.

Since 1890, as far as obtainable. Product given in tons.

Year.	Cape Colony.	Natal.	Transvaal.
1890 . . .	33,021 *		
1891 . . .	27,677		
1892 . . .	41,717	..	181,569 †
1893 . . .	58,995	..	548,534 ‡
1894 . . .	69,690	..	791,358
1895 . . .	86,595	..	1,133,466
1896 . . .	105,365	..	1,437,297
1897 . . .	127,456	243,960 †	1,600,212
1898 . . .	191,858	387,811	1,907,808
1899 . . .	208,655	324,161	

* 'Cape Statistical Register' for respective years.

† Natal Commissioner of Mines' Report, 1899. The 1899 figures are exclusive of November and December.

‡ Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines Report: the figure given represents only about 60 per cent. of the total output.

§ 'Staats Almanak,' 1898.

|| 'Staats Courant.

The Transvaal State Mining Engineer's Report for 1898 states that there were in 1898 seventeen coal-mines working in the Transvaal, with a nominal capital of 4,463,000*l.* The issued capital of the dividend-payers (three) was 890,000*l.* He gives the dividends paid on coal in 1897 as 57,500*l.* and in 1898 as 76,000*l.*

in varying quantities, been also found in Natal, Zululand, Swaziland, and Rhodesia. In 1870 some discoveries were made in Zoutpansberg amongst the low rugged kopjes of the Murchison range and in the neighbourhood of the Klein Letaba River. They were not of any great importance, but were sufficiently promising to attract attention again in 1888 and 1889, when some capital was sunk in the district. The climate is rather unhealthy there towards the end of the summer, and the superior attractions of the Witwatersrand entirely eclipsed every other gold-producing locality in the country. In the Zoutpansberg district, the reefs so far discovered are chiefly segregated veins; but there are certainly some properties which will in future be profitably worked in that district. In 1876 gold was found at MacMac and at Pilgrim's Rest, in the Lydenburg district; and for some few years the alluvial claims supported a small and thriving population. Reefs were subsequently discovered there, and at the outbreak of the war some few companies were working at a profit. In 1884 gold was found upon the high spurs of the Drakensberg, in then almost inaccessible country, with no made roads over the precipitous and incredibly rough sides of those mountains. They were called the De Kaap goldfields, and resulted in the founding of the little town of Barberton, which soon held a vigorous and prosperous population. Several mines were opened in this district, and immense excitement was caused in South Africa by reports that reefs of fabulous value had been discovered. The fame of the district, however, was short-lived, and the working of most of the enterprises proved disastrous. With one exception, that of the Sheba, no mine of any importance was discovered in the locality, although a good many small properties were worked to some advantage. The Sheba mine, however, from the beginning, has been more or less successfully worked. It has produced, from the date of incorporation until the 30th September, 1899, 571,183 ounces of gold, worth 2,122,495*l.*, and has paid in dividends 720,249*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

In 1886, the writer, on a visit to the De Kaap goldfields, had occasion to traverse the now famous Witwatersrand. At that time gold had already been discovered in the neighbourhood, though the celebrated Main Reef Series had not then been pierced. The treeless, rolling plains, at an elevation of from five thousand to six thousand feet

above the sea-level, contained a very sparse population, which lived in wretched hovels, twelve or fifteen miles apart, and sustained life by means of a few head of cattle and some sheep, which, during the boisterous and inclement winter in those regions, had to be removed to the more temperate and sheltered low veldt. Nothing in the appearance of the country would have led one to suspect that great mineral wealth was concealed there; and, indeed, the formation of the Witwatersrand is unique. Sedimentary deposits containing gold had been known to exist elsewhere, but none of these display either so great a quantity of gold per ton or so regular a distribution of the metal as have been found to exist on the Rand. Many mining engineers of repute, who were sent to report upon the formation, hesitated, in spite of satisfactory assays, to pronounce the field a paying one; but gradually, as more and more tests were made and prospecting mills were started, the immense possibilities dawned upon those who were engaged in the development. The appended statistics* convey more graphically than any words the remarkable nature of the gold deposits there.

* TRANSVAAL GOLD STATISTICS.

(As far as obtainable.)

Year.	Value of Production.*	Production in Ounces.			Dividends.	
		Witwatersrand.	Outside Districts.	Total Transvaal.	Witwatersrand.	Outside Districts.
	£	Bullion.	Bullion.	Bullion.	£	£
1887	169,401	23,125†				
1888	967,416	208,121				
1889	1,490,568	369,557				
1890	1,869,645	494,817	48,283†	543,100†		
1891	2,924,305	729,268	108,109	837,377		
1892	4,541,071	1,210,868	114,525	1,325,393	794,464†	22,150†
1893	5,480,498	1,478,477	131,858	1,610,335	1,065,203	
1894	7,667,152	2,024,163	241,689	2,265,852	1,504,394	
1895	8,569,555	2,277,640	227,772	2,505,412	2,145,443	
1896	8,603,821	2,280,892	217,054	2,497,946	1,624,006	
1897	11,653,725	3,034,678	255,041	3,289,719	2,744,630	
1898	16,240,630	4,295,608	259,413	4,555,021	4,847,505	210,096
1899‡	14,924,136	4,008,325	187,635	4,195,960	2,933,251	102,261

* Transvaal State Mining Engineer's Report. Official figures are those from 1891. The returns for 1884 were 10,096l.; 1885, 6,010l.; 1886, 34,710l. The estimated unrecorded production for 1887, '88, '89 was 42,000 oz.

† Chamber of Mines' Reports for respective years. The classification of dividends was only commenced in the Report for 1898.

‡ War broke out in October 1899. The figures given are those of gold actually extracted

All but an insignificant percentage of the gold extracted from the Main Reef Series has been from what are known as the South Reef and Main Reef Leader layers, the Main Reef itself having been worked, so far, in only a few mines. Interposed between sandstone layers are a great number of these banket-beds; and many of them, if the cost of production could be lowered by one or two penny-weights, could be worked at a profit. There is one small band which lies north of the Main Reef, and which has in certain sections of the Rand, particularly at Rietfontein, been worked at a profit; and a number of layers known as the Kimberley Series, which lie some five thousand feet to the south of the Main Reef Series, are also almost within the paying limit. Apart, therefore, from the increased development that may confidently be expected on the Main Reef Series itself, it is not at all improbable that other series in the locality will be successfully exploited. The beds have already been traced for a lateral distance of forty-one and a half miles, from Randfontein to Modderfontein, beyond which at either extremity other discoveries have been made, the value and nature of which have yet to be demonstrated. The beds of the Main Reef Series dip to the south at an average angle of about thirty degrees; and at a distance of about thirty miles in a south-easterly direction are found a series of reefs dipping to the north, which are by many believed to be the other side of the basin. This theory is by no means conclusively demonstrated; and, so far, upon the Southern Series the only mine which has been worked continuously at a profit has been that of the Nigel Gold Mining Company. The 'banket' formation is also found in the Klerksdorp and Potchefstroom districts, but the mines there have not been very successful.

The processes of extraction have been constantly improved; and by this means properties which could not previously be worked at a profit have been brought into the

up to the end of November, but the mines had not been in full swing from early in September. Taking the average of the first eight months of the year as a basis, the whole year's output would have been 5,253,072 oz. (Witwatersrand), or with the outside districts taken at one third more, 5,503,252 oz. for the whole of the Transvaal, worth at 3*l.* 10*s.* an ounce 19,261,382*l.*

According to the State Mining Engineer there were in the Transvaal on December 31st, 1898, 137 gold-mines, of which 45 were dividend-payers; 52 were gold-producing and non-dividend-paying; and 40 non-producing. The nominal capital of the companies was 50,277,189*l.*; and the issued capital of the dividend-payers 20,294,675*l.*

category of paying mines. So great is the capital required for the development and equipment of these mines, and so small relatively the population, that only the best have been so far worked; but, with gradually improving methods of extraction and probably decreased costs, a great expansion of the industry may be looked for, though in the somewhat distant future; and it may be predicted with confidence that the middle of the century will not see the exhaustion of the gold in this region.

The gold-mining industry in Rhodesia has been subject to many vicissitudes, owing to difficulties of communication, the Matabele war and subsequent rebellion, and the present hostilities, in spite of which, however, that country shows signs of progress. The revenue of the Mines Department for the year ending March 31st, 1900, was 79,472*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*, as against 40,304*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* for the previous year. The total number of stamps erected to date is 289, and 245 are in course of construction; eleven mining companies, with an issued capital of 1,859,000*l.*, have reached the producing stage; and between September 1898, when crushing began, and December 1st, 1900, 261,787 tons were crushed, which yielded 151,196 oz. of gold—an average of 11·56 dwts. per ton, excluding tailings. The production of the Tati Concessions is not included in these figures.

Expeditions have been sent to the north of the Zambesi River under the auspices of the Tanganyika Concessions Company, the Northern Copper (B.S.A.) Company, and others; as a result of which it is claimed that both gold and copper, in quantities that are believed to be profitable, have been discovered. Too little, however, has as yet been done in the locality to venture a prediction to-day as to the future of that region.

Nothing more than a sketch of the situation and production of the gold mines is possible within the limits of this paper; but sufficient is in evidence here to justify the belief that South Africa will be the greatest gold producer the world has so far known. Taking the best section of the Rand, about eleven and a half miles from Langlaagte Block B to the Glencairn, some gentlemen of repute in the mining world have made various computations as to the output of gold which may be anticipated from this section. In 1893 and 1895 the late Mr Hamilton Smith, assuming that a vertical depth of from 3000 to 3500 feet

would be the maximum at which it would be profitable to work, estimated that 325,000,000*l.* worth of gold would be extracted. Bergrath Schmeisser in 1894 calculated that the same section would produce 349,000,000*l.* Still larger is the estimate of Mr Hatch and Mr Chalmers, two mining engineers of note who have had great experience on the Witwatersrand in later years, and are in possession of information gathered from the deepest shafts and bore-holes. In their book, 'The Gold Mines of the Rand,' published in 1895, they give it as their opinion that no physical or mechanical difficulty will prevent profitable mining at a depth of 5000 feet vertical; but upon the assumption that 'a vertical depth of only 3500 to 4000 feet, or more exactly 8000 feet on the incline' will be worked, they say

'The total production to be expected from the main section of the Rand, i.e., from Roodepoort to Driefontein inclusive, a distance of twenty-seven miles, will amount to 592,000,000*l.*, or, if we include the outlying portions of the district, upwards of 700,000,000*l.* These figures may at first sight appear extravagant, but as they are based upon results actually obtained by the mining companies, and represent the logical deduction from the facts which have up to the present been rendered available by the developments of Witwatersrand mines, we are prepared to stand by them.'

The extent of the mineral wealth in South Africa cannot be estimated with any accuracy to-day. That it is vast is certain; that it is far in excess of the most sanguine figures which one could venture to quote to-day is probable. There are large deposits of iron ore which the conditions hitherto obtaining have rendered it impossible to work, but which in conjunction with the splendid coal now known to exist in their locality will, when the consumption of that metal warrants the erection of the costly appliances needed for its production, be turned to account. The manner in which the country is governed will have great influence upon the rapidity of its development. Under the Boer administration there was a settled policy of restriction; under the British Government there will be a consistent policy of expansion; and, if commodities are reduced to the lowest prices practicable, and every assistance is given to those who wish to settle in the country, the progress of South Africa will probably astound the

world. That progress must, it is clear, be due chiefly, for many years to come, to the mineral wealth of the country; but the development of the mining industry will not require, as is the case with South African agriculture, the active intervention of the State and the application of national funds. All that is wanted is due security for public peace, and the removal of all unnecessary restrictions. Given these indispensable preliminary conditions, the mining industry will take care of itself.

(IV.) *Means of Communication.*

It was shown in a previous section of this article that South Africa's greatest need is a larger white population. To meet this need, the development of her mineral wealth and other natural resources was recommended as likely to induce immigration; while the encouragement of agriculture and the speedy establishment of irrigation works were specially mentioned in the same connexion. It remains to point out that the improvement of the means of communication is another not less important essential. The country has no navigable waterways excepting the Zambesi and some of its larger affluents; all intercommunication depends therefore upon the multiplication and extension of railways and roads. South Africa's railway era has yet to come; and the settlement which faces us will be much facilitated if the different State Governments determine that it shall not be longer delayed.

A great work has still to be carried out by the railway engineer in South Africa. The demands of the miner have been partially met, but the cultivator's claims for means of communication with his markets have been almost wholly neglected. The course of the lines that have been built has been determined, not by the needs of the cultivator, but by the fortuitous situation of the chief harbours and the mineral fields discovered. It was Kimberley, the great diamond centre, that first set the Cape Colony moving; and, though one line would have sufficed, local jealousies between rival ports led to two lines being constructed, one starting from Cape Town and the other from Port Elizabeth. It was only in 1886, seventeen years after the discovery of diamonds, that these two main lines, which

coalesced into one at De Aar, entered Kimberley. The attraction of Rhodesia as a gold-mining centre, combined with the exclusive policy of the Transvaal, afterwards drew this Kimberley line onwards through Bechuanaland to Bulawayo, which was reached two or three years ago. It is now being extended towards Salisbury on the north-east, and also northwards to the newly proved Wankie coal-fields, which lie on the route to the Zambesi.

The early rival of this Cape Town-Zambesi line started from Port Elizabeth, and became, with its associate starting from East London, the representative of the Cape Colony in the inter-state competition which was awakened by the demonstration of the wealth of the Witwatersrand. It reached Johannesburg, after passing through the Orange Free State, in 1893, and thus connected Cape Town with Durban and Delagoa Bay, through the bleak uplands of the Witwatersrand—a striking proof of the influence of minerals on the course taken by the railways of South Africa.

Natal also possesses one main railway, which she has driven from the coast to Laing's Nek, whence it is continued to Johannesburg. The late Transvaal Government, through its intermediary, the Netherlands Railway Company, established one main feeder communicating with the sea at Delagoa Bay. When we have also mentioned the line from Beira, situated not far south of the Zambesi mouth, to Salisbury in Rhodesia, our list, meagre as it is, of the main railway lines of South Africa is complete.

The mileage of South African railways is approximately as follows :—

	Miles Worked.
Cape Colony	1990
Natal	495
Orange Colony	430
Transvaal	980
Portuguese Territory	270
Rhodesia	760
	<hr/>
	4925

With the exception of the Rhodesian railways and the Netherlands Railway, in which the Transvaal Government had a share, and a few small local lines, these railways are owned by the State Governments, which, fortunately for

South Africa, alone possessed capital enough to undertake the heavy expense and risks which railway construction involved. The outlay upon them has been something less than 10,000*l.* a mile, for the total capital and loan-liability is less than forty-five millions—a figure which represents perhaps two thirds of their market or dividend-earning value. If we may judge of the future from the past, they should for many years return an all-round dividend of at least five per cent., though of course the earnings of the different States will vary above and below this estimate.

As already stated, the mileage just mentioned represents almost exclusively lines projected to meet the demands of the mineral workers. These demands have as yet been only partially met; and several railway extensions are now being actively prosecuted, while others will be undertaken as soon as the war is over, some for mineral and others for agricultural development. In Rhodesia, besides the Wankie coal line shortly to be constructed, the continuation from Bulawayo to Salisbury will probably be completed at the end of this year, when the Gwanda-Bulawayo branch should also be ready for traffic. In Natal a coast line is pushing up through Zululand, and the coal and copper areas of that sub-province are already receiving attention from local miners; while the discoveries of coal in Natal itself have led to the construction of a main-line feeder at Dundee, and will no doubt induce the construction of other branches. As for the newly annexed colonies, the most important mineral districts in the Transvaal, still unconnected with the railway system, are Swaziland, the Lydenburg and Selati districts, and Zeerust; and, in the Orange Colony, the Jagersfontein diamond mine, to which a line was in course of construction when the war broke out.

The prosperity created by the diamond and gold mines has not been without its beneficial influence upon agricultural development; and various lines have been surveyed with the object of tapping the districts producing wool, grain, and wine. A considerable scheme, which will be carried out in sections, contemplates a line running through the coast-counties from Port Nolloth on the west to Delagoa Bay on the east. Part of this railway has been built already. Thus the Malmesbury line from Cape Town will be extended northwards to Namaqualand; while

the Worcester branch, which has already reached Swellendam on the east, is likely to be pushed forward at no distant date through the rich districts of Oudtshoorn and Knysna to Port Elizabeth. A connexion between Port Elizabeth and the next harbour eastwards, named East London, is already under construction; and proposals have been made to continue it eastwards to Natal, where it will effect a junction with the Zululand railway. As the distance along the districts from Namaqualand to Delagoa Bay is fifteen hundred miles, the completion of this coast railway project will greatly assist the farmers who occupy the fertile and well-watered country lying between the coast range of mountains and the sea, a district which, owing to the marked absence of suitable harbours on the South African coasts, has hitherto been debarred from contributing its full share to the wealth of South Africa. The Orange Colony is also agriculturally rich; and several local lines had been surveyed by the Free State Government before it determined to cast in its lot with the Transvaal. When these are completed they will connect the northern Orange Colony with Natal, through Harri-smith and Winburg; the southern districts with Aliwal North, passing through the grain-producing country about Wepener; and the western with Kimberley.

This somewhat lengthy enumeration of lines built and projected is given in order to convey some impression of the activity in railway construction which should mark the establishment of a liberal Government in the annexed territories. Immense benefits would follow such a movement. The area south of the Zambesi, including German and Portuguese Africa, is about two million square miles; and the existing lines are wholly inadequate for the needs of the country. Both Australian and Canadian railways possess a mileage exceeding fifteen thousand miles, that is to say, more than three times that of the South African lines, though the population of the three countries, if we include natives, is nearly equal.

It is a certainty that the raising of loans for railway, harbour, and dock construction will become a feature of South African finance, since the expansion of the country's trade consequent on the development of its resources will, given a sympathetic Government, proceed at a rapid rate. It is expected that the output from the gold mines alone

will reach twenty-five millions before 1905; the diamond export should be not less than four millions; while coal and other products should bring up the value of the exports to about thirty-five millions, making with imports a total of seventy millions annually. The various State Governments of South Africa should therefore be prepared to meet the demands which will be made upon their means of communication. Not only will existing railway lines, which are all single tracks, require to be doubled; but, as every rich agricultural area ought to be placed in a position to compete in the urban and industrial markets, feeders from the main lines already constructed should be built as soon as possible.

If the Netherlands Railway, at present in the hands of the British Government, is transferred to the Transvaal Colony, South Africa will be fortunate in that its railways will be the property of the public everywhere except in Rhodesia, where the lines belong to the Rhodesian Railways and Mashonaland Railways Companies. This State-ownership of the main lines of communication has been of such benefit to the people that a national railway system is likely to become one of the distinguishing advantages of the South African group of States. In the past, the non-African policy pursued by President Kruger led to antagonism between the Transvaal railways and those of the coast colonies; but an open rupture was avoided, and the plunder of the industrial community on the Rand was shared between the Netherlands Railway, the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and Natal. Before its competitors were in a position to take their share of the trade, the Cape Colony was in control of the situation, and employed its advantages to such purpose that in 1896 its earnings, including those it shared with the Orange Free State, were no less than 10·3 per cent. The notorious Netherlands Railway has returned not less than 12 per cent. for years past. It is not likely that the Rand community will consent to allow these high profits to be earned in the future; and we may expect that a Railway Conference to discuss the apportionment of the traffic and the incidence of the various State tariffs will be held at an early date. Such a conference should have no difficulty in concluding an arrangement that will be satisfactory to all parties, for, the lines being national property,

there will be no injurious cutting of tariffs such as would take place among private owners; and, on the other hand, there will be a reduction in the heavy charges hitherto levied in accordance with President Kruger's provocative policy.

In such a railway union, the position of Rhodesia is somewhat anomalous, not because her railways are privately owned, but because the extent of her trade, for some years to come, is likely to be inconsiderable. Any suggestions to 'pool' earnings with Rhodesia are likely to be met by objections from the Cape and Natal, if not from the new colonies, on the ground that, being older and more settled communities, they cannot be called on to run a risk of loss on behalf of Rhodesia. In this dilemma Mr Rhodes and his associates may find their recent acquisition of railway rights in Angola and German South-West Africa valuable as persuasive agencies. It has been patent for years past that the main trunk line, in its course northward from Cape Town to the Zambesi, runs some risk of being tapped by a railway running direct from the west coast, which would save passengers and goods the unnecessary journey so far south as Cape Town. Mossamedes is not more than eleven days' steaming from London; and a line thence to Bulawayo or some other point would enable passengers to reach Johannesburg and the east coast several days earlier than at present. The Cape authorities have apparently been blind to this danger, and have taken no steps to secure from the Portuguese Government preferential rights for the construction of railways from its harbours. Proposals to pool earnings may be supported, therefore, by more cogent arguments than many suppose possible. Rhodesian railways are already paying; and the fact that the British and more progressive section of the South African population is settling on the eastern seaboard and in its hinterland will tend to increase their profits and also gradually to deprive the Cape Colony of the position of predominating partner, which it has hitherto occupied. Rhodesia also possesses an alternative trading outlet at Beira; and, as no agreement which may now be made will preclude revision from time to time, the arguments in favour of "pooling" are worthy of careful consideration. However this may turn out, the desirability of avoiding undue competition and losses is so clear to the

various States concerned that the adjustment of the troublesome tariff question, which has caused so much friction in the past, should be a comparatively easy matter. The shifting of the control into the hands of the Transvaal will enable the people most concerned—the Rand consumers—to check the demands of the coast colonies; and a reasonable tariff may therefore be established throughout the country, greatly to the advantage of the people.

If the principle of state-ownership of railways is maintained, and reasonable tariffs are arranged, only caution is necessary to ensure the success of South African railways. Log-rolling is not unknown among South African legislatures; and, once the flood of prosperity anticipated has fairly begun, there is a danger that Governments may go too fast and construct lines which will for years remain unprofitable. Only population can make railways pay; and, as many of the more remote districts of South Africa have a population of only one or two persons to the square mile, caution is particularly desirable. The difficulties will in many cases no doubt be solved by the construction of light railways, or even by good roads, with such bridges as are required to ensure continuous communication.

It should not be overlooked that recent improvements in traction-engines and motor-cars give good roads an even greater value than they have hitherto possessed; and South African politicians will probably in many cases meet the budding demands of the back districts by improving other modes of traffic than railways. The country is at present almost roadless, in that the existing tracks are often impassable in wet weather; and the macadamising of the main roads is a reform no less urgently called for than the construction of railway lines. Care should also be taken to utilise promising improvements which tend to minimise cost, while furnishing sufficient accommodation for the ordinary needs of the farmer. The single-rail system, now about to be tested practically, may prove serviceable in many districts; and steam tramways may serve in others. In short, the task of improving the means of communication over the vast distances which have so much hindered the country's development should be earnestly undertaken, and may be carried out in various ways.

It need hardly be said that much remains to be done at the harbours already in existence, and at others which

may be opened for the accommodation of the growing oversea trade of the colonies. The tendency of ship-owners is to increase the size of their vessels, as bigger ships mean cheaper transport. In all the harbours of the world larger docks and better and more expeditious methods of handling are called for; and these requirements are not by any means so well fulfilled as they should be in South Africa. Cape Town is the only port which possesses fair accommodation for shipping; but her graving dock is not large enough for battleships nor for the big ocean liners which are replacing ordinary steamships. A decision has been taken to build suitable naval docks at Simon's Town; but that port is inconveniently situated for the merchant service; and it will be necessary to equip the other leading South African ports with better shipping facilities. Natal is taking measures to improve Durban, but we hear nothing of any intention to open up new harbours on the long stretch of coast on either side of Durban between Delagoa Bay and East London. Now that the advantages of dredging are well understood, it will not be difficult or very costly to open up a number of small ports on the South African coast, and thereby greatly improve the means of communication with those coast and inland districts which, under present conditions, are hundreds of miles from their nearest port.

In a brief notice, such as this, it is not possible to discuss in detail the railway needs of the various districts and colonies. But as the existing lines are miserably inadequate, it is desirable to emphasise the importance of an all-round improvement and increase in the means of communication, as ancillary to the task of settling the country. In this development everything depends upon the willingness of the colonial Governments to co-operate. They can do much if an energetic railway programme is adopted. Money will, of course, be needed; for not only must the main trade lines be double-tracked, but short lines tapping each agricultural or pastoral district should be built. During the next ten years the mileage should be doubled; and though this work will raise the railway debt of the country to about 100,000,000*l.*, the assets thus created will form an important part of the national wealth, and will contribute greatly to the national revenue and to the stability of the country's credit.

It should not be forgotten, however, that, while the State railways may be reasonably expected to contribute a moderate share towards the annual revenue, it is a mistake to regard them solely as revenue producers. The tendency to handle them as part of the ordinary tax-raising machinery has been much in evidence in the past; and it is now time that wider views were taken and the true functions of the railways, as the channels of the country's commerce, recognised. In such vital requisites as roads, railways, and harbours, the standard of value, when the nation is owner, is utility, not dividends; and the tariffs should accordingly be carefully regulated, not to earn ten or twelve per cent., but to give a moderate surplus after meeting interest and sinking fund charges. Heavy railway and shipping rates mean the taxation of that interchange of products which is one of the first sources of a people's prosperity—a truth which those who meet in the suggested conference to discuss a railway union between the various States should bear in mind.

Another principle to be kept in view is the maintenance of that State-control and ownership which has already conferred such signal advantages upon South Africa. It is true that objections, based mainly upon Australian precedents, have been urged against State railways; but the blots indicated are rather the results of bad or corrupt management and political jobbery than defects inherent in national ownership of the channels of communication. There are not a few signs that the nationalisation of railways and harbours will eventually be carried out in all commercial communities; but, whether such changes come to pass or not, there can be no doubt that one of the chief agents in the coming prosperity of South Africa will be her State railway system, which ensures her credit and the easy control of the tariffs regulating the flow of her internal commerce.

(V.) *The Native Question.*

1. *Native Races and the War.* By Mrs Josephine E. Butler. London: Gay and Bird, 1900.
2. *Vigilance Papers*, 1 to 10. Cape Town: The South African Vigilance Committee, 1900.
3. *The Report of the South African Native Races Committee.* London: John Murray, 1901.

THE native population, whose condition and prospects will be deeply affected by the result of the present war, may be reckoned roughly at about four millions. This excludes the natives in the Portuguese territories in the east, and also the small population in German South-West Africa. Of these four millions, one and a half inhabit the Cape Colony. Scattered amongst them are rather over three quarters of a million of Europeans or whites of various nationalities. Of these again the Cape Colony has the largest number—roughly a little over 388,000. The disproportion of white to black is still more marked in Natal, where 50,000 whites stand opposed to nearly 800,000 blacks.

From this disproportion we may draw the conclusion that the gravest question of the future is not the relation of Boer and Briton, but of White and Black. The native population is rapidly increasing, and will continue to increase. This is at once a benefit industrially or economically, and an embarrassment politically. It means that great caution will be necessary in bestowing privileges which cannot be taken back, and which in the hands of disproportionate numbers would be dangerous. But we have no right to resent the presence of the black man, for he was in the country before us. Whatever the embarrassment, we cannot divest ourselves of our duties towards him; nor can we do without him.

The three directions in which the industrial development of South Africa will proceed are agricultural, pastoral, and mineral. In none of these can we do without the native, unless we are to employ labour imported at a very considerable expense. But the black man is also important to us as a customer. Thousands of miles of our calico are still needed to cover him, and save him from the rough discomfort of bark cloth, grass mantles,

or skins. Where civilisation has come, he is also a buyer of ploughs and paper, of suits of clothing, boots and books. Our most valuable asset in Africa is undoubtedly the African himself.

Two causes have acted against the progress of South Africa. One was the absence, until recently, of any intelligent and continuous policy on the part of the Home Government; the other was the difficulty of obtaining accurate information on the conditions of the country itself. On inaccurate knowledge, erroneous and hasty conclusions were formed, with the mischievous consequences for which we are paying so dearly to-day.

The appearance, therefore, at the present time of the Report of the South African Native Races Committee is opportune in the highest degree. The more it is examined, the more apparent it will become that its compilers have rendered a real service to the public in issuing it now. The report has nothing to do with political parties, or speculative enterprises, or dividends; and the Committee have wisely confined their efforts to one section of the South African Question—that of the Natives. Definite enquiries have been addressed to civil commissioners, resident magistrates, bishops, bankers, merchants, missionaries, traders in native territories, managers of mines, and others in South Africa, and also to some intelligent and educated natives, and native missionaries as well. A great variety of opinion—not always in agreement on every point—has been collected, affording valuable data on which to base conclusions on the difficult problem of White and Black in South Africa. The conclusions reached by the Committee are expressed with great moderation, more as suggestions than final recommendations, and in a form which can excite no race prejudice even in South Africa itself; and the result is given in a compact and well-arranged volume of 340 pages. It forms a marked contrast to its bulky predecessor on the same subject—the Report of the Colonial Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs, 1883. The latter, while containing much of permanent value, is now somewhat out of date, and unsuited to the altered conditions of the country.

Totally different in form and method of statement, but resembling in its object the Report of the Native Races

Committee, is the small volume by Mrs Butler on 'Native Races and the War.' The extent to which the moral element exists in the present conflict is seen with all the quickness of a woman's greater sensibility and clearer perception of the importance of that side of the question. The book is a grave indictment of the Boers for their treatment of the natives; and the reader finds himself in a somewhat different atmosphere from that of the report. Yet the political or party action which led to the costly blunder of 1881, and the apathy and acquiescence of the home public at the time, are stated clearly and calmly. There is no appeal to feeling or party interest, but a simple statement of facts, resting on official reports and other trustworthy information from actors in these events as they occurred.

The native problem in South Africa is resolvable into the following main questions—land, labour, liquor, and status. Under the last come various minor questions, not so immediately urgent as the others, though important. These include local self-government, as now possible under some sections of the Glen Grey and other Acts; political recognition of the native in the future; and education as the means by which he may qualify himself for such recognition. All the four main questions concern European and native alike. On their just and wise settlement depend the welfare and harmonious relation of the two races, the progress, and perhaps the future peace of the country. They touch wider and more permanent interests than the affairs, however urgent at the moment, of mining companies, land syndicates, or other special industries; and it would be a disastrous mistake if South Africa were exploited in favour of these limited concerns.

Land comes first. Some will say labour stands first; but it is not so. Land is what the European wants to get, whether he represents a company or merely himself. Land is what the native wants to keep, and on the keeping of which his thoughts mainly run. With land he feels he has a root in the country; without it he regards himself as a rootless tree. This expresses his final judgment and real feeling on this matter; and there can be no doubt as to the soundness of his judgment. With land secured as the basis, what is in it, or on it, or can be got out of it, is more permanently secured also.

Older and more intelligent natives all take this view. That it is so held may seem improbable in view of the numerous concessions that have been made by native chiefs. If we knew the history of some of these concessions, both German and British, but especially the former, between the equator and the Cape, it would be highly interesting. In many cases the native chief did not know exactly what he was doing. In almost every case the people would deny that the chief had any right or power to alienate their land, inasmuch as it belongs, according to tribal law, to them. But the concessions have been made; the white man has come into possession; as he is powerful, armed, and masterful, resistance by a few natives is hopeless; and they see their land silently passing away from them. Difficulties, however, arise later on, and if the natives are strong enough, a native war follows. Whatever immediate causes produce the rupture, land lies at the bottom of the difficulty.

Over and above the question of equity, which deserves some consideration, there is need for exercising great caution in parting with land in large areas to companies or syndicates. With native reserves it is possible to have a supply of native labour more or less sufficient, within easy distance and under British jurisdiction. The heavy cost of transporting labourers from distances varying from one to three thousand miles is thus avoided, and also such taxes as the unreasonable cost of passport levied by the Portuguese authorities on natives going to the mines, which amounts to over 1*l.* 6*s.* a head—a tax on British trade for the benefit of Portuguese colonial revenue.

At present considerable native reserves exist. The growth of the native population and the necessity for labour close at hand renders it necessary to guard these carefully. They form an irregular belt stretching across the country from east to west. In Natal rather more than two million acres are so reserved; the greater part of Fingoland and Pondoland in the Transkei; the whole of Basutoland, and a great part of Bechuanaland. Land tenure in most of these reserves is communal or tribal. Generally speaking, native law is recognised, and its administration is partly in the hands of the chief and partly in those of British residents and magistrates. Minor cases are mostly dealt with by the chiefs and sub-chiefs.

Criminal cases and appeals come before the magistrates. In the Transkei, which may be taken as a fair type of this mixed administration—

‘Kaffir law is recognised and administered by the magistrates, with the assistance of the headmen, wherever colonial law would not justly apply, tribal discipline being maintained for all internal purposes. There is an appeal from the decisions of the resident magistrate to the court of the chief magistrate. The cost of administration is defrayed out of the hut tax. Fines belong to the Crown, and the allotment of land is vested in the Governor, for the occupation of the several members of the tribe, as in Basutoland.’

Communal or tribal title has its advantages and disadvantages. It suits the present stage of social development and the form of government to which the natives have been accustomed. There is a graduated responsibility rising from the father of a single family through the headman of the village to the sub-chief and chief of the whole tribe. All that goes on is reported from the lower to the higher authorities; and the life of the tribe in all its concerns is thus bound together, and fairly well managed according to native ideas. On the other hand the objections to this form of tenure are that it prevents improvement and keeps back progressive individuals. It takes away the stimulus which individual tenure gives to the improvement of land, as by law the individual cannot transfer the land, or get compensation for improvements. At his death, if he dies without heirs, the land reverts to the chief for the benefit of the tribe. Any sudden change from tribal to individual tenure with some tribes would be disastrous. Such a change can only be made gradually.

Labour.—On the supply of labour depend the production of gold, the support of those industries, both home and colonial, which the mining industry creates and fosters, the growth of the white population, the higher value of agricultural produce, and finally, the fiscal prosperity of the whole country. The labour question thus stands next in importance to that of land.

The situation at present is that of an inadequate supply. Complaints are made on every hand, and desperate remedies are suggested to meet the demand. The Salisbury Chamber of Commerce is reported to have resolved the other day to bring in Asiatics—whether Chinese or others

is not stated. The complaint is that the native will not work; or that, if he works, he does so irregularly and often goes home to rest; and that wages are so high that labourers must be brought from a distance. The first statement is not true as it stands; the second and third statements are substantially true. The fact is that the whole material development of South Africa within the last thirty or forty years, so far as unskilled labour is concerned, has been entirely carried out by natives. There is no white labouring class of any considerable number, such as may be found in Australia and the other colonies. All the work of the diamond and gold mines, which have yielded such large returns to the shareholders, is done by natives. On a rough estimate 100,000 natives are employed in connexion with the Transvaal mines: there were over 98,000 immediately before the war broke out. To these may be added 10,000 at the Kimberley diamond mines and a smaller number at other mines. Natives have constructed all the railroads, of which nearly five thousand miles are in working; the roads, docks, quarries, and buildings. The work of transport, farm labour, agricultural or pastoral, and nearly all domestic work in the towns and in the households of the whole country are carried on by the black man. This, however, is only a part of his work. The natives are also cultivators; they raise the food by which they live, and supply part of the grain, such as maize, and some of the wheat and wool which is purchased in the Colonies. It is wrong to assume that the native is idle when he is not working for the white man. He has his own fields to attend to, his own villages to build and repair, his own crops to raise for the support of himself and his family and for sale. The broad statement that he does not work requires extensive qualification.

The charge that the native will not work thus becomes reduced to the complaint that there is not an adequate supply of labour at the price which the white man wishes to pay for it. We need not be misled by any sentimental views, or by what are called Exeter Hall doctrines, which excite so much wrath in the minds of some colonists. The question is simply a matter of hard fact as to a marketable commodity. The native has his labour to sell; the white man wants to buy it; and the only theory applicable

here is that of all sound trade, which is, that it shall be a transaction useful and profitable to both sides. Evidence seems to show that the supply of migratory labour is growing in volume. The number of able-bodied adult natives taking out passes to go in search of work in the Transkeian territories in 1898 was, omitting hundreds, 61,000 as against 47,000 in 1897. In Cape Colony, omitting five divisions for which there were no returns, the number was 45,000; in Natal 21,000; in Basutoland 37,000; in Zululand 3000; total 167,000.

A special labour-tax is a favourite idea in some quarters. But how can this in common fairness be applied to one class of subjects and not to another? Heavy, unequal, or unrepresented taxation has always led to revolt, from the days of Solomon's successor to those of the people whom we now know as the Outlanders of the Transvaal. Heroic remedies will be of little avail in this matter if fair treatment and honest dealing are not scrupulously observed.

The region where the labour supply seems most scanty is Rhodesia; and the recent proposal to import thither Chinese or other Asiatics is not a very wise one. It is contrary to the principle now adopted in Australia and the United States; and the end may be worse than the beginning. Equally unpromising seems Mr Rhodes's scheme of bringing Somalis from the north-east Horn of Africa. This is surely a desperate expedient, and looks like an overweening confidence in the power of capital to supersede the fundamental laws of labour supply.

Compulsion in some form is the 'short cut' which many would like to try. Short cuts are often found to be the longest way about, and we should not try this one unless we are prepared to follow it out to its utmost consequences; and these will land us, not perhaps in slavery, but next door to it. The wiser way, while admitting the fact that the African is not fond of work, and like many others avoids it when he can, is to ask what causes contribute to this constant deficiency of labour. Amongst these causes the following must certainly be reckoned: the treatment of natives at the mines; their treatment on the journey to the mines; their fear or dislike of working underground; and, in some cases, the non-payment, in full, of wages promised by contractors and others. Amongst other abundant evidence on this point,

there appears the following from the Report of the Civil Commissioner of the division of Bedford, Mr Hewett, who said in 1898 :—

‘Natives are complaining bitterly of the treatment they receive at the railway works, as there is no security to them for their wages. They state they are hired by contractors who employ them on piece-work; and when they have worked some two months or more, these contractors disappear, without paying their men. Consequently great injustice is done to the natives; and this must necessarily have a disastrous effect on the labour market. There appears to be a loud outcry amongst the natives in this respect.’

Mr Barnes, Protector of natives at Kimberley, says :—

‘I have had several cases brought to my notice during the past year of the most glaring injustice with respect to natives’ wages; and this in the case of large gangs of labourers. It is no wonder that from these mines there is such a cry of shortness of labour.’

Self-interest on the part of mine-owners and managers appears to demand the removal, so far as is practicable, of these causes, as one of the most likely means of securing an abundant supply of labour. The evidence given in the appendix to the Native Races Report is perfectly clear on this point. The native wants to make money: of that there is no question. If he is well treated and honestly dealt with, he will work. If he is not well treated, he will retaliate in a very simple and effective fashion; that is, he will simply stay away. The report in question justly says :—

‘Considering the ill-treatment and fraud to which many natives have been subjected at the mines, and the difficulties and sufferings of the long journey, sometimes of more than one thousand miles, it is surprising that the supply of labour is as large as it is.’

In the Transvaal the excessive supply of liquor and the deficiency of facilities for the journey have much to do with the labour difficulty. While mining companies were anxious to provide rest-houses on the roads, and to make the journey more tolerable, the late Transvaal Government deliberately set its face against any remedy; and the native going or returning was constantly liable

to be robbed by the utterly corrupt officials of that Government.

It should be recognised that compulsory labour in any form has its dangers. Some who have lived in South Africa for a long period have noticed a certain change among the natives during the last twelve or fifteen years. There have been signs of a growth of anti-European feeling, and of a diminution in that deference and friendly regard to the white man which existed in earlier days. This change is partly due to the lives of a certain class of low whites. When friendly to the native they help to produce that familiarity which breeds contempt; when overbearing and brutal they stir up hatred against the white man. The native wrongly concludes that white men are all very much alike. Another cause of this anti-European feeling is the tendency of recent legislation, which has been too exclusively repressive, and has done little to encourage and assist the native.

Speaking generally, the African, in spite of all the outcry against his laziness on the part of not over-industrious whites, presents an agreeable contrast, from one point of view, with most other untrained races, for instance, the North American Indian. He is at least willing to go in the harness of civilisation. If he goes awkwardly at first in that harness, it is not to be wondered at. One thing he does not like—compulsory labour. His philosophy of life is simple and sound so far as it goes. He holds that a man's happiness consists in the enjoyment of what he has, rather than in an unrelenting search for more. But the native's wants are increasing, and those wants will be the safest and strongest stimulus to labour. The dislike to compulsion is at the bottom of the native dislike to the Glen Grey Act. That Act arose out of no very benevolent intention, and was regarded rather as a sop to the Bond Cerberus; for the Dutch farmer is always, and the English colonist is sometimes, in favour of compulsory labour. The Act, however, is believed to be working well. Its really beneficent clauses, which give a measure of district self-government, redeem the remainder, which were originally not very benevolent.

Where native labour, when wanted in large quantity, is properly organised, and humanely and not harshly dealt with, it is not very difficult to procure. Of this the best

proof is found in the well organised and carefully managed Compounds at Kimberley. This system is not found at Johannesburg, for gold-mining does not require the segregation of the labourers, gold not being so easily stolen as diamonds. On the other hand, at Johannesburg, the demoralisation of native labourers, from want of proper care, from treatment often very harsh, and from the effects of liquor too easily got, counteracts all the benefits which they might get from contact with civilisation. Many natives return to the Kimberley mines again and again at intervals spread over years, but to Johannesburg many go once and never again.

What is needed is not repressive and compulsory measures, but more organisation, in the shape of a Labour Department or Bureau, and efficient Government inspection of the conditions under which the native labourer lives and works. It may be said that it is not the duty of an administration to supply labour. That is true; but the welfare and protection of the native, and the prosperity of the country through the development of its resources, surely form part of the legitimate duties of all administrations.

Liquor.—On some questions there is considerable diversity of opinion among correspondents of the Native Races Committee; but on one point there is absolute unanimity, namely, that the use of alcoholic liquor is morally and physically destructive to the natives, and that for the sake of their welfare its sale should be really and not only nominally prohibited. To this opinion there is hardly an exception.

As to prohibition, the matter stands thus. In the Transvaal and the Cape Colony, except in some locations in the latter, the supply of liquor, whatever be the law, is simply unlimited, or limited only by the contents of the native's purse. It is in these two territories that the drink evil is at its worst. Real prohibition exists in certain territories. In Natal, the sale of drink to natives is forbidden in locations and towns; in Basutoland both sale and importation are prohibited; in the Orange River Colony, the prohibition appears to be thorough; in British Bechuanaland there is prohibition for natives only; in Khama's country the sale is prohibited to both natives and Europeans, but allowed to Europeans at one refresh-

ment room on the railway to Bulawayo ; in Rhodesia it is prohibited to natives, but not to Europeans. Cape brandy of a very bad quality is the chief cause of drunkenness. It is made in the western districts of the Cape Colony by Dutch farmers, euphemistically called 'wine farmers.' There is diversity of opinion on the question of Kaffir beer. Several correspondents—missionaries amongst others—hold that it is unsafe and unjust to prevent the manufacture of this for individual use. It is certainly going a little too far to say that a native shall not drink his own Kaffir beer. Its use as a beverage under various names, such as *utywala* among the Kaffirs, *letin*, a very mild form of drink, though there is also a stronger form, among the Basutos, and *pombe* in Central Africa, extends from the Cape to the equator, till it reaches those latitudes where palm wine begins to take its place. In the winter time, when there is little milk, old people make use of this beer, made from fermented maize or millet. Its sale, however, might be forbidden; and large beer-drinking parties, which often end in fighting and bloodshed, might be prohibited.

Prohibition is very difficult to enforce. The Rose-Innes Liquor Act of 1898, from which much was expected, does not seem to have had much success in Cape Colony. It forbids the manufacture of Kaffir beer, and yet is inoperative in regard to other liquors. But to allow these territories to be flooded with the vilest brandy that can be produced, on which not a penny a gallon of excise duty is charged, and at the same time to make it a crime for the native to use his own beer, is like forgetting the beam in our own eye and paying undue attention to the mote in our neighbour's. Many of the natives, however, ask for prohibition to prevent their destruction as a people. It is to be hoped that in the reconstruction of the Transvaal little mercy will be shown to the liquor trade, on the ground that economically, morally, and socially it is an unmitigated evil. Real progress among the natives is impossible while this traffic continues.

Sir Sydney Shepherd, the late administrator of Bechuanaland, attributes the almost total absence of serious crime in British Bechuanaland to the strict enforcement of the laws prohibiting the supply of liquor to natives. He further says:—

'The liquor traffic is the greatest possible curse so far as the natives are concerned, destroying to a great extent their activity as labourers, and leading to an increase of crime and consequently to heavy expenditure on prisons and convict stations.'

'The liquor traffic still continues in the Cape Colony. The liquor trade there has great vested interests with corresponding influence in the legislature, and it is not at all likely that those interested will give it up for any moral, humanitarian, or utilitarian object. The same applies with far greater force to the Transvaal.'

Mr J. P. Robinson in a paper recently published says:—

'Of all the wrongs in regard to natives and their labour, none come near to the scandals of the liquor trade. The laws of the Transvaal restraining it are excellent on paper, but their administration is infamous. They prohibit the sale to natives, but they are broken wholesale. . . . The Government sells drink licences, and all nationalities are more or less engaged in the illicit traffic. This is a paramount question, and vital to the order of the country.'

The sale of liquor not only destroys the working power of the natives, but also diminishes the supply of labour; for sober and industrious relatives at home, seeing what the men have become when they return from the towns and the mines, do their best to prevent them going back.

Status.—There are two different methods of dealing with the native African. One is to give him a certain share in the common life of the country under the conditions of his acquiring certain property and some knowledge, which he can obtain by honest labour and industry. If he is made to feel that he is not a social pariah or a mere labour-machine for the white man's benefit, and if certain privileges are open to him, he has some inducement to good conduct and industry. The other method is to refuse him such recognition, and to restrict him in every way, industrially, socially, and politically. By this method there is gradually produced in his mind a sullen conviction that he exists and labours solely for the advantage of the white man, and that whatever rights he has are denied him. When this is the feeling of a few thousands, it may be regarded as politically unimportant; but when it becomes that of millions, it is not wise to overlook it.

An all-round equality is impossible, unsafe, and dangerous to both colours; but certain personal, social, and civil rights may and should be granted. Now according to the law of the late Transvaal Government, the status of the native in the Transvaal is, or was, as follows.

1. There is no equality either in Church or State between white and coloured.
2. The native may not own land.
3. He may not engage in any kind of trade, buying or selling, even as a coster or huckster.
4. He may not walk on side paths, or travel by rail except in trucks and carriages specially built for natives.
5. Marriage—unrecognised till within three years ago—is now recognised on payment of 3*l.* to Government, and subject to other restrictions.
6. Every native must carry a pass, for which he pays two shillings per month, and wear a metal badge on the left arm above the elbow.
7. The Government does nothing for native education.
8. Liquor is nominally prohibited, but to be had plentifully.

The status of the native in Cape Colony is different.

1. There is, according to the Constitution, no difference in Church or State, on account of colour.
2. The native may own as much land as he can buy.
3. He may trade on the same conditions as English or Dutch or other nationalities.
4. He may walk on side paths, and requires a pass chiefly for removal of stock. No charge or fee for pass.
5. He may marry by the general marriage law of the Colony, common to all classes. No fee to Government for registration.
6. He is assisted in education by Government grants to native schools.
7. He possesses the franchise on much the same conditions as the European.

This contrast it will probably not be difficult to remove; but the crucial and really difficult point in any future policy as regards the natives is the franchise. It would be unwise and utterly unsafe to apply the regulations which exist in Cape Colony to the new territories, or even to those that are not quite new. These conditions or qualifications in the Cape Colony may be summarised *as follows*. They apply equally to black and white.

Any male person may become a registered voter who is over twenty-one years of age; who is a natural-born or duly naturalised subject of Her Majesty, and who has been for not less than one year the occupier of a house or building of the value of 75*l.*; or who has been for not less than a year in receipt of salary or wages of not less than 50*l.* per annum; and who is able to sign his name and write his address and occupation.

As the blacks outnumber the whites in Cape Colony by four to one, this political equality may in course of time produce grave difficulties. But the disproportion in population is at present rectified by the property and educational requirement. Few native dwellings are of the value of 75*l.* The percentage of natives who can read and write is as yet very small. Moreover, within the last few years, the Colonial Government has carefully revised the native voters' list, and enforced strict enquiry as to the value of property. There is no reason to suppose that the enfranchised natives have misused their political privileges; and, so far as Cape Colony is concerned, the wisest plan seems to be not to disturb existing conditions.

A totally different state of things exists in Natal. The natives there are almost wholly excluded from the franchise, and necessarily so. They are much less advanced in civilisation; and their numbers would constitute a serious danger, for they outnumber the whites by about sixteen to one. With such proportions, no governing power would long remain in the hands of the white races if an easily attainable franchise were within reach of the native. A few favoured individuals who have both property and education enjoy the franchise by special permission of the Governor. All Asiatics, of whom there are some fifty thousand, are excluded.

In the newly-annexed Orange River and Transvaal Colonies the native franchise is a question that need not now be considered. These two states have certain stages of lower political development to pass through before even the whites can obtain the full right of self-government. In view of the anxiety on the subject, in this case perhaps justifiable, expressed by the Boer leaders in the late negotiations, it would be highly impolitic—to say the least—to hold out any hope to the natives that they will

receive the franchise simultaneously with, or even subsequently to, its grant to white citizens.

The truth is that the South African native at present is not extremely solicitous about the franchise. He is ambitious enough and anxious to rise, and will no doubt greatly improve his condition under just treatment. But he is much more concerned about other things than about his political privileges. Land, and the secure possession of it; labour, the conditions of it, and its freedom from compulsion; and education, are some of the things which concern him most. In this he shows his practical sense.

Connected with the subject of status is that of taxation; and one of the most interesting chapters of the Committee's report is that on native contributions to the revenue. Under the old régime of the chiefs there were no fixed taxes. Instead of taxes, the native laboured for the chief and gave him presents of cattle, or fought when there was fighting to do. The chief contributions which South African natives now make to the revenue come under the head of hut-tax, poll, or other taxes not paid by the white population. There are also fees on passes, licences, quitrents, fines, marriage fees and dog-tax, some of which are paid in common with Europeans. The tax of 5s. per dog a year ago reached in Natal the large total of 11,883*l.* It is impossible to ascertain what proportion of general taxation is paid by the natives, except in those territories, such as Basutoland, where the white population is exceedingly small.

The hut-tax varies in different colonies. In Cape Colony it is 10s. per annum per hut; in Natal and Zululand 14s.; in Basutoland it was 10s., till about two years ago, when it was raised to 1*l.*; in Rhodesia it is 10s.; in the Transvaal there is a general average tax, payable by each adult male native, amounting to 2*l.* 12s. 6*d.* per annum. Natives serving Europeans are exempt from these taxes. It is also stated that in 1897 the estimated total annual receipts from passes in the proclaimed districts of Krugersdorp, Johannesburg, and Boksburg in the Transvaal, amounted to 150,000*l.*; and that the annual cost of administration (of this department) was only 12,160*l.*

The hut-tax, though a simple form of taxation, is open to objections. It tends to overcrowding, and thus hinders

social progress. In some colonies, especially in Natal, square huts inhabited by natives having only one wife and conforming to civilised ways have been exempt till lately from the hut-tax. According to the most recent statistics, the total amount raised by the ordinary hut-tax is, roughly, 77,700*l.* for the Cape Colony; Basutoland 47,000*l.*; Mashonaland and Matabeleland 64,000*l.*; Transvaal 110,000*l.*; Orange Free State 19,600*l.*

Indirect taxes are paid in the form of customs duties. The report states that on various articles specially used by the natives the amount of duty is exceedingly high. On beads, it is as much as 60 per cent. *ad valorem*; on Kaffir picks and hoes, 80 per cent. to 100 per cent.; and on many other articles 20 per cent. One of the magistrates of a district in Zululand reports that the native population contributes largely to the customs revenue, and that their wants are rapidly increasing. The report questions the policy of levying so heavy a duty as 20 per cent. *ad valorem* on blankets and woollen goods, and doubts whether the best way to make industry attractive to the native is to diminish the purchasing power of his earnings by imposing such duties on articles chiefly used by him.

No statement on the Native Question will be complete without some reference to education and the effects of Christian missions, as the status of the native is more profoundly affected by these than by any other influence or agency. It should be observed that the power to purchase British manufactures and the desire for education apply not to the whole mass of natives, but to a certain section only. A broad dividing line separates the civilised or semi-civilised or Christianised native from the bulk of his people, who still wear the red blanket as their only clothing and use red ochre and grease as an adornment or a mark of their social state. In spite of all that is said against Christian missions and their results among the African race, no one who wants the truth need be long in doubt about it. Christianity is not rendered powerless by the colour of a man's skin. If Christianity has done good in England and other parts of the earth, there is no reason why it should not have done and be now doing good work in South Africa. Yet the assertion to the contrary is constantly made, and with great confi-

dence. In one * of a series of volumes recently published, which contains much good work, but some hasty judgments, it is affirmed that 'a mission Kaffir is a Kaffir spoilt'; that he wears his Christianity as he does his clothing, and finally 'peels off the superficial veneer of missionary endeavour and becomes a raw Kaffir, pure and simple'; and that his 'women folk are worse, because ruined in body and soul.'

This is a remarkable statement of the results of missionary work—remarkable chiefly for its unconscious prejudice and complete ignorance of that work. 'What have the missionaries to say for themselves, or what can be said for them?' The 'Cape Civil List' is an official record and not a missionary's opinion or estimate of his work, and it may therefore be trusted. In the volume for 1898 we find the names of some forty or fifty educated natives. They are employed as magistrates' clerks, interpreters in courts, constables, and so on. Thirty-two of these come from one mission institute, and their whole training has been given by missionaries. These thirty-two are earning among them over 3000*l.* a year, paid by the Colonial Government, we may suppose, for adequate and useful services. If they were not intellectually and morally trustworthy they would not be so employed. About others who have had an industrial training as carpenters, printers, blacksmiths, teachers, at the same place, a similar enquiry might be made with very much the same result. The institute at which these men were trained is Lovedale, so called after Dr Love, an early secretary of the London Missionary Society and the founder of the Glasgow Missionary Society. It is about seven hundred miles north-east of Cape Town. The aim of the place is not only to Christianise but to supplement religion with secular training.

One or two other facts will counteract the impression that all missionary education is provided for by contributions from the home country or by educational grants. A new mission must indeed at first be entirely so maintained, and some extraneous support is always required. But thirty years ago the system of fees or payment by natives for their maintenance and education was introduced at

* 'British Africa' (British Empire Series), ii, p. 103.

Lovedale. The amount received the first year was 200*l.*; last year it was 3318*l.*; in 1899 it was 3553*l.*; and the total amount received since this method was introduced is over 45,000*l.* For clothes, books, and other expenses, an equal amount may be added. We thus reach the total of 90,000*l.* as expended by a comparatively small number of native people in the desire to obtain education for themselves or their children. That money represents so much labour thrown into the market or bestowed on native stock or crops, which had to be sold to procure it. The money could come from no other source.

About the year 1875, the success of the Lovedale Mission led the natives in the Transkei, under the guidance of Captain Blyth, to desire a similar or branch institution on a smaller scale. They were asked to contribute 1000*l.*, and agreed to do so. As the building grew they were asked a second and a third time, and contributed in all 4500*l.* The institution thus started is named Blythswood; its methods and results are similar to those of the older institution. From the Lovedale Institute there have gone out over seven hundred teachers of native schools, a large proportion of whom hold certificates from the Education Department of the Cape Colony, forty-nine native missionaries, and the same number of evangelists.

Desire for education, willingness to pay for it, readiness for social improvement, and the power to purchase our manufactures exist chiefly though not exclusively amongst Christianised natives. These are the people who are frequently described as 'useless,' 'spoilt,' 'utterly ruined in body and soul'; and this is laid at the door of missions. There are of course a few Kaffirs unimproved by education or Christianity. Are there no Englishmen of whom the same may be said? In the work of civilising the African continent we cannot do without Christianity, which is merely saying we cannot do without Christian missions. The civilisation and advancement of the native are the corollary of his freedom from slavery; and in his further progress towards good citizenship, emancipation from heathendom must be the first step. The best kind of Imperialism for the future of Africa is a Christian Imperialism.

Art. XII.—MANDELL CREIGHTON.

THE deep and universal regret with which the news of Dr Creighton's death was received three months ago by men of all classes and all shades of thought, indicated a general feeling that a heavier loss could hardly have fallen upon the English Church. Known already to scholars as an accomplished historian, to Oxford and Cambridge men as a distinguished member of two universities, to a few statesmen and churchmen as an ecclesiastic worthy of high office, and to a large circle of private friends as a man of unusual individuality, power, and charm, he was a stranger to the general public until, some four years ago, he was called to occupy the see of Ridley and Grindal, of Laud and Juxon, of Tait and Temple. Few men who have entered upon the wide field of public life in London at the ripe age of fifty-four have impressed themselves so deeply or so quickly upon the vast society around them. It was an impression made not so much by learning, though of that there was plenty, nor by wit and wisdom, though both wit and wisdom abounded in the public and private utterances of the late bishop, nor even by the tactful discharge of official duties, though this had already borne good fruit, as by the unusually striking and attractive personality of the man. It is this personality, and the conditions under which it was formed, that we shall attempt to sketch in the following pages.

Born and bred in the old border-town of Carlisle, educated in the ancient Palatine capital of Durham, beneath the shadow of feudal castle and episcopal palace, in a country teeming with legend and romance, the boy Creighton early received those historical impressions which so strongly tinged his thought and moulded his opinions in after-life. His first scholastic experience was in the cathedral school at Carlisle. At the age of fourteen, he won a king's scholarship at the grammar school of Durham. Dr Holden, then head-master, has recently told us that, in the examination, Creighton did no Latin verses, but that the excellence of his answers in the *viva voce* examination gained him the prize. At Durham he remained five years. Already short-sighted and wearing spectacles, he took little part in games; but he scored for the eleven,

and nearly won the school steeplechase, falling exhausted within fifty yards of the goal. Most stories of the youth of distinguished men are apocryphal, but a Durham contemporary records two characteristic things. The boy had a gift for mesmerising, which he practised on his younger school-fellows till forbidden to do so; and he was once heard to say, in answer to a question from his headmaster's wife, 'I intend to be a bishop, Mrs Holden.' It was a strange ambition for a lad of fourteen.

In 1862, at the age of nineteen, he gained a post-mastership at Merton, and launched out at once on the full tide of Oxford life. Merton was a small college then, containing only about sixty undergraduates. On the whole, it had the reputation of being a fast college, with an artistic and High Church turn; but it included representatives of every phase of Oxford character and every kind of pursuit. There were rich men and poor men, reading men and idlers, athletes, politicians, men of æsthetic tastes, ritualists; and this small but very mixed society afforded unlimited educational opportunities to one who was already a student of humanity in all its forms. Creighton soon knew everybody; but his intimates were naturally chosen from men whose tastes were more or less like his own. Among them were Copleston, now Bishop of Colombo, George Saintsbury, R. T. Raikes, S. B. Tristram, C. L. Shadwell, J. R. Thursfield, and others now well-known. He had a semi-Socratic way of 'taking up' ingenuous freshmen; but unlike most 'takers-up,' he never put them down again.

By way of exercise he took long walks, and rowed for several years in his college boat. Socially and hospitably inclined, his somewhat restricted means never hindered him from taking a full share in college life. He already felt his power, and intended to use it.

'In the discussions which we carried on, about all things in heaven and earth, at all hours of the day and night, nothing' (says one of his most intimate friends) 'came up so often as a pet idea of his about "Influence."' His friend opined that nobody but an idiot would submit to being influenced; but Creighton knew better, and set himself to obtain influence in various ways. It was partly for this reason that he took to boating; he would recognise no gulf between the reading-man and the athlete.

But the cult of athletics was not in those days the all-

absorbing occupation which it has since become: 'walks and talks' were still an ordinary feature of university life, and they remained a marked feature of Creighton's life to the end. Whist was also a favourite relaxation; and he, with eleven others, started a select whist club for playing the modern scientific game, which was just then being introduced at Oxford. Creighton took no pleasure in sport of any kind, but 'he had an admirable knack of organising expeditions.' Walks of twenty miles and more were common things, and in 1863 he is said to have walked all the way from Oxford to Durham in order to be present on speech-day in his old school. He does not appear to have been much interested in politics, that is, in the political questions of the day. The early sixties, the end of the Palmerston *régime*, were not an interesting time from this point of view. Creighton's political views were those of a moderate Liberal; but he talked little about them. This was not the way his influence was to lie. Political history interested him, but not so much as ecclesiastical; and his sceptical turn of mind, his sense of the irony of things, and a certain contempt for loud generalisations and party specifics kept him from ever being a strong partisan. His religious views were already those of a High Churchman, but of a Liberal kind; as to their sincerity, whatever impression his vivacious and untrammelled talk may have sometimes given, neither then nor afterwards did those who knew him best have any doubt. It is related of him, during his undergraduate days, that at one time he took to absenting himself, along with a few kindred spirits, from dinner in hall on Fridays. This offended certain members of the college, who, on one occasion made a raid on the rooms where Creighton and his friends were assembled. The captain of the would-be rioters was a big powerful man, but 'the Professor'—such was his undergraduate nickname—was not afraid. The door was thrown open, and the disturbers burst into the room; but when Creighton invited the ringleader to begin, the latter recoiled, and the whole party beat a quick retreat.

In literature Creighton's tastes were then, as always, catholic; but as yet he had read little of foreign authors: his devotion to Dante was of later date. He was a Tennysonian and a Browningite; and a friend, who brought him

a copy of Swinburne's 'Poems and Ballads,' recalls his lying in a hammock all day and reading aloud, till one or other of the company seized the book in order to have his turn, 'Dolores' and 'Laus Veneris,' and all the rest. He had a tempered liking for Carlyle, and at one time was very fond of Kingsley. It may be mentioned here that he was always a great reader of novels. Balzac was his favourite: the great Frenchman's comprehensive insight into human nature had an attraction for Creighton which never palled. In poetry, except Italian poetry, he did not in later years, take much delight. He had, to a consummate degree, the art of reading rapidly, and no good literature came amiss.

No one could have entered with a keener gusto than Creighton into all the varied interests of Oxford life; but they did not keep him from a vigorous preparation for his degree. Then, as in later days, he seemed to find time for everything. Much of his reading was done in other men's rooms—a practice not usually regarded as compatible with serious study; but Creighton never minded interruptions. He read hard and steadily, in his quick, concentrated way, though when and how 'he got through his work was a mystery' to more than one of his friends. The result was distinction. He took a first in 'Mods,' and a first in 'Greats,' as well as a second in the Law and History school, which he obtained on less than six months' reading. Shortly afterwards he was elected to a fellowship at his own college, and late in the year 1866 settled down to the second phase of his Oxford life as a 'don.' He became a tutor almost immediately, and held this post till he left Oxford in 1875.

Soon after his appointment several vacancies occurred in the college staff. Edward Caird, now Master of Balliol, who had been one of Creighton's tutors, went to Scotland; William Sidgwick married; and Creighton rapidly became the dominant spirit in the common-room. There are few positions, if any, which offer larger opportunities for moulding the minds and characters of individual men than that of a college tutor, especially when separated by not too great an interval of age from the pupils under his charge. Creighton was eminently fitted for using these opportunities, and he made the most of them. He was a man already of ripe judgment and sound learning, in

some ways older than his years ; but he kept perennially young. His knowledge of men was ever widening, and his sympathies did not grow narrower with age. Nothing impresses younger men so much as a strong personality ; and in Creighton's case singular shrewdness and acute perception of character were combined with unusual affability, naturalness of manner, kindly interest, and an unlimited capacity for taking pains. His intellectual superiority was evident, but there was a complete absence of affectation and donnishness. Men could go to him for advice, assured that they would not be put off with generalities, but would get advice suited to their particular case. There was then, as always, a certain deep reserve, an air of mystery, something which baffled the curious ; but this is not without its fascination, especially for the young. The tutor was essentially human, and the pupils easily found a friend in a man like-minded with themselves. It was natural, therefore, that Creighton's influence should spread rapidly ; and among the younger generation of Oxford tutors, in the decade between 1865 and 1875, there was probably none more influential than he.

After lecturing for a short time for the final school of 'Literæ Humaniores,' Creighton devoted his attention to the school of Law and History, and took up definitely the position of an historical student and teacher. He lectured chiefly on ecclesiastical, Italian, and Byzantine history ; but with his private pupils he of course ranged over a far wider field. It was to him and one or two others that the foundation of the intercollegiate system, now generally prevalent at Oxford, was mainly due. It was a time when the influence of the present Bishop of Oxford, then Regius Professor of History, was beginning to tell on historical studies, and to set up a higher standard of research ; but the teaching of history, a subject requiring considerable specialisation, was much hampered by the existing system, which confined students to the lectures of their own colleges. In the Lent term of 1869, Creighton of Merton, Laing of Corpus, and Shadwell of Oriel, formed an association for admitting each other's pupils to their lectures without a fee. This association was one of the earliest, if not the very first, of such combinations for intercollegiate lectures in Oxford ; and it was subsequently extended so

as to include all resident teachers of modern history. It is not too much to say that, without it, the Oxford History school could never have arrived at its present flourishing condition.

Among Creighton's pupils during this period was Lord Randolph Churchill, in whom he is said to have detected, sooner than anyone else, the presence of those qualities which lead to political success. Lord Randolph acknowledged his obligations to his tutor, and, in one of his last speeches, alluded to Creighton as 'that great man.' Another pupil, of a very different kind, was the late Duke of Albany, for whom Creighton felt sincere affection and admiration. These feelings were reciprocated by the Duke, who attended his lectures on Italian history in 1873, and subsequently received private tuition from him. Some ten years later, when Dr Stubbs gave up the Regius Professorship of History, the Duke warmly recommended his old tutor for the post.

'Mr Creighton' (he wrote to a very highly-placed personage) 'I knew very well indeed—a most clever, unprejudiced, and enlightened man. . . . I studied much with him at Oxford, and had a great respect for him. There could not be a better appointment. . . . At any rate I *do* hope he may get the canonry at St. Paul's, if he does not get the professorship. He *well* deserves some promotion.'

In 1870, when he had been a fellow of Merton for four years, Creighton was ordained, to the surprise of some, but not of his intimate friends. To not a few, especially among his seniors, he appeared to be sceptical, paradoxical, even cynical; but those who knew him best came to a different conclusion. For them the apparent cynicism resolved itself into caution and shrewdness; it implied neither a contempt for human nature nor a negation of human possibilities. It arose rather from a strong dislike of cant and an unusual capacity for detecting humbug, and was compatible with the warmest affections and a general kindness. That the love of paradox was there, all through life, there could be no doubt. It showed itself especially in general conversation, sometimes, it must be confessed, to a tiresome extent; but it disappeared when serious business was forward, when a practical result was in view. Ordinary conversation, it has been well said, he

regarded as an 'intellectual frolic'; and to defend a paradox was the amusement of a very clever man, with a penchant for shocking the sedate, confusing the self-confident, and stimulating the dull. It is probable, also, that this paradoxical manner was sometimes adopted for defensive reasons, as a sort of protection against inconvenient curiosity, and to avoid giving himself away in society where he was not called upon to be unreserved. As for his scepticism, it was of a discriminating kind: it had its limits. It was the scepticism of a man endowed with a strong historic sense, unwilling to dogmatise, who shrank instinctively from defining the undefinable. The subtleties of dogma do not appear to have gravely interested him, nor was he deeply read in what has been called the 'Higher Criticism'; while for theological discussion he had little taste. But of the weightier matters, the fundamental principles, he felt no doubt: his faith was the Christian faith, his religion that of the English Church. So much it seems necessary to say, in view of the loose talk that has been heard: to go further would be improper: it is not for us to peer into the recesses of private judgment. We may, however, quote in this connexion the testimony of three friends who are among the best qualified to speak.

'As to his religion' (says one), 'there is no shallower or more impudent folly than the talk about its being insincere, or "business-like," or put on in any way. Once, at Embleton, he mentioned this talk of the baser sort to me himself; and it was about the only time I ever saw him utterly and seriously indignant. . . . I have never known anybody who was less of a hypocrite. Of course, as being "of humour all compact," he used to joke about everything, sacred as well as profane. . . . I don't remember that we talked much [i.e. in undergraduate days] about taking orders; but he certainly had no doctrinal qualms. . . . His longing for influence may have been sufficient, other things being equal, to decide his profession.'

The second has written as follows:—

'By temperament and by inclination Creighton was predestined for office in the Church, and he took orders in the natural course of events, under no compulsion save that of conviction.'

* 'The Times,' 15th January, 1901.

Finally, Canon Scott Holland has recalled * how—

*in a farewell sermon to the University of Oxford [in 1875], he elaborated, for half an hour or so, the ideal of Art as the interpretation of life and conduct, with a skill and beauty which revealed how masterful had been its fascination for him; and then, by a swift turn, he rounded on his own picture. He displayed its moral insufficiency; he broke up the lovely idol, as it were, before our eyes and dashed it to pieces. It was a courageous act, in those days, of self-revelation.'

With these remarks we may leave this subject.

In 1872 Creighton married. Three years later he accepted the college living of Embleton, and left Oxford. His marriage had nothing to do with his withdrawal from academical life, for a change in the statutes permitted marriage in the case of a limited number of fellowships; and Creighton held one of these. To many, who anticipated for him a triumphant academical career, the step came as a surprise. No doubt, success was assured, had he remained at Oxford; nor would high ecclesiastical promotion have been precluded. But he had taken orders with a view to Church work; and he doubtless felt that his fitness for high office in the Church would be enhanced by a more intimate acquaintance with the lower stages of ecclesiastical preferment than was compatible with prolonged residence at Oxford.

Moreover, he had literary ambitions. He felt a genuine interest in historical research: he was contemplating a *magnum opus*; and, strange as it may appear, the atmosphere and the occupations of a university, with its heavy and increasing calls on the powers of a successful teacher, and the demands of college and university business, do not afford, nowadays, the best opportunities for study and production. Mark Pattison bewailed the tendency of his younger colleagues to become absorbed in the details of university affairs. The English universities are great self-governing communities; and self-government, especially in a time of rapid change and development, entails the sacrifice of much valuable time and strength. Creighton had not taken a prominent share in university business; but he doubtless felt that the quiet of a

* Sermon at St. Paul's, 20th January, 1901.

country parish would be more conducive to the work he wished to do, than the atmosphere of the common-room, and the university politics in which he would have been increasingly involved. Above all, he must have felt that the contact with a wider and more varied humanity, with simpler conditions of life, and with interests common to masses of men, was necessary to fit him for action in a larger sphere. It was, doubtless, only natural that many of his friends should have wished him to stay at Oxford: it showed the wisdom and insight of Henry Smith and a few others that they encouraged him to go. It must have cost him some pangs and no little searching of heart to make up his mind; but he had no regrets. It was the most critical moment of his life; but that he decided rightly, no one will now deny.

The village of Embleton is close to the coast of Northumberland, within a mile or two of Dunstanburgh on one side, and some ten miles from Bamburgh on the other. It is a straggling, rather unkempt-looking hamlet, containing little that is picturesque. The surrounding country is somewhat bleak and featureless, and the coast is hard and forbidding; but lovely nooks are to be found, and noble castles and historic scenes are within easy reach. The vicarage itself contains portions of an ancient fortified house—a delight to the historic mind. The parish is a large one. The population numbers about sixteen hundred, living mostly in four villages, some miles from each other, mostly miners, labourers, and fisher-folk. When we add to this that there are three churches to serve, and four schools to manage, and that Creighton's predecessor had been vicar for forty-four years, it will be evident that he had undertaken no light task.

Northumbrian folk are not easily led; but he had the advantage of being a north-countryman himself; and, in a sense, he had come back to his own people, to a country which he already knew and always loved. He threw himself into the work with his accustomed energy, and his parishioners were not slow in perceiving that they had got no ordinary man for a vicar. He soon became intimate with the leading families of the neighbourhood, with the Greys of Howick and Falldon; with Sir Charles Trevelyan, who used to call him 'the Admirable Crichton'; and especially with Sir George Grey, of whom he subse-

quently wrote a (privately printed) memoir. In others, however, of the Northumbrian squires he inspired some awe, as a puzzling kind of person, who said and did enigmatic things. 'He was entirely unworldly' (writes one of his Embleton pupils). 'I never knew anyone who was less a respecter of persons, or who laid himself out so little to impress those who might be useful.' But to his parishioners, of all classes, he accommodated himself with remarkable versatility, and succeeded in winning their confidence to an unusual degree. 'I think' (says a friend and neighbour of his) 'he made it his chief aim to know all his parishioners and to be known of them.' They consulted him in their difficulties, and welcomed his advice, because 'he never gushed or said soft things,' but spoke to them 'not only as a clergyman but as a man of affairs.' 'I remember' (says a pupil) 'one virago in the parish who used to have delirium tremens. When she had a fit the vicar was the only man who could control her, and he was accordingly always called in.' He never spared himself to do his people a good turn; and once, at considerable inconvenience, took a consumptive fisher-girl all the way to Falmouth, to place her in a hospital there. Others among his parishioners 'he started in life and helped in substantial ways.' 'Even at this distance of time' (says one who worked with him there) 'it is wonderful how those who really knew him in his old parish and the diocese at large speak and think of him.'

But his energies were by no means confined to his parish. He became a guardian of the poor soon after his arrival in Embleton, and was subsequently elected chairman of the Board—an office which carried with it the chairmanship of the rural sanitary authority. From 1877 onwards he was chairman of the School Attendance Committee, which had just come into existence under the Education Act of 1876. In 1879 Bishop Lightfoot made him Rural Dean of Alnwick. Together with Canon Trotter, then vicar of Alnwick, he took a leading part in founding a provident dispensary for that town and the surrounding district. At Alnwick, too, he gave frequent lectures for the Mechanics' Institute, mostly on historical subjects; for he was always anxious to seize opportunities for coming in contact with the working classes, and ready to show them the interest which could be derived from the

history of the district in which they lived. On the foundation of the diocese of Newcastle in 1881, he became examining chaplain to Bishop Wilberforce, and two years later honorary Canon of Newcastle. To the 'Diocesan Calendar' he contributed a short 'History of the Northumbrian See,' from the time of Paulinus and Aidan; and he had a chief hand in the foundation of the Diocesan Society, the scheme of which was elaborated by a diocesan committee of clergymen and laymen, of which he was secretary.

As chairman of the Board of Guardians he attended the meetings regularly, showed tact and judgment, and 'was always on the look-out for a principle.' He was sometimes—so thought one of his colleagues—almost too ready to accept any suggestion in which a principle seemed to be embodied; but this was perhaps, as he confessed to the same friend, because 'he could be bored into anything.' One of the institutions in which he took the keenest interest was the Annual Conference of the Poor Law Unions of the four northern counties, which first met in 1872. Creighton attended this regularly, as the representative of his Union, from 1877 onwards; and on three occasions read papers on the subject of elementary education. His views on this subject will be more conveniently considered at a later stage; it must suffice here to point out that he enforced the claims of education to the attention of the guardians, stimulated and directed the school attendance committees, and discussed the working and results of the Act of 1876 in a thoroughly practical, if not a very hopeful, spirit.

We have dwelt at some length on these details because they give some notion of his many-sided activity, and because such work gave him useful training in administration and in the art of dealing with men; but his parochial and diocesan labours do not by any means exhaust the list. While at Embleton he got through a great deal of literary work, and during the summer months he always had two or three young men reading with him for their degrees. His translation of one of the volumes of Ranke's English History appeared in 1875; it was the only literary work of any importance which resulted from the nine years of his Oxford tutorship. But during the next nine years, which he spent at Embleton,

he wrote his 'Age of Elizabeth,' his 'Life of Simon de Montfort,' a short 'History of England,' and the first two volumes of his great work, the 'History of the Papacy,' besides editing two series of historical handbooks—the 'Epochs of English History,' and 'Historical Biographies,' not to mention reviews for the 'Academy' and articles of literary or archæological interest for other journals. Meanwhile, it must be remembered that, far away as Embleton is, the vicar—as some one has well said—was by no means 'remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow.' On the contrary, his and Mrs Creighton's friends frequently paid them long visits, and, in summer time at least, the vicarage was constantly full.

'During his time at Embleton' (says one of these friends) 'he always seemed wonderfully free from pre-occupation, always able to find time for a long walk or to give his attention to any subject of interest. I asked him once how he got through so much literary work, and understood him to say he did most of it after dinner between eight and ten.'

'I see him now' (writes another) 'in his small library, stuffed with books from floor to ceiling, standing at his desk, with a volume of Muratori before him, turning out page after page of the "History of the Papacy." He used humorously to complain it would be very dry. I pleaded once for a little exercise of the imagination in filling up the details of a picture of which only a bare outline could be got from the chronicles. "I always like to stick very close to my authorities," he replied.'

This remark reminds us that, when asked to compose his own epitaph, he said, 'I only want this put over me: "He tried to write true history."'

Long walks were his principal relaxation from these labours. Sometimes alone, more often with a friend, he tramped all over the country to explore historic cities—the Roman Wall, Holy Island, Cuddy's Cave (the rift in the Kyloe Hills where St Cuthbert is said to have spent some months of his life), and others. He was a great practical champion of the right of way, and paid slight regard to the law of trespass.

Meanwhile a young family was growing up about him; and 'he was the friend, companion, and playmate of his children.' 'In many a ramble over the sandhills by the sea I remarked this,' says one who knew him then; and, to anyone admitted to his friendship, the freedom, intimacy,

and affectionateness of his paternal relations appeared one of his most delightful characteristics. Then there were the pupils, to whom also he stood in a sort of paternal or elder-brotherly relation. Most of them were young men of promise or position, the most distinguished, perhaps, being Sir Edward Grey. He laid down no hard and fast lines for their work, but saw that they read their books, after which he would talk over their subjects with them, clearing up difficulties, and drawing conclusions, as he walked up and down in the garden. He conversed with them constantly, trying to find out what interested them, inducing them to talk, not terrifying them, but making them feel they had said something to the point. Occasionally, however, this ordeal must have been a little formidable.

'He was sometimes' (writes one who had experienced it) 'very damping to youth. He would "rag" them unmercifully, and make fun of their views, chiefly, I think, to see if they would stand their ground, and whether it was a real belief they had embraced or just a shibboleth which they had picked up.'

But whatever was the impression he gave, he seemed to be always 'on the spot,' always talked about something that mattered, always said something fresh. What struck some of them most was his extraordinary power of work in the midst of distractions. He laboured at his 'Popes' in the same room with the rest. Between the sentences he would see a parishioner, look over the work of a pupil or of one of the children, talk to Mrs Creighton, or see anyone who wished to see him. 'He never seemed to mind being interrupted, and he was never irritable, never in a hurry.'

But this busy and varied country life at length came to an end; and from the remote northern parish he passed again into academical circles. It was not, however, to his own university that he returned. In 1884 Emmanuel College at Cambridge celebrated the 300th anniversary of its foundation. In honour of the occasion, and to perpetuate the memory of Sir Wolstan Dixie, a former member and benefactor of the college, and once Lord Mayor of London, the Dixie Professorship of Ecclesiastical History was established. The vicar of Embleton, who had now added to his Oxford reputation as a teacher the

proofs of 'learning and research' in his 'History of the Papacy,' was elected as the first occupant of the new chair, and thus became really what he had been called in jest at Oxford—a professor.

The appointment to a Cambridge professorship was not, perhaps, the sort of promotion which Creighton's friends expected for him; but it came opportunely, and gave him the facilities for study which he just then most required. A country vicarage has, as we have already remarked, some distinct advantages for the student; but to one engaged in historical research, on such a subject as the Papacy, the neighbourhood of a large library, and such leisure as a professorship affords, are almost indispensable. Creighton's zeal for history, always—since he first took it up—the object nearest his heart, was at its height; and ecclesiastical history was particularly interesting to him. It was also one for which he was, by temperament and character, peculiarly fitted; for while the personal element, which he could appreciate so well, is perhaps at its strongest in the history of the Church, his unusual aloofness of mind and independence of judgment, combined with subtlety, humour, and penetration, enabled him to handle, with rare insight and impartiality, problems generally obscured by bigotry and partisanship. No doubt such impartiality may sometimes tend to frigidity or even dulness; and neither side in a momentous struggle is apt to be satisfied with a universal sympathy. No one in Creighton's pages is quite black, not even Pope Alexander VI; certainly, no one is quite the reverse; there are no monsters; all are human. But cold and dry as is much of the 'History of the Papacy,' it is never dull; for the working of a keen intellect on a problem of great intricacy makes itself apparent on every page.

Nor, after all, in spite of his impartiality and his cool analysis, are the personal predilections of the author difficult to detect. He recognises, for instance, the gigantic personality of Luther; he admires, but he does not like him: it is Erasmus, the humanist, the reformer, not the revolutionary, who has his real sympathy. Again, we feel throughout the work the enjoyment which the author finds in unravelling the secret motives of human action, the causes which rendered futile all efforts at reform, the play of religious feeling and political interest, the mistaken

enthusiasms, the blunders of popes and kings. The conclusion is forced upon one that nothing in history is or was inevitable—not even the Reformation; that, had men been other than they were, the result would have been different; that with more wisdom and less selfishness the mediæval Church might have remained one. It is not that we are called on to regret or to applaud the result; all the author cares for is to lay bare the process, and to say, thus and thus it happened; and the upshot of his teaching is that it was all a matter of personality.

‘Historical characters’ (says one of his Cambridge pupils) ‘in his hands never seemed to be in the grip of relentless circumstances, determining them to an inevitable course of action. He made you see them as men and women, swayed not only by considerations of high policy, but by those commoner feelings and passions which act on all human beings. He made you feel you knew them. You might like them, despise them, admire them, be puzzled by them; but you could not escape being interested by them.’

This is, in a broad sense, the Carlylean method: Creighton would certainly have subscribed to the view that the history of the world is the history of its greatest men. In another sense his method is the impartial, impersonal, laborious method of one whom he regarded as his master, Ranke. It is not the method of ‘philosophies’ of history, which aim at broad principles, and tend to discover in social and political development the working of inevitable laws. Nor was it the method of Creighton’s Cambridge colleague, Seeley, whose teaching, luminous and stimulating as it was, laboured under the defect of a somewhat excessive tendency to generalisation. There could hardly have been a sharper contrast than there was between the methods of the two professors; and this is one of the things that made Creighton’s coming to Cambridge so important.

The principles of his books he illustrated further in his lectures. He lectured regularly, and varied his teaching according to its purpose. His ordinary ‘tripos’ lectures kept strictly to business—a clear outline: the learning kept rather in the background: salient points strongly emphasised. When talking to advanced students, he gave *his* multifarious learning full play, and stimulated his

hearers by showing the hidden recesses as well as the immense expanse of his subject. In his popular lectures he sought rather to amuse and attract than to instruct, adopted a more colloquial tone, and sparkled with quips and spicy anecdotes. Some of his most effective teaching was done in 'conversation classes,' in which the conversation was apt to be rather one-sided, though he did his best to make his pupils talk. To dispute in such company required no little courage and intelligence—or no little impudence—

'Sometimes' (writes a former pupil) 'a dialectically-minded youth, proud of his skill, would put on the gloves with his teacher. The professor always listened; and then came the fun. He would question him with a certain tender irony; then, with a mastery of facts and a dialectical skill which seemed almost superhuman, he would lay the hapless combatant out, and turn to his neighbour, almost saying, "Next please."'

He certainly enjoyed putting down a forward youth; and on one occasion is reported to have asked a young curate about his vicar: 'Does he sit on you well? It does one good to be sat on, doesn't it?'

It should not be forgotten that Creighton took a keen interest in the movement for women's education at Cambridge, was for several years a member of the Council of Newnham College, and was always ready to help women-students who attended his lectures. He encouraged them to continue working at history after the end of their University course, pointed out lines of research, and facilitated the publication of their results. Some of the best historical work that has been done by women of late years is due to his suggestion and assistance. At the same time, he declined to support the movement for conferring degrees, titular or other, on women. He once described the proposal as 'a women's raid on a men's club.'

It is hardly necessary to say that his dealings with young men were by no means confined to the lecture-room. He preached frequently in the college chapel. There was little theology in these sermons, but a great deal of ethics; and he was especially prone to dwell on the educational aspect of spiritual things. His sermons, says a friend, 'always arrested attention and

made men talk about them.' But he depended even more on social influence than on that of the pulpit. He would invite favourite students to his house, or take them for long walks in the country.

'On these occasions' (says a pupil) 'he was extremely easy to talk to. He encouraged you to find the topic—anything would do—and he always had something fresh to say on it. We used particularly to visit the church in each village. He was annoyed when it was locked, but used to send me to the rectory for the key, because, as he explained, "If the rector sees *you* he won't come out; if he sees *me* he will." I learned from him the habit of always going to the parish church. "Never say there is nothing to see in a place." Another maxim was, "Always trespass till you are turned out." A third was, "Talk to the natives." He did it himself, with the invariable preface of the offer of tobacco. There was a Spartan simplicity about these excursions; lunch generally eaten on the tramp: water from a pump, usually drunk out of the brim of his soft clerical hat; and tea in an old-fashioned inn, the less pretentious the better.'

Older men, too, found such walks delightful.

'I thought' (says one of his senior colleagues) 'that one got nearer the real Creighton in these solitary dialogues than on any other occasion. He spoke quite simply and frankly, and without restraint, putting himself on a level with his companion.'

In University business Creighton did not take much share; he regarded committees and syndicates as generally so much waste of time, and evaded them so far as he was able. This does not apply, however, to the Boards of History and Theology, of which, as Professor, he was an *ex officio* member. He attended these regularly, and took an important part in carrying through certain changes in the Historical Tripos, designed to render the work more thorough, and to encourage the students to something like original research.

His professorship carried with it a fellowship at Emmanuel; and, while not endeavouring to take a lead in college business, he considered himself bound to pay it adequate attention. The social life of the college was, however, more to his taste; and here, from the first, his genial and brilliant personality made itself beloved. He

always made a point (he once said) of getting on with those into whose company he was thrown. Welcomed by the college staff, and repaying the welcome with interest, he so speedily naturalised himself at Emmanuel that he was deputed in the autumn of 1886 to represent the College at Harvard, when the American university, originally founded by an Emmanuel man, celebrated its 250th anniversary. The visit to America was a great success.

‘Creighton’ (writes his host, Professor Norton) ‘was a conspicuous figure during the celebrations of the week at Harvard; and he made himself agreeable to everyone whom he met, by a certain ease and accessibility of manner, and by his ready adaptation of himself to novel circumstances—qualities not always characteristic of the college don.’

Creighton made a speech at the banquet; gave a lecture to the students on the English Universities; made acquaintance with everybody; and enjoyed himself hugely.

‘I never had such hard work in my life’ (he wrote). ‘I was on duty all day, trying to say the right thing to innumerable folk. Everybody wishes to be introduced in this land, and to shake hands and say something. I did my utmost in the way of cordiality, as I soon found that cordiality and warmth are what the Americans value most. . . . In my speech at the dinner I tried to be warm and brief, and was amused at the testimony of a young man, who turned to Norton and said, “Why, he speaks as well as an American.”’

On his return to Cambridge, he gave a lecture before the college, in which he dwelt on his recent experiences, contrasting the undergraduates of the English and American universities, not altogether to the advantage of the former, whom he charged with ‘school-boyishness.’ This was not very pleasing to the Emmanuel men; nor was a sermon which he preached a little later, in which he deprecated the modern undergraduate habit of wasting whole afternoons in looking on at football matches. These reproaches caused some annoyance; but it was not Creighton’s way to court popularity by concealing what he thought.

He generally dined in hall on Sundays; and afterwards, in common-room, he was at his best—or his most outrageous—in the particular vein of badinage which he

cultivated on such occasions. If he shocked some of the older and primmer members of the company by his sallies, the majority were amused, interested, or stimulated by them.

'I am inclined to think' (says one of his colleagues) 'that the real motive of much of his conversation was an educational one. He liked to run a tilt against established customs and prejudices, in order to rouse us from our inveterate habit of acquiescing in the traditional and commonplace. He had the same kind of attraction for younger men that Socrates had; and his irony was often of the Socratic kind. I never met any one who realised so fully the educational value of poking fun at dignitaries. He was always "running his umbrella into bishops," but he did it in a kindly and Horatian spirit. His whole life up here was a sort of protest against the idea that solemnity means wisdom. His motto seemed to be "*Ridentem dicere verum Quid vetat?*"'

Meanwhile he was carrying on historical work of a varied kind. He brought out the third and fourth volumes of his 'History of the Papacy,' and nearly finished a fifth. He wrote the 'Life of Cardinal Wolsey,' perhaps the best of his smaller works; and 'Carlisle,' in the series of 'Historic Towns.' He edited the 'Epochs of Church History'—a series comprising no less than fifteen volumes. In 1886 he helped to start the 'English Historical Review,' and was its first editor. He continued to edit it until he left Cambridge; and to him is mainly due the high character for thoroughness, impartiality, and comprehensiveness which it has, from the outset, maintained.

But a stop was now to be put to this literary activity; as in another well-known case, the delights of history were to yield to the claims of the Church. Ecclesiastical promotion had come to him five years before, when he was presented (in 1885) to a canonry in Worcester Cathedral. A canon in a provincial town has not many calls upon his time; and Creighton's duties at Worcester left him some delightful and wholesome leisure. But what work he found to do, he did, as usual, with his might. The restoration of the cathedral was still in progress; and on this, especially on the opening up of the west end of the church, hitherto encumbered by unsightly buildings, he brought his energy and architectural knowledge to

bear. As examining chaplain to the bishop, he added to the experience which he had gained in a similar position at Newcastle. At the close of the year 1890 he was offered and accepted a canonry at Windsor; but, before his installation, a wider sphere of influence and responsibility was opened to him in the bishopric of Peterborough, to which he was appointed in February 1891, in succession to Dr Magee. He felt it only too probable that this was the end of those historical studies in which he took so deep an interest, and in which he had achieved so much distinction. But the call was clear; and he followed the call.

He deliberately put aside, for the time being, his unfinished literary work, and devoted himself entirely and unreservedly, during the first year or two of office, to the business of getting to know his diocese. The diocese of Peterborough is a long and straggling one; but the bishop travelled repeatedly into all parts, devoting especial attention to the large and busy towns of Northampton and Leicester, in which he made a practice of residing for some time every year. A bishop of so unusual a kind could not fail to be, at first, somewhat perplexing to many of his clergy. The contrast between him and his predecessor was indeed sufficiently striking. Dr Magee was cautious and guarded in expressions of opinion, especially about individuals; Dr Creighton 'would talk freely and unguardedly with anybody about anybody and anything.' In the pulpit, indeed, the new bishop, earnest, suggestive, and stimulating as he was, could not hope to rival one of the greatest orators of the century. But what he lacked in rhetoric, he more than made up in activity, sympathy, accessibility, and administrative power. Few people ever saw Dr Magee: Dr Creighton was seen everywhere. Always *en évidence*, he cultivated great simplicity of habits, and, while at Peterborough, never even kept a carriage. His hospitality was unbounded; and not only were the invitations universal and the fare abundant, but the mental entertainment was lavished on all without respect of persons. Candidates for ordination were afraid to come too near Dr Magee; they crowded round Dr Creighton. To the younger clergy, in particular, he showed the greatest sympathy, and won their hearts by the frankness and kindness of his demeanour.

'His relation to them' (writes one) 'could not be better illustrated than by his own transposition of the *mot* which his predecessor once uttered at a Royal Academy dinner. Bishop Magee had said that a certain portrait in his possession inspired him with such kindly feelings that "I do assure you, gentlemen, a curate could play with me." "Now I" (said Dr Creighton, in relating the story) "should have felt more inclined to play with the curate."'

In a similar vein he once said in an address, 'What did God give you a crook in your arm for? Why, surely to hook it into some other fellow's.'

Captivated by their new bishop's kindliness and gaiety, the people at Peterborough were amazed by the rapidity with which he mastered all the details of diocesan organisation. A distinguished lawyer, who has had official dealings with several Bishops of London, remarked to the writer that Dr Creighton was 'the quickest man he ever knew.' This was due, of course, not only to intellectual acuteness, but to the moral qualities of modesty and comprehensive sympathy, which enabled him to listen to and to take advice from all sorts of persons. He thus obtained information about facts and a knowledge of public opinion which would have been inaccessible to a person more inclined to stand upon his dignity. An abundance of counsellors did not, however, in his case mean indecision. He was self-reliant without being conceited, open-minded but clear-headed, determined but not obstinate. He was always searching for principles, but he seldom betrayed the existence of opinions or prepossessions. 'His mind always seemed to be passing a fresh judgment upon all the facts presented to him at the moment.' He was rather pleased than otherwise by the frank expression of opinion, even when opposed to his own; nor did he resent opposition on matters clearly within his jurisdiction.

'On one occasion' (says a correspondent) 'a clergyman in the diocese of Peterborough, who had asked for a special confirmation in his parish, was directed by the bishop to bring his candidates to a neighbouring church. The clergyman argued the point, and finally, losing his temper, said he would prepare no candidates for confirmation till the bishop came to his church. The bishop, far from giving him a set-down, merely enquired if he were a north-country man, and concluded the interview by consenting to hold the confirmation

as desired. He followed this up by declining an invitation to the great house, and by staying at the vicarage instead; and the stubborn parson soon afterwards received an invitation to stay at the Palace.'

Comparatively ignorant as he was of the Midlands before he came to Peterborough, Dr Creighton soon knew all about the district, and had visited every place of interest. A Leicestershire friend tells a story illustrative of the bishop's anxiety to know every parish in his diocese. He had expressed a desire to inspect Newtown Linford church—until lately a donative under the Earls of Stamford, and therefore a sealed book to a bishop. The fact that no bishop had ever been known to visit the place stimulated his curiosity. His guide took him a scrambling walk, over rocks and ferns, through Bradgate Park, past the ruined house in which Lady Jane Grey pursued her studies under Roger Ascham. The bishop, though he had never been there before, knew the whole history of the place. Arrived at the gate by which they hoped to make their exit from the park, it was found to be locked and insurmountable, while a ten-foot wall forbade further progress. 'I could not see' (says the narrator) 'how the episcopal tights and orthodox gaiters could overcome the obstacle. The bishop, however, declared he could get over the wall if I would give him a lift up and let him go first; and so we managed it. It was a scene I shall never forget.' The expedition concluded with the inspection of the church, to the delight of the village, which had never beheld a bishop before; and a church extension and restoration scheme was the result.

In the towns of Leicester and Northampton, where, as is well known, popular feeling is largely opposed to, or at least divergent from, the Church, Dr Creighton enjoyed a great and growing popularity, chiefly attributable to his capacity for looking at things from other people's points of view. He enjoyed his visits to these towns because 'it was a pleasure to him to come into contact with the hard-headed business qualities of a commercial and industrial society.' He frequently lectured to audiences largely composed of artisans; and the wide and just comprehensiveness of his ideas, his sincere affection for 'the people' in the largest sense, and the generous hopes he indulged for them, were warmly appreciated by

his audience. He was well aware that he had to do with 'two of the most extravagantly political communities in England,' radically-minded societies to whom 'Churchism and Toryism were convertible terms.' But he was careful to conciliate opposition, to avoid controversial topics so far as possible, and, in his religious addresses, to show that politics have nothing to do with religion. If he touched political questions at all, 'he handled them on large-minded, national, and historical lines.'

At the same time he never lost an opportunity of extending the influence of the Church. It was a principle with him that the Church of England should be broad and tolerant, and an essential part of his policy that only thus could her influence be successfully extended. He not only spoke and laboured with this end in view, but, while never proselytising directly, constantly assisted Church work with large donations from his private purse.

'It surprised those who knew him intimately' (says one of his clergy) 'how he could afford to respond to appeals or initiate assistance with such large sums of money where he saw cases of need. In one instance he laid down 1000*l.* for clergy sustentation in order to draw out the liberality of the diocese.'

After he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with his diocese, and got the reins of administration well in hand, he was able again to take up his pen, and to give some little time to literature. He contrived, but only with the greatest difficulty, to produce the fifth volume of his 'Papacy'—unfortunately to be the last—and an admirable short 'Life of Queen Elizabeth.' He wrote and delivered the Romanes Lecture at Oxford and the Rede Lecture at Cambridge. At the latter university he also delivered a course of Hulsean Lectures, on the congenial subject of 'Persecution and Tolerance.' It indicates great industry and a wonderful capacity for saving time that he was able, in the midst of episcopal occupations, to get through so much work as this.

Two incidents of special interest should be mentioned in connexion with this period of Dr Creighton's life. The first of these was his successful intervention in the great strike of the Leicester boot-makers, which took place early in 1895. The strike involved many complicated questions, not to be solved without minute knowledge of local con-

ditions, and a full acquaintance with the aims and interests of both sides. At one time conciliation seemed impossible; the men appear to have demanded more than their due, while the masters resented the dictation of the Union. Both parties were becoming angry and obstinate, when the bishop interposed. By the correctness of his information and the wisdom of his suggestions, and by personal influence brought to bear on the leaders, both of masters and of men, he succeeded in effecting a compromise. His correspondence shows that both parties were willing to listen to his advice, and subsequently acknowledged that his intervention had been mainly instrumental in closing what at one time threatened to be a most disastrous conflict.

His whole treatment of this matter illustrates his political attitude, especially where social questions were concerned. He distrusted the instincts and impulses of men as guides to action; he was no believer (he once said) in 'a government by happy thoughts'; and he held that the only way to arrive at a stable, but progressive, form of society was by painstaking enquiry into facts, and accurate reasoning upon them. 'He had a strong faith' (says one who had often discussed social questions with him) 'in the practicability of reform, with an equally strong conviction that reform could only be brought about by expert intelligence.' On the other hand, he knew that the expert could not rule alone. 'He doubted whether the "man in the street" knew what he wanted, or how to get it; but he saw that, after all, the expert could only govern by the consent of the average man.' In fact, he condemned democracy as a political ideal, but acknowledged it to be practically inevitable. It was the basis of his political creed, as of Lord Sherbrooke's, that we must educate our masters; but he added to it the maxim that we must educate ourselves.

The other incident to which we have alluded was Dr Creighton's journey to Moscow, in May 1896, to represent the English Church at the coronation of the Czar. Of this interesting occasion he published a short account in the 'Cornhill Magazine'; but the letters which he sent home abound in still more vivid impressions. He was extremely well received, saw everyone and everything, and was the only person, not a Russian subject, who was

present at the State banquet which followed the coronation. He 'chummed' with the Russian ecclesiastics, even when they could talk nothing but Russian; was nearly crushed by enthusiastic 'moujiks,' crowding to kiss his hand; mastered the ritual of the Greek Church; and did his best to prove to his hosts that Anglicans and 'orthodox' were, after all, brothers.

Of his interview with the Emperor, he writes:—

'Pobiedonostzeff took charge of me, and walked me through the rooms. . . . Then, quite suddenly, I was seized and told to go through a door, where, in a little room, stood the Emperor and Empress. I really felt quite casual, and had a little conversation with them in English. I made great mistakes in my court manners, but I daresay they forgave me. We talked and laughed, I am sorry to say. In fact, we had an afternoon-call conversation.'

At Prince Lobanoff's he was made a great deal of.

'It was a huge crowd, and awfully hot. I was introduced to princes and princesses, and tried to look dignified. I feel as if I was a personage whom people were trying to float as important. I let them do their best and remain impassive. . . . I think I am getting on too well, and want snubbing!'

M. Pobiedonostzeff made a great impression on him:—

'a lean old man, over seventy, more like a Frenchman than a Russian, with a thin face and large spectacles, quite simple in appearance, but clearly as acute as possible, and a diplomatist above all things. . . . I certainly thought him a great man in his way.'

At a later interview they had a long conversation.

'He talked about Kidd's "Social Evolution," and Balfour's book ["Foundations of Belief"]: he has read everything; admires "The Earthly Paradise," and wonders how Morris can be a socialist. I find him one of the ablest men I have ever met.'

The whole experience was a valuable and interesting one to the bishop, who was deeply impressed by the magnificence and the power of the Church in Russia, and by the personal devotion displayed by all classes to the Czar.

Within little more than six months of these events,

the death of Archbishop Benson, and the advancement of Dr Temple to the primacy, opened the way for Dr Creighton's promotion to the see of London. This last phase of his life, which resulted in so great an enhancement of his reputation, deserves a fuller treatment than we have space to give. We can only attempt to summarise his views on certain important topics, and to indicate briefly his method of action. But the events of his episcopate are so recent that elaboration would perhaps be superfluous.

It was remarked by the Primate, in his speech at the Mansion House, that Dr Creighton had appeared to grow since he came to London. 'Year after year,' he said, 'the late bishop was a stronger, an abler, a wiser and, if he might say so, a better man.' The same remark was made about him at Peterborough. And it was certainly true, for throughout life he was growing; his development never stood still. But such an impression was partly due to the fact that the better he was known the more fully was he appreciated. There were, in a sense, two Creightons; and the outer man was often more apparent than the inner. The jester who told Mr Kensit that, if he did not like the church in which he performed his devotions, he had better go to another—who talked of incense and smoked herrings in the same breath, and declared he could not be always 'consecrating hassocks'—was one man; the sober and learned judge, the wise counsellor, the earnest and sympathetic pastor, was quite another. Sometimes, no doubt, his flippancy was due to the fact that he was bored; it was his way of retaliating on the bore, who of course never guessed that it was all his fault. He had a wonderful capacity for 'bearing fools gladly'; but even his capacity had its limits.

A first acquaintance often showed only the superficial, one may almost say the flashy, side of Dr Creighton's character; and this, though always interesting, was not always either attractive or impressive. Further experience, and a clearer perception of what he was and did, not only of what he said, displayed the deeper and more solid qualities. This may have given the impression of 'growth'; but the growth was rather in the observer than the observed. It is also to be remembered that, as he grew older, action and administration filled a larger

and larger part of his life; while speech—though probably never so abundant as in the last four years—filled a relatively smaller and less important part. The temptation, in ordinary talk, to enjoy an ‘intellectual frolic’ was hard to withstand—there were plenty of opportunities of being dull—but he was always serious where jesting was really out of place. If he appeared more serious in later life, this was partly because he had more serious work to do.

The effect of his arrival in London was almost instantaneous. As Canon Scott Holland has well said :*

‘The stir and movement of his presence made itself felt at once, and felt everywhere. London, so slow to perceive what is happening in its midst, could not but be aware of this new arrival. . . . He proved that even this huge, unwieldy, sluggish mass of a diocese could actually feel the impact, from end to end, of a vivid personal inspiration. Who can forget how he lifted along the dull weight of a London Church Congress by the sheer force of his tense and radiant individuality?’

What the diocese required, when Dr Creighton took it over, was a visible chief. London wanted a bishop who would speak for it and to it as a whole—a leader who would surmount details, seize on its imagination, and touch it on every side of its multitudinous life. This part the new bishop set himself to play. Hence his incessant appearances in public, on platforms, at meetings and banquets; his constant readiness to speak; his plunge into the vortex of London society. With this end in view he fitted up London House, submitting not only to great expense, but to the endless demands upon his time which residence there entailed.

He became a member of the Commission which drew up the statutes of the new University of London; and we understand, on the highest authority, that ‘his suggestions were most valuable in solving a difficulty or smoothing a difference’; that he displayed remarkable knowledge of existing educational institutions; and that, in settling the list of recognised schools and teachers in the faculty of Theology, his colleagues were impressed by his attitude towards the Jewish and Nonconformist bodies. ‘He was as anxious as any of us that the new faculty should be

* Sermon at St Paul's, 20th January, 1901.

comprehensive.' He was also an *ex officio* member of the Ecclesiastical Commission, on which 'he showed, as everywhere, his wonderful power of grasping every object as it came before him'; and whenever he attended the meetings of the Commission—which he did regularly—'he was its ruling spirit.'

All this, be it remembered, was in addition to the exhausting and inevitable duties of his office—congresses, meetings, ordinations, confirmations, the settling of disputes, and, in his case, the special difficulties arising from what has been called the 'crisis' in the Church. By undertaking so great and varied a load of work, he undoubtedly gained his point: he took London by storm; but, physically speaking, he paid the penalty. Very soon after he came to London, it was observed that he, who in old days had never seemed to know fatigue, was tired. He grew ominously thin. He complained that he had to do the work of at least three men, that he had no time to read or to think. But he worked on nevertheless till the end came.

In educational questions Dr Creighton always took a keen interest, though here, too, his lurking scepticism not unfrequently peeped out, as in the remark he once made: 'I suppose, if a boy is really clever, we shan't do him *much* harm by trying to educate him.' In his Embleton days he defined the object of education as twofold—'to make man, first, master of himself, and secondly, master of the world in which he moves.'* The former object, he held, can only be attained by religious education; the latter should be the aim of secular. Needless obtrusion of regulations and officials, he repeated, can only have disastrous results. 'The object of the authorities should be to get children to school with the least possible friction, not to assert the majesty of the law.' Success could only be attained by 'suasion applied with tact and good humour.'†

He approved the unfortunate Bill of 1896 as 'a straightforward attempt to bring back interest in education to something like actuality.'‡ Since 1870, he held, no real progress had been made; the educational mechanism had alone been attended to; the 'contents' of education had

* Durham Diocesan Conference, 1880.

† Conferences of Poor Law Unions, 1878, 1882.

‡ Speech at the opening of St John's Schools, Peterborough, 1896.

been lost sight of. Religious education being indispensable, he regarded denominational teaching as the necessary corollary; for, 'only when it takes a denominational form is religion implanted in the child's mind in a shape which enables him to grapple with the facts of life.' He therefore applauded the Bill, because it acknowledged that, in future, board schools and voluntary schools were to exist together. 'Henceforward it would be possible to give adequate religious instruction to those who wanted it, without offence to the conscientious feelings of those who wanted something else.' He also accepted the educational machinery which the Bill proposed to set up, and the establishment of a local authority. His historic sense showed him that 'local self-government was the great basis from which everything else had grown up in England'; and he welcomed the application of the principle to education.

On similar principles he approved the Voluntary Schools Act, as 'a distinct legislative recognition of the voluntary schools and their position'; and he was convinced that 'behind this Bill there stood the great weight of popular acquiescence and desire.' He welcomed the legal establishment of Associations, and hoped that the Association would become a Church school board. At the same time he deprecated exclusive attendance to educational machinery.

'We have heard more than enough of the rights of rate-payers and parents, but we have heard nothing hitherto of the rights of the children, who seem to me to be the class which is to be primarily considered.' *

And again:—

'Hitherto we have had an education question which is concerned with outside matters only. I hope that, as we go on steadily, we shall come to an education question which is concerned with education. . . . I apprehend that when we reach the education of the child and the child's welfare, all our difficulties will disappear, because then we shall be talking about a real thing. We are very far indeed at present from having reached the child.' †

Dr Creighton's views on Church questions are perhaps

* Address to the London Diocesan Conference, 1897.

† *Ibid.*, 1898.

to be gathered rather from his life and acts than from his published utterances. But with regard to some important matters they are pretty clearly laid down in his charges, his addresses to diocesan conferences, and elsewhere. To begin with, he had no doubts about the duty of all churchmen to maintain the principle of establishment. To him, the Church was the national Church, and he was deeply impressed with the necessity of its representing the national life.

'The general conception of the solidarity of the Church is one that I have strongly in my mind. There is nothing that I am more desirous for than to bring together the Church: I am bound to say that I cannot speak in a melancholy way of what we sometimes call "our unhappy divisions." I must tell you frankly that I rejoice in the breadth and width of the Church of England as it is: I recognise the enormous advantages which every different school of thought contributes towards the general spread of those eternal principles of truth in which we are all interested . . . and I think it my duty, as bishop of this diocese, to show my sympathy with all forms of service and all forms of religious zeal which are loyally in accordance with the principles of the Church of England.'*

From this point of view he approved, though somewhat cautiously, of the proposed reform of Convocation, coupled with the grant of larger powers. He thought Convocation should be more representative and should contain a lay element. He felt it 'to be unseemly that differences of opinion should be tossed about in the untoward manner in which they are tossed about at present'; and held that they 'ought to be discussed in the properly appointed and properly representative synod of the Church of England.'†

With the same object—the fair and peaceful discussion of differences—he summoned what has been called the 'Round Table Conference,' which met at Fulham in October 1900. The bishop had not initiated the idea of this conference, though he had used words two years previously which may have supplied the germ.

'It is my duty' (he said) ' . . . to try by personal persuasion and influence, by talking and by conference with those who

* Address to the London Diocesan Conference, 1897.

† Address to the Church Reform League, May 1900.

seem to be divided, to bring all together into an understanding, at least, of one another's position, that we may discover exactly what are the points upon which we differ; for, until we have discovered these, any attempt at agreement is obviously impossible.*

Lord Halifax had been the first distinctly to suggest a meeting; Prebendary Webb-Peploe had pressed it on the Diocesan Conference of 1900; and the bishop, when formally requested to call a conference, for the discussion of 'Ritual and the Doctrines involved therein,' 'to name the members and to fix the terms of reference,' willingly consented to act. It was a delicate and responsible task which was thus entrusted to him, and he discharged it to the general satisfaction. He did not anticipate that an agreement would be reached, but he was anxious that the two extremes should meet each other, in the presence of a broader element, and try to explain their respective positions in a rational and scholarly fashion. He thought that some good would be done if the disputants met on friendly terms and got to understand each other better. This, at least, he obtained; and he expressed himself as satisfied with the result.

'He was delighted' (says one who was present) 'that the *positive* statements on each side came so near to each other that it was so often difficult to explain the exact point of divergence. This, as an educational result, is probably what he had chiefly looked for.'

The general position of the Church of England formed the subject of his addresses at the Ruridecanal Conferences of 1898. That position, he laid down, is not that of Continental Protestantism; nor is Anglicanism the same thing as the Church of the Middle Ages; nor, again, is it to be regarded as a mere compromise between two opposite tendencies of religious thought. 'The Church of England' (he said) 'has a very decided position of its own; . . . it rests on an appeal to sound learning.' He went on to explain that, while the English Church claims no monopoly of sound learning, 'England had the unique opportunity of applying it calmly and dispassionately'; and the Prayer-book was the result. By means of learning, the religious

* Address to the London Diocesan Conference, 1898.

leaders of the sixteenth century were able to strip from the system of the Church a mass of accretions due chiefly to popular eagerness for an answer to all difficulties, and the priestly tendency to give an answer, whether authorised or not, to every question. The reformers had to disentangle truth from a mass of opinion, and to liberate worship from forms and interpolations which, while appearing to mediæval men a support, definition, or amplification of truth, had really hampered and obscured it. The Prayer-book had therefore gone back to Scripture as the only authoritative evidence of the Christian faith, and to primitive times for its interpretation. It had put aside the irrelevant and accretive, restoring simplicity and the scriptural basis. This is the method of sound learning, to which all good Anglicans are bound to bow.

On another occasion * he returned to this subject. The history of the Church in the past, he remarked, is 'a series of struggles to keep it a humane institution.'

'The central mechanism of the Church always tended to become abstract, to grow out of genuine contact with life. Great movements . . . brought it back from time to time. But gradually the central mechanism laid its hand upon these reforming movements and checked their vitality. . . . The mediæval Church fell because it had ceased to influence human life.'

To the English people the Reformation means spiritual freedom founded upon individual responsibility; and 'they regard with suspicion any form of theological opinion which they think even remotely threatens that idea of freedom which they rightly hold dear.' Consequently no ecclesiastical development will succeed in this country which does not secure this principle. To develope conscience and conduct is the special aim of the Anglican system. It is, in a sense, a *via media*; but to call it so is no disparagement. It is a righteous mean.

As to recent changes or attempts at change, he insisted that 'it is necessary that there should be a recognisable type of Anglican service,' based on the principles previously laid down. 'We must have a clear understanding about the limits of permissible variation.' There must be no

* 'The Church and the Nation,' 1900.

'theological development backwards.' Ecclesiastical discipline must not be revived on arbitrary lines, implying the formation of a new type of national character. The Prayer-book was drawn up in accordance with a national ideal, which must be respected and maintained, however true it may be that it needs development in some directions. The habitual dread and dislike of sacerdotalism is due to the fact that the Englishman 'will not endure an ecclesiastical system which pursues small objects of its own, apart from the great stream of national life.' A similar remark of his, made on another occasion, to the effect that he was an Englishman first and a churchman afterwards, puts the same principle in a shorter form. A great historical authority has said of Dr Creighton that 'perhaps no other Englishman of his time had so cultivated and enlarged and tempered and illuminated his mind by historical study'; and the bishop's attitude on these great and difficult questions bears out the truth of this remark.

On the duties and powers of the bishops he was perfectly clear. The method he was resolved to employ in cases of difference with his clergy was that which he always employed—personal influence and friendly exhortation.

'There is one thing I should like to say as regards my conception of the episcopal office. It is, that all the clergy of the diocese are alike the objects of my personal concern, however mistaken I may think them to be in some points. . . . My duty is to deal with them straightforwardly and frankly, to deal with them in the spirit of kindness and in the spirit of Christian love, to deal with them by means of arguments, and not by attempting to coerce them.'*

On this friendly relation he repeatedly insisted.

'I trust that every year will add largely to the number of those clergy who are able to regard me as a personal friend. This is the true relation which ought to exist between a bishop and his clergy.'†

At the same time he was equally clear as to the necessity of submitting to episcopal authority. In one

* Address to the London Diocesan Conference, 1898.

† 'The Church and the Nation,' 1900.

of his first public utterances he laid it down that 'the duty of the bishop is governance;* and, near the close of his life, he remarked to a friend: 'The more I see of my work here the more convinced I am that the one requisite for a bishop is administrative ability.' He made it quite evident that, if it came to a conflict, he meant to be obeyed. Public opinion, he remarked:

'had been roused by the appearance of clerical insubordination. I need scarcely dwell upon the seriousness of such a charge. Society is founded upon law; and the Church is bound to set an example of order and of obedience to authority. Nothing can compensate for any failure in this primary duty.'†

Speaking of disputes about ritual, he said:

'These things must be settled by the authorities of the Church, that is, by the bishops. . . . The rule of the Church in such matters belongs to the bishops; and if they have not exercised their authority sufficiently in the past, they must do so in the future.'‡

And again:

'Things have been done on principles which seemed to imply that the system of the Church of England could be overruled by an appeal to some more binding authority, the secret nature of which was apparently locked up in the bosom of the individual recalcitrant. This entirely impossible position must be frankly abandoned.'§

There was certainly a necessity for these plain statements, for there can be no doubt that, in respect of public worship, the diocese of London, when Dr Creighton entered upon it, was in a chaotic condition. There was plenty of energy and enthusiasm, but the 'recognisable type,' for which he stipulated, had in many cases vanished. After a time of suspension, in which he was busily engaged in making himself acquainted with his diocese, ascertaining the facts, and cultivating friendly relations with the clergy, he came to the conclusion that it was his duty to interfere and restore order. With this object he set to work, it should be observed, before the storm burst and before Sir William Harcourt began to thunder in the press. Whatever the

* Address to the London Diocesan Conference, 1897. † *Ibid.*, 1899.

‡ Position of the Church of England, 1899. § *Ibid.*

general results of this outbreak may have been, there is no doubt that the bitter feelings which it aroused were a serious impediment to Dr Creighton in coping with a difficult task.

His own mental attitude with regard to the particular questions at issue may be inferred with tolerable certainty from what has been already said. He had no sympathy with disputes about ritual and ceremony. 'Ceremonies' (he said) 'are nothing in themselves; and differences of opinion cannot be composed by attacking ceremonies.' He did not attempt to decide upon them from the legal point of view; that he left to the courts. Nor did he enter into what he regarded as futile discussions about their historical or antiquarian justification, except in so far as they were included, in his mind, among those 'medieval accretions' which, as we have already seen, he held the Reformation to have condemned. Still less did he formulate any statements as to the minutiae of creeds which ceremonies are understood to symbolise. Personally, he approved of a certain degree of elaboration and magnificence in ritual, but only on account of its general effect upon the mind, not for any particular ideas which it may be supposed to embody, still less for any elevation which it may give to a sacerdotal caste. He habitually wore his mitre, considering that he had as good a right to wear the recognised symbol of his authority as a king his crown or a judge his wig; and he refused to lay it aside from deference to the silly charge that it was an approximation to Rome.

Both in the ceremonies used, and in the beliefs symbolised, he was ready to accept considerable divergence. He deprecated excessive conservatism, and advocated conciliation and comprehension. He condemned that rigidity of the English Church which had driven so many Protestant bodies beyond its pale. 'Cannot we,' he asked, 'better deal with diverging tendencies which we object to, and which we want to see put straight, by retaining them within the system of the Church.*' Let there be as much latitude as possible, provided always that ritual should keep within the 'recognisable type,' and that beliefs should be in accordance with the principles of the Reformation.

* Address to the London Diocesan Conference, 1900.

In applying these principles to the chief questions at issue, he arrived at definite conclusions.

'Recent controversy' (he said) * 'after removing all that is incidental and trivial, is practically concerned with two matters which were regarded as cardinal points in the system of our Church at the time of the Reformation. These points are—the restoration of the primitive conception of Holy Communion in place of the mediæval conception of the Mass, and the abolition of the disciplinary requirement of Confession as necessary before Communion.'

On these two 'cardinal points' he was perfectly clear. The object of the Church of England was 'to turn the Mass into a Communion,' and to make the Communion 'a service for the people.' The use of a word which, if it means anything, means a return to the mediæval conception, is therefore greatly to be deplored. On similar grounds he deprecated the practice of making it a rule to receive the Communion fasting—a practice which he found to arise naturally from the social habits of the Middle Ages, but to be no longer natural in modern times.† The ceremonial use of incense he regarded as comparatively unimportant. His personal inclination, he remarked once in private, was to say, 'If they like to make a smell, let them'; but he considered it to be, on legal grounds, not permissible, and on general grounds, unadvisable. The practice of reservation, on the other hand, he regarded as a very serious departure from the principles of the English Church, and condemned it as a dangerous approach to the doctrines of the Church of Rome. On the subject of confession he adopted the same view as that laid down by the present Primate in his first charge, and in his subsequent judgment. 'The position of the Church of England,' said Dr Creighton, 'is that confession is left to every man's discretion.'‡

These views he constantly impressed on his clergy, as

* 'The Church and the Nation.'

† *Ibid.*

‡ 'The Church and the Nation,' p. 28. The deductions drawn by Mr Westall from two private letters which he received from Dr Creighton (see the 'Guardian' for February 20th, 1901) seem to be unwarrantable; and the publication of the letters in such a way is to be regretted, as calculated to give an erroneous idea of Dr Creighton's attitude with regard to these questions.

we have seen, in public utterances; but he relied even more on private conference and individual persuasion. It was by such means that he induced eighteen clergymen, who practised the ceremonial use of incense, to give it up; and in these efforts, though often only with the exercise of infinite patience and the gentlest persistency, he almost uniformly succeeded. He did all he could to avoid the courts, and he does not seem to have interfered in the controversy as to the best constitution of ecclesiastical tribunals. But his view appears to have been that, while a Church must possess the effectual jurisdiction, which is part of the 'power of the keys,' the State, in the case of an established Church, must have a voice in the formation of all courts, and the right of hearing appeals.

'I do not think' (writes one who had the best chance of knowing his views) 'that he really sympathised with the effort to get independent ecclesiastical courts. My impression is that he looked upon such things as matters for adjustment and compromise.'

In his later years, he gave at least one legal friend to understand that he thought the best form of final court would be one to which Church and State should separately and simultaneously give a mandate.

It has sometimes been supposed that Dr Creighton suggested the Lambeth hearing of two years ago. This is not, however, the case. The suggestion came from the Primate himself; but the Bishop of London strongly approved the proposal, anticipated great benefit from the promised decisions, and loyally supported them when given. Had he drafted the judgment he might, perhaps, not have laid quite so much stress on the exact observance of rubrics. As he once remarked,* a literal following of the direction, 'In choirs and places where they sing, here followeth the anthem,' would exclude hymns altogether, and probably even anthems in many churches.

Unwilling as he was to have recourse to measures of coercion against recalcitrant clergymen, except in the last resort, he was at the same time disinclined to interfere with the course of the law, if the complaint seemed well-founded, and if the methods of persuasion had failed to

* London Diocesan Conference, 1899.

produce the result which he desired. He regarded the episcopal 'veto' as a mere bit of judicial machinery, which ought not to be exercised on grounds of policy or personal opinion, but should be employed to prevent vexatious or superfluous prosecutions. A case, which excited some feeling in the autumn before his death, supplied an illustration of this principle.

The bishop actually consented to allow proceedings to be taken, under the Church Discipline Act (1840), against two out of a number of clergymen charged with illegal practices—these two having refused to comply with his injunctions to obey the Lambeth ruling. Dr Creighton was unwilling to sanction proceedings in the case of those who had promised obedience, or to allow the peace of the diocese to be disturbed by a series of prosecutions, when one, taken as a test-case, would have sufficed; but he regarded the complainant as within his legal rights, and did not take the ground—which is said to have been taken elsewhere—that the Act of 1840 was practically superseded, in the case of charges brought by non-parishioners, by the Act of 1876. He only withdrew his consent when the complainant, losing patience owing to delays, partly at least due to the bishop's illness, rejected the compromise which had been made, and demanded permission to proceed against all five of the clergy originally incriminated. We are confident that, when the details of the case are fully understood, it will be found that the bishop acted throughout in the spirit of impartiality and of attention to the law. Had the complainant showed equal tact and patience, the law would have been allowed to take its course.

It is impossible, in the short space of an article, to give an adequate idea of a character so complex, an intellect so powerful, a personality so attractive, as those of the great bishop, whose premature loss both Church and State have such reason to deplore. We cannot revive his personal charm or reproduce the attraction of his brilliant presence and conversation. Many pages might be filled by notes of personal characteristics, selections from his *obiter dicta*, and anecdotes like those which, perhaps naturally, occupied so large a space in the notices that appeared after his death. It has been our aim rather to attempt such a sketch as may indicate, however inadequately, his deeper claims to our respect. We shall

await, with keen interest, the 'Life,' which it is understood will be given to the world by the accomplished pen of one who was linked to him by the closest of human ties. Faults there were, no doubt, as in every character; but where the good predominates so largely it is needless to dwell on these. It is certainly rare to find so much intellectual force and so high a standard of conduct combined in one man; but in estimating their comparative value it may be well to remember what he said himself in his preface to the 'Life of Lord Lilford'—almost the last thing he wrote:

'The impression produced by character is, after all, more permanent than that produced by capacity. It passes into other lives, and is fruitful, as an influence, long after the results of capacity have perished in the using.'

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